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W.E.B. DU BOIS AND HIS PLACE IN THE DISCUSSION OF RACISM

A Dissertation Presented

by

Homer L. Meade II

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1987

School of Education

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W.E.B. DU BOIS AND HIS PLACE IN THE DISCUSSION OF RACISM

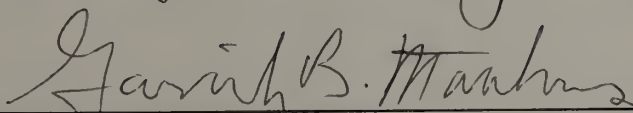
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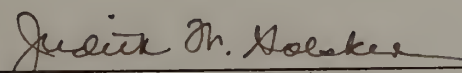
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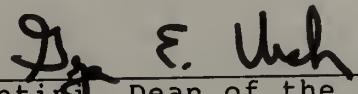
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PREFACE

This work reports the findings gathered in determining the place William Edward Burghardt Du Bois holds in the discussion of racism. The mentioning of the name of W.E.B. Du Bois engenders a wide range of reactions. Most of these reactions are emotional and have little bearing on what may be uncovered by a serious review of his life's works. This dissertation is a serious review of one aspect of Du Bois' life's work. However, this dissertation is not a biography, although the writer has had to recount events within that life to establish background or to highlight a specific issue.

This work is an investigation of the developed use and application of what has become termed racism. The word 'racism' itself is a relatively new term; we do not find it widely used until the mid-nineteen fifties. However, that social condition which racism denotes, i.e., formal and informal processes of identifying certain members of social organizations as inferior and predicated actions which oppress and discriminate against those same individuals, has been the subject of discussions for much longer. It is in connection to the discussion of racism where the interest in Du Bois lies.

The time span which this work specifically investigates begins with the ratification of the Constitution of the

United States of America. Because certain historical events of importance precede this event of ratification, they are mentioned and discussed but in reference to their connections to this examination of racism as an American experience. To facilitate this discussion the chapters in this work are divided into two sections.

Section One (Chapters I - V) contains discussions which review the various attempts made to identify racism and the various definitions of racism which have been offered. The definitions which are given to racism run the gamut from the material to the metaphysical. Since in the second half of the twentieth century racism has been centrally linked to economic policy and decisions (material considerations), Chapter One begins with a review of how economics and racism are alleged to be tied. This chapter is followed by chapters which present alternative accounts of the source and identification of racism (metaphysical considerations).

Section One ends with Chapter V which details racism's institutional effects upon the individual within American society. The effects which are reviewed are those which create confusion in what is accepted as morally right or wrong actions. From this the discussion moves to Section Two which looks to the various references scholars and researchers of the connected issues of racism make to W.E.B. Du Bois. Section Two (Chapters VI - XII) then examines in some detail the major works of mid-century which reflect the

conscientious action which attempted to seek remedies to the ravaging effects of racist policy and action.

Section Two concludes with three chapters which report research previously missing from discussions of Du Bois and his work. These chapters report the results and activities of federal intelligence gathering agencies' investigations of the work and actions of Du Bois. The issue which these chapters address is that in their investigations of Du Bois these agencies did not benefit from his work, rather they sought to reinforce the distorted impressions of Du Bois which the investigators and administrative officials brought to the investigations. The ramifications of this attitude have been alluded to by the work done in determining the pretext of action which these same agencies directed at individuals during the civil rights movement in the North and South during the late fifties through the early nineteen seventies.

The work concludes with a return to the issue of defining racism. The final definition is presented not in describing the effects that racism has on the victims but in underscoring the effects which racism has on the racist and his or her actions which lead to deprivation and vilification of the principles upon which this nation was founded. If there is a practical significance attached to this study of the discussion of racism and the place which Du Bois holds within it, then that significance must be to

encourage greater effort within institutional as well as individual areas of life to learn of the past efforts to identify the sources of racism and to move for their eradication.

ABSTRACT

W.E.B. DU BOIS AND HIS PLACE IN THE DISCUSSION OF RACISM

MAY 1987

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Statement of the Problem - Among other things W.E.B. Du Bois is remembered for his struggles waged against what he called the "problem of the color-line". The problem which this dissertation examines is what, in fact, did Du Bois say and do in this struggle and how have his actions been reported in the literature which focusses upon the social issue called racism. The problem is best addressed by reporting the answer(s) to this question:

What are the issues concerning racism which were addressed by W.E.B. Du Bois, and which of these issues, in contemporary American society, have just recently been investigated or are presently left unaddressed?

Procedure - In seeking answers to the question, the following procedure was implemented:

- 1) research and investigation of primary source material written by W.E.B. Du Bois;
- 2) research and investigation of secondary source material written by others which
 - a) address the topic racism, and/or,
 - b) address racism and make reference to W.E.B. Du Bois.

Results - There are two results of note which are presented by this work. The first result, i.e., finding, is that within the formal discussions of racism, especially marked by Gunnar Myrdal's work An American Dilemma, though W.E.B. Du Bois is often mentioned and cited, the wealth of informed statement to be gotten from his efforts has yet to be fully appreciated. Secondly, by viewing Du Bois as a victim of the phenomenon of racism, we find that a half a century of Federal intelligence agency surveillance itself reflects a developed institutional racism of the most vicious sort.

Conclusions - It is concluded that the life and works of W.E.B. Du Bois need to be reviewed to come to understand the very real threat racism in contemporary American society presents to its citizens. As early as 1887 W.E.B. Du Bois examined the racial issues of American society. At that time he offered insights which, if heeded, might have resulted in the eventual control or the ending of racist attitudinal development and expression. If we are not to repeat the mistakes of the past, then his insights must be used and learned from at this time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
INTRODUCTION	xii
CHAPTER I	
1. Background of the Monograph.	1
2. The Presence of Racism	4
3. Enlightenment in the American Colonies	6
4. The Anti-Racist Tradition.	11
CHAPTER II	
1. Interest in the Period	20
2. Post-Bellum Racists and Racism	22
CHAPTER III	
1. Definitions of Racism	29
2. The Threat of Institutional Racism	36
3. The Psychology of Racism	39
CHAPTER IV	
1. Complexities of Institutional Racism	51
CHAPTER V	
1. Societal Racism.	65
2. Mid-Twentieth Century Societal Racism.	68
3. Focus on Civil Rights.	73
CHAPTER VI	
1. Reference to Du Bois	75
CHAPTER VII	
1. An American Dilemma: What Was Known and When . . .	93
CHAPTER VIII	
1. Subsequent Studies of An American Dilemma. . . .	120
CHAPTER IX	
1. Periods of Du Bois' Statements Addressing Racism	155
CHAPTER X	
1. Du Bois and The Age of Victimization	192
CHAPTER XI	
1. Surveillance and Intelligence Gathering.	212
CHAPTER XII	
1. Effects of the Racist Faith.	240
CONCLUSION	257

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont.)

APPENDIX

A. Definitions of Racism.	264
B. Additional Definitions of Racism (Du Bois) . . .	269
C. Overview of the Life of W.E.B. Du Bois	271

BIBLIOGRAPHY	279
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INTRODUCTION

In the Spring of 1987 it is sad to read of the rising incidents which are alleged to be expressions of racism in the United States of America. The sadness comes from the knowledge that during the two-hundred years that this nation has known of and acknowledged the presence of racism, little has been done which has effectively removed racist thought and action from within the interaction of Americans with one another and within their institutions. For example, the March 18, 1987, Chronicle of Higher Education reported racial incidents having been reported on the following campuses: The Citadel; University of Massachusetts; Northern Illinois University; University of Michigan; Smith College; Mount Holyoke College; Wellesley College; Tufts University; University of Alabama; University of Colorado; Ohio State University; State University of New York at Albany; and, the University of Texas. In addition to these reports there are the situations of racist disturbances as marked by the demonstrations in segregated Forsyth County in Georgia and the death of a Black man in the Howard Beach incident in Queens, New York. It would seem that the suggestions that racism has been alive and well in the undercurrents of American society have been proven true.

The topic of this dissertation was selected and the dissertation was written because this writer years ago

believed that the ugly head of racism would again raise its head. When it did, this writer wanted to be able to point to the contributing factors which either could have been anticipated or the contributing factors which could be identified so that conscientious and direct action might follow in the wake of the racist expressions. The conscientious action would have one aim and that would be the movement toward an eventual elimination of racism.

What will be found of the following pages is a discussion of what is reported in the body of literature which addresses racism. Additionally what is found on the following pages is an examination of the place which W.E.B. Du Bois occupies within that discussion. There are several topics focussed upon here which this writer believes is material previously absent from discussions which focus on Du Bois and the topic of racism. Among these topics are a) a different reading of the chapter "The Concept of Race" found in Du Bois' The Dusk of Dawn; b) suggested understandings or misunderstandings of Du Bois' work as reported by mid-twentieth century social scientists such as Charles Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Gunnar Myrdal, Horace Cayton, and St. Clair Drake; and most importantly, c) the material and inference found within the surveillance reports of American intelligence agencies field investigators. These "new topics" which are offered have been clearly delineated within the text of the dissertation, but the writer leaves

it to another who is interested to further investigate and uncover those connected issues which lie beneath them.

There may be some readers who will be studying racism and Du Bois for the first time. To them I offer a caution: Beware of those who claim to know what it is that Du Bois meant in any given year or period of his life or work. Rather a reader coming to Du Bois for the first time should read him and take what is offered as his meaning as that reader has come to see and understand it. For with Du Bois it is as Professor Meyer Weinberg of the Horace Mann Bond Center for Equal Education has written, "Du Bois was a peak of a man. He cast light on nearly every major issue of modern social life -- race and racism, democracy, equality, socialism and capitalism, imperialism, revolution, war and peace, cultural nationalism -- and more." An understanding of Du Bois can only come with time, much reading and long hours of consideration.

To those readers who are familiar with Du Bois, I trust you will find the "new topics" not only interesting but perhaps will find encouragement to further investigate the questions raised by the mentioning of these new issues. This, then, is the extended purpose of this dissertation: to establish the ground upon which a revisiting of material and statements made by Du Bois and those made about him might begin on fresh ground.

The form of this work is in a strict deductive expository style. In fact the structure of this dissertation might be imagined as an inverted triangle where we begin by developing a wide base. Within that base (Chapters I - V) is found a general survey of the discussions and definitions of racism as met in the development of the history of the United States of America. The focus of attention begins to narrow (Chapters VI - VIII) when we take a particular look at the major works and references which address racism as the American dilemma and in so doing notice is taken of the use which is made of the words and works of Du Bois. The discussion of this dissertation is narrowed still further (Chapter IX) by the reading and reporting of the work which makes use of Du Bois in general, viz., the appeal made to him by those others who have seriously considered the questions related to racism but are not the major writers recognized.

Finally the deductive structure is completed (Chapters X - XII) by moving to a specific and entirely new point of focus as regards Du Bois and racism. This final point is a particular examination of racism as it was drawn from racist in their attempts to counter the influence recognized to be the result of a) Du Bois' presence, b) his statements, and c) his work. Three specific topics are viewed which are encapsuled within the American intelligence agencies' actions. The topics of attention are World War I, World War

II, and the Cold War. It is in the actions of agents from the American intelligence agencies that we find that they overstep what may be called prerogative based upon the exercise of the Constitutional provision of police power. Rather in the actions of these agents we find examples of racism expressed not solely as a belief, a dogma, a behavior or an ideology but we find racism therein being an expression of a faith which challenges and defeats the position which religion held in the individuals' lives.

On February 1, 1903, Du Bois finished his introduction, which he called "The Forethought", to his work The Souls of Black Folk. I am bold here to finish this introduction by quoting and, in small part, paraphrasing (in bold type) his words :

Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being Black here in the dusk of the twentieth century. This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader, for the problem of the twentieth century has been and continues to be racism.

I pray you, then, to receive my work in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for the sake of the faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there.

CHAPTER I

A tragic outcome of the rigidly stratified society which a dominant racist community creates is the notion among its members that such an order is moral.

George D. Kelsey

1. Background of the Monograph
2. The Presence of Racism
3. Enlightenment in the American Colonies
4. The Anti-Racist Tradition

1. Background of the Monograph

In 1965 the economist Dr. Andrew Brimmer stated the following about the then economic state of Blacks in the United States of America:

" . . . the most striking feature is the fact that a non-white must have between 1 and 3 years of college before he can expect to earn as much as a white man with less than eight years of schooling, over the course of their respective working lives. Moreover, even after completing college and spending at least one year in graduate school, a non-white man can expect to do as well as a white person who only completed high school." (Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power, p 19)

This charge made by Dr. Brimmer may be supported by a quick review of the statistics offered by Carmichael and Hamilton:

- 1) In 1960 the average non-white college graduate earned \$5,020.
- 2) In that same year, 1960, the average white high school graduate earned \$5,130.
- 3) A white man with a high school diploma received in 1960 will earn in a life-time \$253,000.
- 4) A Black man with five years or more of college in 1960

will earn \$246,000 in a life time. (Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power, pp 29-30)

A quarter of a century later an interested reader will find the following reported by Dr. Brimmer -

In 1986 white families received an aggregate income of \$2.5 trillion. In 1986 Black families received an aggregate income of \$204.4 billion dollars.¹

In simple terms, the average Black had \$58 for each \$100 available to the average white. The hard statistics of which Brimmer, Carmichael, Hamilton, and a host of others have taken notice may be found in the Statistical Abstract of the United States. There it is reported, concerning "Income of Families" -

1965 whites -

<u>Yearly Income</u>	<u>% of population surveyed</u>
\$5,000	5.3
10,000	9.9
15,000	11.5
20,000	18.9
25,000	11.2
30,000	12.7
40,000	9.4
50,000+	21.0

NOTE: The average income per white family in 1965 - \$22,896

1965 Blacks -

<u>Yearly Income</u>	<u>% of population surveyed</u>
\$5,000	15.0
10,000	23.2

¹ Figures are compiled by Dr. Andrew Brimmer and are reported in "Economic Perspectives", Black Enterprise, January 1987, p 48.

15,000	20.5
20,000	16.5
25,000	8.1
30,000	7.5
40,000	4.3
50,000+	4.9

NOTE: The average income per Black family in 1965 - \$12,609

1981 whites - total number of families used for data 4,791

<u>Yearly Income</u>	<u>% of population surveyed</u>
\$5,000	4.2
10,000	8.9
15,000	11.8
20,000	11.7
25,000	12.0
30,000	20.9
40,000	17.9
50,000+	12.8

NOTE: The average income per white family in 1981 - \$25,462

1981 Blacks - total number of families used for data 6,413

<u>Yearly Income</u>	<u>% of population surveyed</u>
\$5,000	15.2
10,000	20.3
15,000	16.0
20,000	11.8
25,000	9.9
30,000	14.1
40,000	9.0
50,000+	3.6

NOTE: The average income per Black family in 1981 - \$14,532

Additional points which should be noted from the above information is that for Blacks in the upper income range

there was a 30% drop in the number of Black families which reported making over \$50,000 for the year, while at the lower range there was little difference found in the number of families making \$5,000. This may be contrasted against the percentage of white families making \$5,000 decreasing by 20%. If we were to translate these figures so as to take a look at the influence education has on salaries and wages for the year of 1981, the following is reported -

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Salary</u>	
	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Whites</u>
high school 1-3 yrs.	\$11,353	\$18,774
" " 4 yrs.	16,000	24,617
college 1-3 yrs.	18,705	28,330
college 4 yrs & more	30,412	38,980

2. The Presence of Racism

The purpose of this introductory recital of facts and figures is to draw attention to a phenomenon which appears when attention is directed to the "material exchange" of salary for services, in a word - money. Specifically, there is a strange occurrence which deprives or restricts the advance, and the full compensation of non-whites in the job market. It is often charged that racism is a major contributing factor, if not the major factor, in the continued discrepancies which have been sketched by the statistical information presented above. If racism has some place in the consideration of the continued disadvantaged position of non-white citizens of these United States of

America, then what is this racism about which so much is said, believed, and blamed?

The most important antecedent condition for racism is the presence of two or more groups who have distinguishable features which are classifiable (physical). Also the groups need to be culturally different and vulnerable to institutionalized inequality. We can appreciate the dynamics of such a joining most notably when we look at the development of the North American culture and society. The dependency which the New World by necessity acknowledged to its European heritage was not only a dependency in material terms. As important was the colonial dependence upon the intellectual activity and discussion which was present in the Motherland. What is reported and believed of this intellectual activity and discussion is sometimes called philosophy. In this sense philosophy is that area of intellectual inquiry which investigates and determines the meanings associated with the knowledge we have about the past and present.

As concerns this discussion of racism, philosophy can be found to have had major influence during the period which is called "The Age of Enlightenment". This Enlightenment is the period which includes the late seventeenth century philosopher John Locke at one end and the Constitution of the United States of America at the other. Without question the European Enlightenment influenced the course of events

which led directly to the American Revolution. The principles of the Enlightenment, i.e., an appeal to natural rights; a recognition of God's gift given to man - reason; and, the movement to seek and achieve a utopian and ideal world, are principles which fueled the arguments of the founding fathers and the American revolutionary statesmen. An example of the movement to seek a utopian world is found within the words of the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America, "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union . . ." The use of the words "more perfect Union" is the indication of the Enlightenment element within the ideas which comprise the document.

3. Enlightenment in the American Colonies

But what else made up the legacy that the European and British Enlightenment left to the American revolutionaries of the Eighteenth century? The legacy was steeped in awareness and consideration of that most important antecedent condition for racism - the presence of two or more groups who have distinguishable features which are classifiable. Additionally, the groups were culturally different and in a position for institutionalized inequality. David Hume's words speak to this point more eloquently than my paraphrasing his words could:

I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any

individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, most rude and barbarous of the whites, such as the ancient Germans, the present Tartars, have still something eminent about them, in their valour, form of government, or some other particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are NEGROE slaves dispersed all over EUROPE, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity, tho' low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In JAMAICA indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly. . . (David Hume, "Of National Characters", Essays: Moral, Political, Literary, cited in Popkin, "Hume's Racism", Philosophical Forum, p 213)

This attitude concerning the laws of nature as concerns races was shared by Hume and others. The French developed their own stock of thinkers who became apologists for the reasoned differences found among humans. In the second half of the eighteenth century Voltaire remarked:

. . . The negro race is a species of men as different from ours . . . as the breed of spaniels is from that of greyhound. (Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America, pp 441).

and,

. . . The negro's round eyes, squat noses, and invariable thick lips, the different configuration of their ears, their wooly heads, and the measure of their intellect makes a prodigious difference between them and other species of man. (Voltaire, The Philosophy of History, N.Y. 1965)

This discussion then will be marked by these two extremes. At the one end we have the emergence of the late eighteenth century Enlightenment thought, as found in the New World of North America, i.e., what we have come to know as the United States of America. On the other end, we have present day America of the ninth decade in the twentieth century. In spite of the two hundred years which separate these extremes, it is frightening to discover how real are some of our problems today as they were real to those who lived in a world we only can imagine. It is by this ability to imagine that we come to know of the past and in that way make the past a part of today's reality.

America's past from one point of view seems always to have had racism present within it. Within ten years before the founding of the Boston Bay Colony the slave trade, and all else that is necessary for its support and maintenance, began to furnish in the South. The slave pens of the West Indies began to feed a steady flow of broken and conditioned slaves into the Southern colonies. But from another perspective the settling of the Southern colonies did not necessarily require the slave trade. Lerone Bennett's work entitled, Before the Mayflower, develops this very idea. The

idea is that the first group of Blacks to take up residency here in the New World, the first family group which was intent to settle and raise a family, came to the Jamestown Colony in 1619. If the members of that family were allowed the consideration afforded to the white members of the colony, as it is reported they were, then American racism is not a phenomenon which is present because it's always been there.

It is on account of this developed expression of racism that the following has been offered as a definition:

(Def.1) American racism is a process which constructs a cultural system which will note and act on arbitrary racial distinctions found among its societal members. In this notion of racism purely social forces play a key role. America was not born racist. The people who settled here may have well brought with them social commentary and social norms. But it should not be overlooked that those who came here first were themselves fanatics who had decided it is better to venture out on one's own and attempt to make a new life in a largely unknown world. It is by this means that I offer this as my working definition of "racism":

(Def.2) Racism is a belief that, since race is determined by stable inherited characteristics, man's behavior is determined by race and by behavior races stand to one another in positions of superiority or inferiority. Furthermore, racism, as the belief of racial difference, justifies unequal rewards being distributed to individuals or groups distinguished by race. By such justification of

unequal rewards individuals and groups are maintained in positions of superiority or inferiority.

In short this definition reads, (Def.3) "Racism is a belief that human behavior is determined by inherited characteristics." Furthermore, this belief is the basis upon which it is argued that life's rewards should be apportioned according to a principle of white supremacy. To be sure, this is not what most Americans mean when they mention or hear of racism. However, all of the varied meanings reduce to the proposition that there is a qualitative difference in an individual's humanness and those differences are based on the inherited characteristics due to race. For example we might turn to the letter from William Henry Lewis² to Booker T. Washington written in 1909. Concerning his (Lewis') future plans, he wrote:

If I could get a chance in Washington in the Department of Justice I feel that I could 'make good' and put race prejudice to flight . . . (Wade, Black Men at Amherst).

The racism, i.e., race prejudice, Lewis acknowledges in this passage, superficially seems to demand only that ability be shown so that equality will be realized. However, doomed to failure is any individual, such as Lewis, who attempts to persuade a racist that the racist's ideas are unjustified.

² It should be noted that William Lewis was graduated from Amherst College in 1892. In his class were two other Black graduates, George W. Forbes and William T.S. Jackson, and to their graduation ceremony at which Lewis was selected as class orator came W.E.B. Du Bois and William M. Trotter leaving for a time their studies at Harvard.

For it is exactly that (i.e., no amount of evidence could dissuade the racist) which the racist belief does justify. A racist believes that there is qualitative difference in an individual's humanness and that this difference is based upon inherited characteristics. This belief is purportedly the basis for the justification of the unequal rewards given to the allegedly inferior group. The result is that no matter the number of capable acts, as Lewis would attempt, no number suffices to convince the racist to change his or her opinion.

4. The Anti-Racist Tradition

Sporadically there have been voices which argue against racism. The statements presented by these voices may best be called "anti-racist" arguments. The first recorded anti-racist may well be Sir Thomas Brown in 1640. He is followed by a line of anti-racist spokespersons³ who found themselves generating arguments to combat the statements and assumptions which argued in favor of the separation of races into superior and inferior categories.

³ Aptheker, in his article, "The History of Anti-Racism in the United States", presents the following names and dates which are of some interest if only for the number.

Anti-racist writers: 1640 - Sir Thomas Brown; 1643 - Richard Baxter; 1684 - Thomas Tryon; 1688 - Germantown Protest; 1690 - William Edmundson; 1693 - George Keith; 1698 - Robert Pyle; 1713 - John Hepburn; 1717 - John Wise; 1718 - William Burling; 1729 - Ralph Sandiford; 1733 - Elihu Coleman; 1737 - Benjamin Lay; 1747 - John Woolman; 1762 - Anthony Benezet; 1764 - James Otis; 1773 - Benjamin Rush; 1784 - Abbe Gregoire.

The anti-racist arguments traditionally made five points. These five anti-racist arguments are - 1) denial of biblical arguments; 2) denial of bestiality; 3) denial of specific racist details; 4) point to the outstanding individuals; and, 5) explanation of where inadequacies appeared.⁴ Anti-racists had to first contend with the biblical interpretations which claimed that there was some curse placed upon certain descendants of man. Within the literature of racism, the most often discussed and used example of this is the "curse of Ham". Whatever are the details of the various accounts of the action (Did Ham see his father, Noah, naked and not turn away; or, did he look upon his father's nakedness; or, did he not help to hide his father's nakedness as did his brothers?), the curse of Ham is that those cursed are marked by the physical characteristics which they bear. Thus the members of the cursed group are easily recognizable. And, of course, members of different races must remain separate and pure; however, if there is miscegenation, it is at the expense of the acknowledged and established dominant group, i.e., lowering that group or specific members in some significant way.

Likewise, miscegenation offers no benefit for amelioration of circumstances for the member of the subordinate/excluded

⁴ See Herbert Aptheker's "The History of Anti-Racism in the U.S.", The Black Scholar (Jan-Feb. 1975).

group. The anti-racist, present in the New World from the earliest dates, actively denied the biblical arguments of the curse of Ham alleged of the African; rather, the anti-racist looked for the egalitarian essence in the testaments. A very clear statement of this position is found in the words of Anthony Benezet. Benezet is reported to have written the following:

. . . amongst the Negroes is as great a variety of talents as amongst a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacities is a vulgar prejudice, founded on pride and ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept the slaves at such a distance, as to be unable to form a right judgement of them. (Aptheker, "History of Anti-Racism in the United States", Black Scholar, January 1975.)

Secondly, the anti-racist was forced to present arguments which would foil the charges that the African was a beast. The charges and the proofs of the bestiality ran the spectrum of the human imagination. Attention should be paid again to the statements made by Enlightenment thinkers: . . . The negro's round eyes, squat noses, and invariable thick lips, the different configuration of their ears, their wooly heads, and the measure of their intellect makes a prodigious difference between them and other species of man. (Voltaire)

and,

. . . indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly. . . (David Hume)

To counter these claims the anti-racist presented arguments which insisted that there was a common humanity. The anti-racist arguments affirmed that all, including the African/Afro-American, possessed a soul. In 1784 Abbe Gregoire is reported to have decried, "I swear that I am a bit ashamed to fight an objection (to egalitarian society) at the end of the eighteenth century." (Aptheker, "History of Anti-Racism in the United States", Black Scholar, January 1975.)

In addition to the arguments of Ham and Bestiality (against which the anti-racists found themselves compelled to formulate and voice counter-arguments) there are three other arguments which display the racist's distorted image of humanness. The anti-racist arguments, in standing opposed to racist's scripture interpretation or racist's claims of bestiality, also stood opposed to the racist's claims of a deficiency in humanness. Thus, on the one hand, the anti-racist became Shakespearean and countered racist dogma by offering variations of the Shylock speech:

Black people do have feelings; they have pain as others would have pain when the body is rended and torn, burned and mutilated, tormented and baited. Black people/Africans/Negroes/slaves do love their children and wish that their children might face a world of opportunity. Black people, as others, resent injury, plan for another day, and learn by action, by thought, and by demonstration.

Over time the anti-racist of the 17th and 18th centuries found support, wherever they turned, for their assertions of a shared universal quality of humanness. The quality, the universal quality, possessed by humans is having the potential to realize rational, rather than only natural, ends. That there have been individual realizations of that potential is documented in spite of the obstacles racism constructed to thwart documentation of personal accomplishment. For example, in slavery we find Phillis Wheatley clearly providing example of high literary accomplishment against all odds.⁵ The racist attempts to avoid acknowledging this patent fact of history - that in the most severe system of slavery, as practiced for two-hundred and fifty years in North America, individuals who were themselves marked as part of the enslaved have enviably risen to positions of distinction in all areas of human activity. Benjamin Banneker, a free man born in the colony of Virginia, confronted the conscience of Thomas Jefferson in a letter sent to Jefferson in August 1791.

. . . Now, sir, if this be founded in truth (the claim made in the Declaration of Independence ". . .that all men are created equal"), I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions, which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your sentiments are

⁵ All one needs to recall is that Phillis Wheatley was the second woman published in colonial America; she was second to only Anne Bradstreet who is recorded to be the first woman published in colonial America.

concurrent with mine, which are that one universal Father hath given Being to us all, and that he hath also without partiality afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that however variable we may be in society or religion , however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him. (Barksdale, Black Writers, p 51)

And finally, the anti-racist had to withstand the pointed arrows which were shot when the racist charged that, up to some standard, members of the targeted group, or the group in its entirety, had not measured. This required that the anti-racist in the 17th and 18th centuries admit that individuals within a group will in some areas of life be inadequate. Simply put, no one individual is perfect in all aspects of life. The anti-racist then, and today, ripostes the racist's innuendoes that a deficiency in one individual is proof of the deficiency of the race. The anti-racist argues against this racist stance by pointing to reasonable explanations of individual deficiencies in terms of opportunities, conditions, tasks, and expectations which were and are presented before Black people.

It is the case that at the very beginnings of this nation as a federal republic, the anti-racists attempted to ward off the debilitating effects of racism. But if defenses and arguments were to be constructed against the effects of racism, racism had to first be identified. One attempt to identify racism was made by Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), a

signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a physician who is called the "father of American psychiatry". Rush offered the following as a definition of racism: (Def.4) racism is a form of racial prejudice, a form of mental illness - negromania. (Plummer, "Benjamin Rush and the Negro", American Journal of Psychiatry, Dec. 1970, p 96) One understanding of this term is found in Rush's anticipation that with the whitening of Negro skin the antipathy directed toward the Negro would cease. A connected notion which accompanies the understanding of negromania is another term coined by Rush -- "dropsomania". This he understood to be the "psycho-pathological symptom, i.e., an irrational urge, to run away from one's master as found chiefly among Negro slaves."⁶

In addition to this very specialized medical claim, the anti-racist position is seen taken in the courts of the newly established nation. In the case "Aberilla Blackmore v. Pennsylvania 1790" the lawyer seeking freedom for his client argued, ". . . It is no answer to this that he is Black. All men are alike in the sight of God. No legislature has such power over whitemen; and none, therefore has such power over black." The effect of such an argument is that it caused those who wished to justify slavery to formally state their arguments. By reading these arguments which attempt to

⁶ My thanks to Dr. Lawrence Climo of Boston for sharing this small but interesting bit of information.

justify the slave institution, we gain an insight into the lengths to which racists will distort their view of the world. As an example of this distortion we may read the reply the opposing lawyer in the *Blackmore v. Pennsylvania* case presented:

. . . on the principles of nature, there can be no slavery. But we live under an express constitution and on constitutional principles. There can be no slave, for the Constitution declared all men are born free; and the question is are these of human species? Another section protects property; this was a specie of property; and protection of the constitution is claimed for it. . . these sections relate only to parties to the contract. These negroes were not parties to it; they were none of the people. If it apply to all men, and a negroe be a man, there is an end of the question. If negroes be property this can be taken away by consent of the owner." (Jordan, White Over Black)

The arguments of the anti-racist are found through all the periods of American history but little is made of them. One result of the anti-racist arguments is the response which they evoke from racists. A recital of all the acts made in response to anti-racist activity cannot be done; there are too many. What can be said is that in American history of the 19th century, especially in the slave holding South, racism and racist acts escalated in response to the abolition movement as expressed by Black and white abolitionist activity. A question then which must be asked about the 19th century racism is, "What was said about

racism and who made those statements?" This issue of the 19th century American racism is the topic of the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

Racism in 19th Century America

*In the totalitarian-racist conception,
the essential and primordial task of the
social whole is the political domination
of other men.*

Jacques Maritain

1. Interest in the Period
2. Post-Bellum Racists and Racism

1. Interest in the Period

Though I will offer a more complete discussion of the use of materials addressing racism which are found in the work of W.E.B. Du Bois later, I here want to make one or two references to his works and the importance of the reported findings. In what was Du Bois' doctoral dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America: 1638 - 1870, in the last chapter, "Lessons for Americans", Du Bois charges that there was a bargain of largely dollars and cents cut between the Northern and Southern states which opened the highway which led straight to the Civil War. If this charge is true, then there must be some evidence which can be found to establish what was the bargain which was arranged. Winthrop Jordan reports the following in his work White Over Black, in reference to James Madison's report of the Constitutional Convention -

(Madison) . . . Though an overwhelming majority of delegates wished to ban the traffic (slave) South Carolina and Georgia were "inflexible on the point of slaves". The founders wanted union more than an end to the slave trade;

and with the aid of New England votes obtained by concessions on navigation laws the 20 year prohibition of federal action was inserted in the Constitution. This [Jordan concludes] was a movement to pragmatic policies and to the ideal of national union. (Jordan, White Over Black, p 324.)

The history of the nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century is one which is filled with expansion and consolidation of the nation's lands. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 a) hastens the movement to the west and b) initiates a series of compromises and contradictions which are to be found within the political and moral questions which attend the slave trade and the institution. One measure of the economic impact concerning land and the continuation of slavery is found in the reports of the national harvest of cotton. In 1792 there were produced for market 6,000 bales of cotton to be compared to the 1810 total of 178,000 bales. In simple terms we see a growth in cotton production by a factor of thirty. With the increase in the wealth of the product, there was an increase in the worth of the land. When the land in the established cotton growing areas was taken, new lands in the West were sought. With the migration west there came the question of whether or not slavery was to be transported with the migration.

How the acquisition of new land influenced the attitudes held of race and the continuation of slavery is recorded in Congressional legislative acts. But Congressional acts are

the results of individual attitudes and opinions which have been used to persuade and convince others to support positions taken on the floor of Congress.

For example, in the documents which record the legislative action of the time, the outstanding acts of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the Compromise of 1850, and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 all form the backdrop for the 1857 statement found within Oregon's Weekly Times, ". . . Oregon is a land for the white man. . . Refusing the toleration of Negroes in our midst as slaves, we rightly and yet for stronger reasons, prohibit them from coming among us as free Negro vagabonds."

(Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery) These sentiments are mirrored in the remarks of William Yancey of Alabama in 1860. "Your fathers (Northerners) and my fathers built this government on two ideas: the first is that the white is the citizen and master race, and the white man is the equal of every other white; the second idea is that the negro is the inferior race."

2. Post-Bellum Racists and Racism

By 1875, the Southern states had moved to nullify, in practice as well as in law, the outcome of the Civil War. By passing "Black Codes" the South attempted to return the freedmen to their former status as slaves. The Black Codes meant slavery in daily toil. The Black Codes were designed to control totally the life pattern of the ex-slave by

regulation, i.e., freedmen were restricted to farming and menial labor, and required to have license in order to work. The Black Codes, by regulation, determined the gestures which were acceptable, what was seditious in speech, and the Black Codes barred Blacks exercising their right to vote, their testifying against whites in court, their bearing arms, and their having equality with whites in contractual relationships.

An appreciation of the severity with which these Black Codes were enforced is gathered from the growth of the incidents of lynchings marked for this discussion as beginning in 1870. Thomas Gossett reports in Race: The History of an Idea in America that 83.5 percent of the 3,811 Negroes reported lynched between 1889-1942 did not involve the most commonly assumed crime, i.e., rape, in any manner. Gossett claims, " Negroes were lynched for such crimes as threatening to sue a white man, attempting to register to vote, enticing a white man's servant to leave his job. Clearly whites relied on lynching to instill fear and terror in Negroes. . . . It is probably not inaccurate to say that between 1877 and 1890 an entire generation of Negro leaders was deliberately decimated."

With the Black Codes in place and the economic prosperity of the nation once again using the backs of the Black laborer, it is clear that the abolition of slavery did not mean the abolition of racism. But the Black Codes were to

have, at least indirectly, a much more comprehensive effect. The state of the educational system reflected in important ways the movement of racism. Manifest destiny, rugged individualism, naturalism, etc., all became terms by which the superior position of one race was argued to be proven against the inferiority of another. For these arguments to be developed institutions of higher learning are necessary. American institutions of higher learning have been involved in supporting and cultivating attitudes of superiority and thus directly nurturing racism. For example, Theodore Roosevelt while attending Columbia University was presented as a serious argument the following widely-accepted nonsensical race theory by Professor John Burgess, "Education can only develop what already exists in seed and germ and the Teutonic peoples only possess the proper germ with which to build politically stable governments." (Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America)

In 1895 an often mentioned event, important within the annals of Black American history, took place. It was in that year that Booker T. Washington, the former slave and then the founder and President of Tuskegee Institute attended the Atlanta Exposition. On that occasion Mr. Washington presented remarks which were to have effects which are witnessed even in present day American life. The speech which is remembered is called by some the Atlanta Compromise Speech. The relevant text of that speech reads:

". . . You [Southern whites] can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." (Bracey and Meier, et. al. (eds.), The Afro-Americans: Selected Documents, p 370.)⁷

Because of the remarks and statements which W.E.B. Du Bois gave in later consideration of this speech (most notably in "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others", The Souls of Black Folk) the controversy concerning the education of Black people, vocational and/or intellectual, which sprung from these remarks is now legend. But perhaps there is a better focus upon the way racism struggles to tear down any attempt to show equality between races on any level. This focus may

⁷ Richard Barksdale and Keneth Kinnamon put the main point to be taken from Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Speech succinctly and accurately as follows, ". . . (in) the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition speech Booker T. Washington accepted the Negroes' social and legal segregation but promised racial friendship and cooperation with the white South and Southerners. . . ." (Barksdale and Kinnamon, Black Writers of America, p 411)

be gained by reviewing the remarks which Governor Oates of Alabama gave at Tuskegee in 1896, one year after Mr. Washington's Atlanta Exposition speech. Governor Oates, in response to the Black republican John C. Dancy's praise of New Englanders' support of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, remarked -

. . . I want to give you niggers a few words of plain talk and advice. No such address as you have heard is going to do you any good; it's going to spoil you. You had better not listen to such speeches. You might as well understand that this is a white man's country, as far as the South is concerned, and we are going to make you keep your place. Understand that. I have nothing more to say to you.

(Stein, " 'Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others' The Political Economy of Racism in the United States", Science and Society, Vol. 38)

As this quote so well points out, the abolition of slavery was accompanied by renewed efforts to justify the deprivation of the basic necessities of life which the Negro people required. The Negro, the Black American, continued to be identified with the slave by the white world. The association of the Black American with the slave meant the association with an "eternal pariah for whom there could be no escape. The slave, if freed, remained a Negro, and as a Negro, according to the prevailing belief, carried all the imputation of the slave inside him." (Elkins, Slavery: A Problem of American Institutional and Intellectual Life) The key words are ". . . according to the prevailing belief." What is the belief which, in the 19th century, became so

consequential for the nation? In short the belief was that the Negro should be extended opportunities guaranteed to all citizens so long as those opportunities did not challenge the advantages held by whites. It was this belief to which Horace Mann Bond referred when he said of the school systems in the South that, "sufficient money for white schools was insured by divesting funds from Black Schools." (Bond, Negro Education) The prevailing belief was racism. It was this racism by which the white political and social institutions justified the deprivation of rights guaranteed to Black Americans such as the divesting of funds from Black schools. In the 19th century racism was the source from which the claim of the white race's superiority became the rallying point for group and interpersonal relations. As noted earlier lynchings of Black people continued and in fact increased as the 19th century moved to a close. The racist believed Blacks could be lynched because they had no rights that the whites were bound to recognize. In the last part of the 19th century racism was the source from which judicial decisions acknowledged laws which justified discrimination solely because of race difference, e.g., Plessy v Ferguson 1896.

But what this racism was exactly has been hard to uncover; what this racism is exactly as it is understood and recognized today is equally hard to uncover. Because of the elusiveness of this notion, I have devoted the next chapter

to an examination of key definitions which have come to be given to the term.

CHAPTER III

In contemporary discussions of racism the topic is treated as though it were a subdivision of individual psychology; Du Bois' approach would be to discover how the issue of race is used by salient social groups to attain the goals that "count".

Meyer Weinberg

1. Definition of Institutional Racism
2. The Threat of Institutional Racism
3. The Psychology of Institutional Racism

1. Definition of Institutional Racism

It is not the intention of this work to overlook the victims of racism who are other than Black. However, it is with attention directed to Black Americans that we see the phenomenon of racism in the United States most clearly. Since the victimization of individuals is accomplished in certain circumstances by means other than individual action, notice must be taken of institutional racism. One definition offered for institutional racism, with which this writer agrees, is:

(Def.5) Institutional racism is that structure by which there is a relative diminution of the status of Black Americans, and a diminution of the status of the Black communities while at the same time the institutional racist structure will appeal to the effects of diminution of the status of an individual and/or groups as evidence for the justification of the very same barriers which need to be reconsidered. (Knowles, Institutional Racism)

Within a complex society such as found in the United States, the notion of institutional racism is broad and seemingly all encompassing. Institutional racism is all encompassing because it neither infects only one institution nor even only one at a time. When institutional racism is found in one, the probability is high that it is also present in all of the other relevant institutions. For the sake of the discussion at this point I focus on institutional racism in education.

Education offers many possible points of discussion from which an example of institutional racism may be developed. But I am most concerned with the literature which attempts to identify racism rather than the literature which describes its effects. The literature which attempts to identify racism within education points specifically at the issue of "miseducation". To give a hint of the importance of this issue, I turn to the literature written during the late nineteen fifties through the early years of the seventies. In that literature miseducation is claimed (by those who are aware that a vast body of information is not included within general surveys of American history) to be an explicit expression of racism. It is argued that the institution of education is composed of units which, in their attempts to teach the children to read, to write, and to calculate, failed to educate those same students concerning the information which was available concerning themselves. The

miseducation of the children came about through lessons which reinforced white supremacy. To spotlight one area of this miseducation we might consider textbooks. In 1969 the following was reported -

Textbooks do not even touch on the depth and pervasiveness of racism within the white community. It is almost as though we were indoctrinating our children rather than helping them to learn for themselves what the world of people is all about. . . Social studies textbooks, because they provide a common element in teaching in many classrooms of many schools, are prime contributors to the institutional racism which pervades white education. . . (Knowles, Institutional Racism, PP 46-47)

Specifically, social science textbooks of the fifties and early sixties are claimed to have helped maintain institutional racism in education by failing to recognize any leaders or groups which asserted Black identity or demanded more than what white America was ready to allow. The Crisis focussed its attention on exactly those things which were absent from the social science textbooks, viz., the history of the Afro-American. From 1910 to 1935 the issues concerning racism, which should have been attended to and were clearly presented in Crisis articles and editorials, were ignored by white political and social leaders because the leader and/or the group was asserting Black identity. To this point Knowles' observation bears mentioning - ". . . The textbooks only mention those trends in black thought and action which can be readily accepted by

whites, those which fit into the 'mainstream' of American life." (Knowles, Institutional Racism, p 48)

Institutional racism in education gives rise to two kinds of effects. First of all the desperation of the oppressed is not conveyed to those responsible for effecting change. Second, the severity of the bitterness and the hatred which would in time build toward a struggle for self determination is not acknowledged.

Another element of miseducation is met in the educational institutions' inability to clearly collective social actions of group movements during the time. For example, most white and Black students were left without an awareness of the rapidly growing trend toward Black consciousness and self-rule in the Black communities during the late fifties and sixties. Textbooks traditionally brought the struggle for Black liberation into the American system indirectly by stressing white participation and government support, while failing to recognize (as has been said) any leaders or groups which asserted Black identity or demanded more than white America was ready to allow. The resulting miseducation of children in American educational institutions had the following consequence: the products of such an education went on to re-create the racist situations. When they themselves were accused of being racists, they disclaimed any blame. (It is because of this distancing from personal

responsibility that Carmichael and Hamilton in Black Power assert that institutional racism is covert.)

Another example of miseducating the American public about the practices and the effects of American educational institutions is found in the 1968 "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders". In that report the following is stated:

. . . Education in a democratic society must equip the children of the nation to realize their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well.

This statement taken from the Kerner Report illustrates a lack of recognition of the miseducation of American children. The schools had not discharged their responsibilities well. White and Black students (grossly unprepared to recognize, understand, and deal with the racial contradictions in our society) demonstrated an acceptance of American racism. It was the failure to understand racism and the reality of ethnic identity which left high school students with the mistaken notion that the racial crisis was a "Negro problem" rather than a white problem. The ideas which were passed on from those textbooks at the time not only presented assimilation into white society as feasible for Blacks, they also implied that assimilation had been the goal of Black politics and culture, i.e., only those trends in Black thought and action

which could be readily accepted by whites. The shame of this past action and policy, i.e., institutional action, is that, rather than a culture of sharing, we have witnessed periods where the distinctiveness of Black American culture is the extent to which it repudiates the culture (race) theorizing of the white Western world.⁸

The repudiation of the culture came from children who were asked to demonstrate a belief in freedom, justice, and equality for all. But when a part of that student population began to rebel against the inaccurate descriptions of American society, i.e., the American society was an open society within which social mobility was encouraged and possible, those same students were pushed aside and marked as malcontents or worst. We have come to see that the students were not wrong in their believing that the society in actuality was not as it was presented ideally. But it took years for those who were the individuals in positions of power and control to accept that the change which was needed was not solely a change in the students' attitudes. The change also demanded an acceptance that there was a very real threat to the American social body presented by the presence of institutional racism.

⁸ Houston Baker, in his article "Completely Well: One View of Black American Culture", Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, writes the following: ". . . Race theorizing is the white culture's means of justifying its denial of a share of the nation's wealth to the black man."

For several reasons it has been much more difficult for Americans to acknowledge the existence of institutional racism than that of individual racism. First, it is more difficult to perceive institutional racism since there need be no obvious display of personal prejudice. For this reason it is usually easier to reveal results than causes. Second, the operation of institutions over time has resulted in a state of extreme deprivation for Blacks such that it appears their condition is a product of their own individual or group characteristics rather than of the structure and functioning of white society. Third, institutional racism is as threatening to white society as it is to minority and/or Black people.

For too long the blame of retardation, sickness, and, unfitness in all sectors of social life was directed against the minority oppressed population. Such blame unjustly reinforced ideas that the race was inferior and the group's pathology threatened the existence and continuity of every institution within which such a group was allowed participation. But that claimed pathology can no longer be attributed to the minority group. Racism is an abnormal characterization of members of another race accomplished by the sharing of beliefs, values, and practices of the members of the white society. Thus stated, the solution to the problems created by racist practices ceases to be merely accepting Blacks as equals, and/or providing compensation

for historical inequality, and/or socializing Blacks so that they can be "assimilated." Instead, the honest confrontation with racism becomes one of restricting strong racist forces in the society and then, freed from racist distortions, reexamining and redefining cherished values⁹.

2. The Threat of Institutional Racism

In later chapters of this work there are included discussions of several important and noted social scientists who have commented upon the nature and the effects of institutional racism. What is presented on these next pages are remarks about the threat which institutional racism inflicts most directly upon the individual. The issue which is marked by this discussion is raised by, among others, Richard Wright. The racism which he and the other Blacks in the South faced created a "pre-individualistic" society. Within such a society no individual (who is a member of the oppressed group) is allowed to show himself or herself to be a person of distinction. When there is distinction shown which challenges the racist assumptions about the social status of an individual and, by extension, the group of which the individual is a member, the dominant society reacts with violence. Richard Wright's description of the individuals' responses to the violence and threat of

⁹ For a detailed discussion of this process of defining white racism see "Introduction" of the work by Bromley and Longino, White Racism and Black Americans.

violence embodied in the presence of the racist is noted by Ralph Ellison in the following:

. . . What were the ways by which Negroes confronted their destiny?

In the South of Wright's childhood there were three general ways: They could accept the role created for them by the whites and perpetually resolve the resulting conflicts through the hope and emotional catharsis of Negro religion; they could repress their dislike of Jim Crow social relations while striving for a middle way of respectability, becoming -- consciously or unconsciously -- the accomplices of the whites in oppressing their brothers; or they could reject the situation, adopt a criminal attitude, and carry on an unceasing psychological scrimmage with the whites, which often flared forth into physical violence. (Ellison, "Richard Wright Blues", Black Writers of America, pp 688-89)

If we appreciate the points presented by Wright, then we see that there is a psychological dimension to the discussion of racism which needs to be examined. Let's recall a definition which was offered by one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence: Negromania, i.e., racial prejudice, is a form of mental illness, Benjamin Rush is reported to have said. In using the term, negromania, Rush shows clearly that he understood racial prejudice, i.e., racism, as a state of mind which, like all states of mind, if irrational and unanchored, develops elaborate internal structures which insulates itself against outside countering forces. At the same time that racism develops the internal structures and insulates itself against counter forces,

racism also develops a system of rationalized explanations. The explanations provide the evidence to continue the irrational repression and exploitation of a people.

The point which Wright and Rush have in common is that each is aware that racism directly affects the victim of racism as well as directly affecting the racist. Having begun with these two perspectives of the psychology of racism, this discussion should continue following that lead and review the remarks concerning racism made within the field of psychiatry.

The reasons for viewing definitions of racism from the discipline of psychiatry is that above all racism is an expression of an individual's perception of the world. If we were only to consider numbers of individuals affected by a racist act, then it is accurate to say that the most influential form of racist acts are those which result from institutional racism. To be sure when we point to institutional racism, we point to racism that is found in the structure of this culture's institutions of justice, social relations, religion, medical/health care and education. However, no matter the complexity, institutional racism is a process which inflicts harm and injury onto individuals. The researcher, the observer, the data collector may dwell on the aggregate number of those affected but in the aggregate, in the last analysis, we are concerned with the individual. We are concerned with the

individual's perception of the world and the individual's perception of himself or herself within that world. It is by this line of reasoning that we come to examine discussions of racism found in psychiatry.

The harm and injury which racism inflicts upon the individual is, of course, psychological as well as physical. That there has been physical abuse directed against individuals marked different because of their racial identification is legend¹⁰. That similarly there has been connected psychological abuse and injury is a phenomenon which has been recorded due to the development of the modern whips which cut but do not draw blood.

3. The Psychology of Racism

The clearest example of the psychological attack upon communities of individuals here in the United States is found within areas which have the greatest population density, i.e., the urban areas. What is found has been called structured urban racism¹¹. Structured urban racism is

¹⁰ Barksdale and Kinnamon report that, ". . .there had been 2500 Black people lynched between 1885 and 1900 and an enormous number of invidious decrees and ordinances passed that militated against the welfare and well-being of Blacks. . ." (Barksdale and Kinnamon, Black Writers of America, p 409) Also see Bergman, The Chronological History of the Negro in America, pp 309, 311, 313, 317, 319, 322, 325, 376.

¹¹ This discussion is developed with Otto Klineberg's statement in mind which in its sincerity overly simplifies the discussion of where, in fact, the prejudice of which he speaks is found. Klineberg says: "the existence of prejudice is not primarily a psychological problem, but a socio-economic one . . . prejudice may be completely eliminated only in a socio-economic system in which one person's

a particular form of institutional racism which has created networks at all levels of institutional activity, i.e., political, medical, educational, legal, health services, social services, housing, labor market and urban planning. These networks develop subsectors within the Black community which operate on a subordinate basis, when compared to the networks in the areas which may be called mainstream. These networks are subject to the advantage, control and the priorities of the dominant systems.

In each of the mentioned institutional areas a dual system of operations has developed - a dominant white system and a subordinate Black subsystem.¹² The effects of such a long standing policy are for the most part indeterminable. But what is known is that if demands are made of Black children to work to the best of their abilities, in spite of delivering their best, these same Black children may continue to be victims of a discriminatory system. However, the children who are the victims do not experience the

success or security is not dependent upon another's failure." Social Psychology, pp 398, 400.

¹² In 1986 the persistence of the institutional nature of this urban racism may be found in the description of the newly pressed school discrimination case in Topeka, Kansas. The city school system, one of the five of issue in the *Brown v. Board of Education*, is alleged to be as segregated today, i.e., thirty-two years after the decision that struck down "separate but equal", as it was at the time of the decision.

In January 1987 a Federal Appeals Court ordered desegregation in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, where segregation had continued unabated since before the *Brown* decision of 1954.

victimization as a group. Each child feels and is aware of his or her own pain. The toll of the young lives which is taken, i.e., the result of the pain and frustration because of racism experienced by each child, is recorded in the staggering rates of teenage high school drop-outs, crime, unemployment, pregnancies and drug addiction. This type of brutality which is a direct result of racism led observers of these occurrences to charge that (Def.6) racism is the institutionalization of barriers that serve to reduce Black people's access to meaningful participation as equals in all aspects of a group or community's functioning. Such structuralization leads to a relative diminution of the status of Black members as well as a depreciation of the Black community.

This process of institutional racism involves a circularity that provides a renewed force and justification for the original barriers. Frantz Fanon, the psychiatrist, not only recognized this phenomenon of action but he was later to charge that "psychiatry has such a structuralized pattern of racism." There is a profundity found here in this charge. For some, the mind is the only reality that there is; all we need is to remember the Cartesian maxim, "Cogito ergo sum." Thus, according to Fanon, the very faculty which is aware of the attacks which are directed against it and its body is the faculty which the professional areas of

study, viz. psychology and psychiatry, is constructed to deny, overlook, and misrepresent.

For example, in psychiatry white institutionalized racism may be said to exist when white middle class psychoanalytic values and biases significantly affect residency training programs by influencing a) resident and faculty selection, b) supervision and content of didactic courses, c) patient selection, d) assessment and treatment of individuals, and e) degree of attention to community mental health needs. These institutional policies, values, and biases lead to an absence or scarcity of Blacks at every level and in most roles. Consequently, though it is not demonstrated that this is the purpose of the policies, the end result is in effect white institutional racism. (Jones, et al., "Problems of Black Psychiatric Residents in White Training Institutions", American Journal of Psychiatry) The point to be stressed here is that in the final analysis all the definitions of racism which are offered focus on the individual. An individual knows of the world only through the senses which are for each individual uniquely regulated by the mind. The following are remarks which report a survey of the reports of those who have investigated racism as first a dynamic mental process.

(Def.7) Racism, according to Dr. Charles Prudhomme, is a euphemism of man's basic insecurity related to impermanence. This insecurity which has been a part of man's experience

from primitive days is expressed in various ways. One of the more lasting expressions of man's realization of his impermanence is by means of the primitive technique which developed to cope with this - scapegoating.

Prudhomme claims that scapegoating is a primitive ego defense of externalization and/or displacement for the moment. In this regard we can in contemporary times see that aspirants for political office (whom Prudhomme calls scapegoat artists) too often are exploiters of a group fear of impermanence (insecurity) and thus these scapegoat artists become and are perpetuators of vectors of racism.

The history of the participation of the Black citizen within the political process is filled with examples of that same citizen being made the scapegoat. This has been the case in the history of Southern and Northern politics. Even during this decade of the eighties those who counter any motion of ending support of the apartheid system in South Africa use the Black South African as a scapegoat. These people claim that if there is a movement to Black majority rule in South Africa, what follows will be a "blood bath" of recriminations by Blacks against the whites. In other words, aspirants for political office too often are exploiters of group fear of impermanence and thus are perpetuators of vectors of racism.

This same pattern of action, i.e., playing upon a group fear, has been witnessed time and time again within American

social and political history. One of the purported reasons why Black people in the South were refused the right to vote or to participate within the political process in the South was that they would vote merely based upon considerations of race and not issues. This then offered a supposed threat to the whites who were in power (insecurity) or the outcome of such action threatened the world of the South as it had been known (impermanence). Prudhomme concludes -

. . . The history of racism suggests mutational virulent strains. The American strain has been mutationally unique and virulent since slavery. Blacks, the victims, have developed an exquisite sensitivity and perceptivity of this protean and virulent strain of racism. It is remarkable that Blacks have survived and increased in numbers. They have had to learn, in the service of survival, to be able to listen to, tune in, and turn off unconscious and conscious racism. . . . In a less stout hearted group extinction would likely have been their fate. (Prudhomme, "Reflections on Racism", American Journal of Psychiatry)

From Prudhomme's remarks it is clear that there are two important and distinct areas of concern which must be separated when discussing racism. On one side we have the attitudes and the distortions of the world as voiced by the racist; on the other side we have the results of the attitudes and distortions realized in the real world as experienced by the victims. What the definitions of racism just presented, as well as those which follow, address are the attitudes and the distortions of the world as voiced by

the racist. If we are to follow the lead given by Dr. James Comer, then we would argue that (Def.8) racism is a low-level defense and adjustment mechanism utilized by groups to deal with psychological and social insecurities. If we accept this for the moment, then racism is manifested in many forms. In a racist society racism is transmitted from generation to generation as a positive social value similar to patriotism, religion, and good manners. (Comer, "White Racism: Its Roots, Form, and Function", American Journal of Psychiatry)

From the above discussion concerning the psychology of racism, there is this suggestion to be taken: that it is evident that the perception of the world and the training of the young of how the world is to be perceived is based upon the basic notion of impermanence. Impermanence then is the awareness and anticipation that the individual will not always be a part of the world. In reaction to that awareness and anticipation of the inevitability of death, the individual, and individuals collectively as a group, attempts to find a means of coming to terms with impermanence. The finding of constancy, i.e., that which will not change in the face of the inevitability of death, is associated with the attempts to assert something of importance which initially focuses on real and/or presumed somatic characteristics. Of course one of the more striking somatic characteristics is skin color. (Def.9) Racism in

this regard, then, is an attitude that uses these real or presumed somatic characteristics as rationalizations for antagonisms and oppression of the "others". In this light racism is a social reality even though the race concept is meaningless. (Van Arkel, Racism in Europe)

Racism has become a catch term for the notion of racial superiority even though racial traits have no known bearing on intelligence, morality, fitness for survival or socio-political organization. No matter the race, no matter the environment, racial traits are subject to change or modification depending upon the circumstances of living. Since the racist refuses to accept the claim that racial traits are not indicative of inferiority, racism becomes more than the catch term for the notion of racial superiority. What it becomes is accurately described by the following:

Def.10) . . . Racism is the predication of decisions and policies on the consideration of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group. It originates in the operation of established and respected forces in society and relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices. With it is a sense of superior group position which typifies and prevails in American society.

(Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power.)

Specifically, Carmichael and Hamilton seem to be saying that the function of racism is to place at a disadvantage and to keep at a disadvantage a group marked different because of

race. Furthermore, there are certain activities within American society which are responsible for the generation and/or regeneration of this predatory attitude of racism. More concerning this societal aspect of racism will be given later.

Before moving on to further discussions of the psychology of racism and societal racism, there are several points which should be made concerning the definitions of racism which are found in the readings surveyed for this work. One general statement to be made is that each definition of racism contains a claim that an individual or group is threatened. It is in defense of an implied threat that a racist definition is offered (by the racist), or it is in the description of the observation of racist action that is used to define racism (by the anti-racist). Second, the definitions of racism fall into two broad divisions. On one hand, a division defines racism in reference to the material nature attributed to racism. The "material nature" is the practical aspects which are met in life. The disparities which are found between the conditions of groups marked by race, especially in economic life, are examples of the material nature presented in definitions of racism. Another example of the material nature expressed in the definitions is the pointing to the physical threat which one group faces because of its race. Segregation and the debilitating results experienced by the segregated group are examples of

the material nature of racism presented in various definitions.

On the other hand, there are metaphysical (non-material) definitions of racism. These definitions ascribe qualities to racism which cannot be directly pointed to in the physical world. These definitions assert that racism is a philosophy, an ideology, a doctrine, a belief, or a dogma. None of these can be touched or felt or sensed in the general sense of the terms. None of these have an existence aside from their intellectual being. Rather, each one of the metaphysical definitions serves as a possible means of defining the racist behavior and racist intention which so accurately search out and find their victims.

In Chapters I, II and III the following definitions were presented:

1. (American) Racism is a process which constructs a cultural system which will note and act on arbitrary racial distinctions found among its societal members.
2. Racism is a belief that, since race is determined by stable inherited characteristics, man's behavior is determined by race and by behavior races stand to one another in positions of superiority or inferiority. Furthermore, racism, as a belief, is the justification of unequal rewards being distributed to individuals or groups owing to their determined positions of superiority or inferiority.
3. Racism is a belief that human behavior is determined by inherited characteristics.
4. Racism is a form of racial prejudice, a form of mental illness - negromania.
5. Institutional racism is that structure by which there is a relative diminution of the status of Black Americans, and a diminution of the status of the Black communities while at the same time the institutional racist structure will appeal to the

effects of diminution of the individual and/or groups as evidence for the justification of the very same barriers which need to be reconsidered.

6. Racism is the institutionalization of barriers that serve to reduce Black people's access to meaningful participation as equals in all aspects of a group or community's functioning. Such structuralization leads to a relative diminution of the status of Black members as well as a depreciation of the Black community.
7. Racism is a euphemism of man's basic insecurity related to impermanence.
8. Racism is a low-level defense and adjustment mechanism utilized by groups to deal with psychological and social insecurities.
9. Racism is an attitude that uses these real or presumed somatic characteristics as rationalizations for antagonisms and oppression of the "others".
10. Racism is the predication of decisions and policies on the consideration of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group. It originates in the operation of established and respected forces in society and relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices. With it is a sense of superior group position which typifies and prevails in American society.

Each one of the above is a metaphysical definition. In none of the above is there presented a material basis or explanation of racism. From some of the above the authors do make the move to show how the concept of racism is enlivened and may be seen to have material effects upon the lives of the members of the racial groups involved. I will take the terms offered by Carmichael and Hamilton and will direct my attention to racism as a complex institutional phenomenon and its influence on the individual.

To assist this discussion five additional definitions of racism will be used in the next two chapters. They are

11. Racism is a form of class-derived elitism.
12. Racism is a philosophy of aristocracy and nobility concerning the peasantry and 'common' people is be ignorant of Western history.
13. Racism is the ideology of expansionistic capitalism and is the essence of the Western heritage.
14. Racism is the projection of negative impulses to maintain a societal standard of subservience one to another by the individual becoming involved in creating a double standard.
15. Visceral racism is a set of unacknowledged beliefs that afflict so-called 'unprejudiced' whites, especially middle-class liberals who have a tendency to regard themselves as doing just about as well as can be expected with the race problem.

The fifteen definitions found in the first five chapters are only the definitions which I found directly useful in the points to be made in the presented discussions. A list which contains the definitions culled from the readings is found in Appendix A. They, as with those already presented, reflect the two major divisions of material and metaphysical definitions of racism. In the next two chapters I turn my attention first to the complexities of institutional racism and then to individual racism.

CHAPTER IV

Dr. Du Bois was primarily responsible for guiding the Negro away from accommodation on racial segregation to militant opposition to any system which degraded Black people by imposing upon them a restricted status separate and apart from their fellow citizens.

NAACP Board of Directors - 1963

Complexities of Institutional Racism

In 1967 Black Power, co-authored by Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, was published. With this work, for the first time, the generation of youth which faced the challenges of racist American society had a text which articulated the reasons for the discomfit and anxiety created by their being peripheral members of the society. Institutional racism, as presented in this work, was described as "subtle" because there was no individual to which blame could be directed for the discrimination which was experienced as a result of its policies and programs. In this subtle way, it was argued, the anti-Black attitudes were nurtured and supported.

Overt racism, on the other hand, was made up of acts directed against a people because they were marked different from another by their race. These acts, overt racist acts, resulted in injury, loss of property, or death experienced by the oppressed subordinate group. Carmichael and Hamilton describe overt racism, individual racism, as that which can

be recorded for others to see because it is composed of one people's antipathy directed against another. For example, the murders of Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner, civil rights workers in Mississippi in 1966, were acts of individual racism as was the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. In fact the civil rights movement throughout the history of this nation has been attempts to redress imposed institutional racist policies which, in turn, have been met by individual racist reactions. In these cases the reaction springs from those who refuse to have change made in the status quo of race segregation.

A major concern of those who comprise part of the racist status quo of course is economic issues. But there is a hesitancy to claim that these economic issues are solely important in understanding the source of racism. It would be foolish not to agree that (Def.11) racism is a form of class-derived elitism. For those who would argued that racism is not a form of such elitism do not know Western history, which is the history we must look at when examining this state of racism in the United States. But the examples of this elitism do not have to be drawn from past history. For example, in my own classroom discussions which focussed on the students' experiences meeting racism, students who are attempting to learn the intricacies of racism recall experiences in which racism has intruded in their own lives.

In one instance a student remembered his encounter with racism as a seven-year while he lived in a suburban upper middle-class white community. On one occasion, while playing with his neighborhood friends, a five-year old came to him with a bottle of white powder. As the powder was dusted over his exposed dark skin, the five-year old child lamented that she wished his skin were white so that he could be her boy friend. How does a five-year old become so well aware of the significance of race at that age? How does a five-year old come to evaluate the worth of skin color so that his or her attempts at using material within her grasp may correct the flaw that has been recognized and identified in another? What is the pain experienced which accompanies such an act? How does one answer the questions which arise concerning the goodness of one's own condition so dramatically held up for examination by the actions of another? Racism may well be defined to be a form of class-derived elitism but this does not tell us its source.

Alternatively, it is claimed that (Def.12) racism is a philosophy of aristocracy and nobility concerning the peasantry and 'common' people. The terms which are used in this definition seem to make reference to the past and are perhaps inapplicable to the present. Upon a second look the definition may be recognized to be current and identifiable within our own social interactions. For an instance of this we look again to individual expression within interpersonal

relationships. In previous pages mention was made of miseducation being an example of institutional racism. In looking to the institution of education, we find an example which speaks to this point of racism being a philosophy of aristocracy concern common people.

The institution of education, as we well know, has two broad divisions. One division is composed of the units of education within the public domain and the other consists of units which are private. Obviously, if we were to look for examples of the aristocratic attitude we would first turn our attention to the private units of education. By tradition and history they have been the training places for the "captains of industry" who have restricted entrance into their board rooms and social clubs to a select group of their peers and cronies. In recent years the barriers which had been constructed to bar entrance into those schools from which the future industrial and corporate leaders emerged have been lowered. In the classrooms of the elite schools are now found students from families who but a few years ago would not have dreamed such an opportunity possible for their children. This writer has personal knowledge and would like to share that knowledge of an event when a youth who had been the issue of two Caucasian parents entered that environment. The unique element in this event was that at an earlier age the youth had been adopted by the Black male whom his mother married. There was no distinction made

between him and his classmates during the youth's first year at the boarding school.

During the spring of that first year the step-father came to the campus to lecture on issues related to topics being discussed in English and Social Science classes. In response to the father's visit on campus one of the instructors approached the child and remarked, "I haven't mentioned it before but I have a collection of your people's music." Because of the association which the child had to the Black male, he was now excluded from this instructor's social and racial group. Because of the association with a Black male the child was relegated to a position with the "common people." Racism as a philosophy of aristocracy and nobility is to be found in contemporary society as it was found recorded in history.

It is because of these individual expressions of racism that this writer does not find convincing arguments based upon the definition that (Def.13) "racism is the ideology of expansionistic capitalism and is the essence of the Western heritage". Racism, seen from such a rigid economic perspective, becomes the ideology that the Western world has become inseparable from political-economic-military plans. It is evident that American political-economic-military considerations have been greatly influenced by the presence of racist thought and practice, but we do not find explanation of the source of racism within them. What we

find is an expression of racism which we can point to. Racism is not a consequence of the capitalist political economy. Rather the capitalist political economy, as we know it in the American social experience, is a consequence of racism. That this is the case is appreciated by observing that the American capitalist political economy owes its existence to the developed institution of slavery. No one has argued convincingly that the American institution of slavery was not built upon racist ideology and practice.

In coming to understand this historic tie of racism to constructed social institutions, it became clear to this writer that racism is the predication of decisions, policies, and behavior on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group. This writer holds that racism is the source of the justifications offered for continuing unequal rewards to those who are marked different because of race. Furthermore, it is claimed that racism has too little been described in terms which show where racism rests and what is its nature.

Racism rarely rests, i.e., it is constantly active in thought or in deed. Racism is found in the underlying features of American history and it is in this sense that it is constantly active. On the one hand Americans must realize that their ideas about property are based upon the process of dehumanization. The American slave trade and slavery were

predicated upon reducing the African/human to slave/subhuman. Thus the American institution of slavery was built upon an ability to capture Africans, turn them into slaves and sell them to slave owners who then owed the bodies. This is the nurtured beginning of present day American racism.

The term "nurtured beginning" is used because there is no evidence to support a claim that when the settlers of North America arrived there was racism. Individuals may well have had suggestive racial-attitudes but even at that there was not one united expression of racism. The subsequent corruption of American values is the result of racism. The corruption is the failure to respond to gross historical exploitation. The immorality of the exploitation seems to give support to those critics of capitalism who see racism as an economic system which denigrates man by encouraging exploitation. The exploitation is a result of certain choices which are made when an individual or a group must decide if they will or will not act to others of another race as they will act to themselves. The consideration of such alternatives creates a dilemma. If the members of a group act to others as they would act toward themselves, then implicit in the choice is an acknowledgement of equality. If the members of one group act to others as if the others are inferior, then they must argue that the others are significantly different from themselves. This is

the crux of the racial dilemma. Moreover, the racial dilemma, a product of the unfolding of Western culture, is as Kovel describes. A part of the dilemma not looked to enough is racism as a set of beliefs whose structure arises from the deepest levels of our lives, i.e., the assumptions we make about the world, ourselves, and others, which form the patterns of our fundamental social activities.

Contemporary American society is faced with its own racial dilemma. If there is to be an ending of the racial practices which justify discrimination and subordination, then there must be an awareness, a consciousness, that, if racism did serve as a stabilizing function in American culture, then American ideals are nourished by corrupt roots. The end result of this admission is that American ideals have been sustained by acts of self-deception. (Kovel, White Racism, p 3-4) It is admitting to the process of self-deception which Americans seem so strongly to resist.

What is an act of self-deception? The answer to the question is best gathered from an expert in the field of symbolic interactionism. An ethnomethodologist is such an expert. Ethnomethodology is the study of the means by which a culture develops a system of shared meanings. This development must necessarily be an organized structure of symbols made by men in order to define their world and regulate their mutual relations. Kovel, following this lead from ethnomethodology, distinguishes between the notions of

culture organically understood - a coherent and self-evident view of human reality, and culture synthetically understood - the energy that works upon and draws together elements of experience created by human activity. Culture 'synthetically' is the interest and the path which we will continue to follow. All behavior is directed by mental activity, or allowed because of the lack of mental activity. A culture's work of synthetic integration relates all sorts of logically incompatible shreds of human experience, then these draw themselves together in a culture through various structures, viz., the institutions of society: church, state, systems of economics and work, systems of technology, systems of beliefs about other people, education . . .

All cultural institutions share a common symbolic ground - to a certain extent the cultural institutions are given life because of the symbolic value they fulfill. In cultural synthetic integration the actualities of our experiences are distorted, racism is perhaps the most glaring example. But racism in addition to its being a symbolic product of a set of fantasies - a form of knowing based upon wish and desire - is generated by the history of race relations and sustained by the rest of an organically related culture. (Kovel, White Racism, p.5)

Part of the fantasy which is sustained to this day is that we, as a people, are divorced from the ravages of yesterday's racism. But it is the case that too few realize that the effects of slavery are realized even in this last quarter of the twentieth century. In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries slavery made impossible the defining of a single

national identity of all who lived in the United States. It is because of the residue of the race problem met in slavery that Americans today continue to be blocked in efforts to create one national identity. One result of this failure to generate a unified national identity is that racism is allowed to be a bounding process that limits American cultural growth. Black history month is an example of the limitation. With Black history thus isolated, Black history becomes a momentary or a temporal experience for an American culture whose very existence was dependent upon the historical events which are so easily glossed over during the month's celebration.

The failure to generate a national identity, and thereby allow a bounding process that limits American cultural growth, has another consequence. With racism restricting American cultural growth, racism becomes threatening to the well being of the social body by means of racism's attempts to regulate the behavior of the citizens. Racism is a threat to all in a society when it begins to regulate the development of a culture. It achieves this regulation by determining the actions of individuals. It should be the case that the regulation of behavior, in accord with normative principles, is the role and function of morality and ethics. The result of racism's determining the actions of individuals is that there is an intrusion into normative concerns. Rather than morality creating the superstructure

which supports the devices of behavior control, racism becomes the superstructure of the culture's devices of behavior control. Racism's imposition into an area of life which is concerned with the regulation of all manner of interactions of the members of a cultural group is highlighted when it is recognized that racism by nature is dehumanizing. This is the threat -- that humans, because of the viciousness of an expressed social ethic (racism), are accused of conditions and circumstance for which they have no responsibility.

This dehumanizing process has been witnessed and addressed at various times within the nation's history. It had been thought that if the process of mistaken blame could be clearly pointed to, then that process could, in time, be eliminated. One such attempt to point to a failed opportunity to meet and remove such an evil is found in the following statement - "There is always a certain glamour about the idea of a nation rising up to crush an evil simply because it is wrong. Unfortunately, this can seldom be realized in real life; for the very existence of the evil usually argues a moral weakness in the very place where extraordinary moral strength is called for."¹³ Though this passage was written about the period of the Constitutional Convention's meetings in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the

¹³ Du Bois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University 1896.

words ring true if we consider mid-twentieth-century 1940-1960 America. These years are notably marked with the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's American Dilemma. That work focusses on the symbol for the oppression of Blacks at the time - the ghetto. The restriction of the remarks concerning racism to the ghettos disservices all concerned even though it is anti-racist action and statement in the right direction:

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

The disservice is met in suggesting erroneously that there is a collective experience which is had by "the Negro". There were of course Negroes who did forget and some who never had known of the ghetto and/or that white society was deeply implicated in the creating the ghetto. However, rather than deflecting the burden of the problem, the dilemma, upon the shoulders of the Afro-American, Myrdal accepts the responsibility of pointing directly at the racism which his work reports. Myrdal identifies racism by saying -

. . . Although the Negro problem is a moral issue both to the Negroes and to the whites in America, we shall in this book (American Dilemma) have to give primary attention to what goes on in the minds of white Americans. . .
(Schwartz, White Racism, p 252)

The dilemma which Myrdal points out clearly is the dilemma which must be faced individually by each citizen. Each individual has the responsibility of accounting for his or her own actions. But what is found is that when faced with moral questions which require choice of action, morally correct actions do not follow when the individual knows well what is the morally correct choice. The philosopher and religious ascetic Thomas Merton gave primary attention to what goes on in the minds of white Americans in saying -

. . . the Negro problem is really a white problem. The cancer of injustice and hate which is eating white society and is only partly manifested in racial segregation with its consequences is rooted in the heart of the white man himself. (Schwartz, White Racism, p 254)

The points which Myrdal and Merton make may be reduced to one observation: the depth of the hold upon intellectual behavior which racism secures is that racism allows the action which a morally correct choice would reject. Because of the sorry consequences, racists' individual-actions fit into what has been called a vicious cycle. This process is a device by which contradictions between the ideals as stated and the realities as lived are explained away.

There will be a great deal more to say about Myrdal and his work in later chapters. Before that examination begins there is one more area of discussion which will be covered in this background survey of racism. This area has been termed societal racism. The remarks about societal racism

differ from the discussions of institutional racism and individual racism thus far offered in that it looks to racism as a phenomenon of social interactions particularly. Of course in institutional and individual racism social interaction plays a part. Here, however, the discussions are marked because the researchers have been trained to interpret actions of individuals as the result of the individual's personal choices as well as the pressures to choose from alternatives as the cultural group demands and/or expects. Of specific interest is the manner in which societal racism exculpates the individual's actions which deny and disregard claims of distress voiced by the oppressed and subordinate group members.

CHAPTER V

*. . . That conditions are not as they
were in 1910 and the hope for a brighter
future are better than ever before may
be attributed to the dedication, talent,
and foresight of William Edward
Burghardt Du Bois."*

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director NAACP

1. Societal Racism
2. Mid-Twentieth Century Societal Racism
3. Focus on Civil Rights

1. Societal Racism

George M. Fredrickson, in his article "Toward a Social Interpretation of the Development of American Racism", says of societal racism (a term synonymous with individual racism) that it is inferred from the actual social relations of members of a cultural group. In this circumstance one group acts as if another were inherently inferior. Thus in American society the treatment of Blacks as if they were inherently inferior is accounted for because of reasons of race. In examining this phenomenon we investigate the sociology of racism. The study of the interaction of members of the groups is a study of 1) material functions, i.e., economic, political, educational concerns, and 2) rationalistic functions, i.e., generation of ideas and opinions. These functions activate, spread, and institutionalize both manifest and latent forms of pre-existing race consciousness or racial differentiations.

The rationalistic function which results in individual racist expressions is an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. The racist then is victim of what Gordon Allport called the logical fallacy of hasty generalization. Allport concluded his discussion of the hasty generalization by saying, "It follows then that the racist has problems of a logical, psychological, ethical and ontological nature. Thus racism is the behavioral phenomenon manifested by racists." (Allport, Nature) This termed "behavioral phenomenon" has, as most events in human interaction, a long history associated with it. This being the case with racism, that it has a long history of influence within the generation of human communities, a few remarks are here noted capturing what historians have recorded to be the trail left by this social phenomenon.

First, race is an ancient notion providing an appropriate and descriptive concept for the way in which each group affirms its physical and cultural distinctiveness. Perhaps in other discussions presented in anthropology and social anthropology this notion is termed ethnocentrism. For it is the case that from the oldest records of man what was first noted to be a mark of distinction was the way in which groups recognized themselves to be physically different from one another¹⁴. With this recognized difference there

¹⁴ "Racial prejudice is associated with the disposition on the part of virtually every human group to think of itself as superior to outsiders (ethnocentrism). The notion

possibly was the claim that owing to one's group differences a superiority was also associated. However, the distinguishing characteristic of the racism subject in this work is that the claimed superiority was followed by decisions and policies which were designed to subordinate and continue dominance over 'the other'.

It follows from the above that the second notion of racism in the historical perspective is racism as an ideology. This refers to race-thinking which rationalizes, sanctions, and affirms a social system by propounding the physical and/or cultural superiority of the dominant 'race' and the inferiority of the oppressed 'race'. In this sense racism is recognized because there is present a situation involving two different races and also present is an abnormally harsh exploitation. This relationship between races is such that an individual cannot simply choose to move himself or his

of chosen people is quite widespread. We know of primitive communities the members of which call themselves 'men' or 'human beings' to distinguish themselves from all outsiders who are regarded as not quite human. We generally glorify the people whom we speak of as 'we', whereas the 'others' or outsiders are depreciated and suspected. Although strangers do sometimes have a romantic fascination for us, more often than not we fear them and remain at a respectful distance from them, ready to believe almost anything about them to which we would not for a moment give credence if it concerned a member of our own group." Louis Wirth, "Race and Public Policy", The Scientific Monthly, April 1944, pp 303-04. This writer is reminded of the discussion found in Jahn's work Muntu. In the section which discusses African philosophical systems it is interesting to see that the plural of the term 'muntu', which designates man, is 'bantu' the term for men and the name which the territorial group called themselves.

children from one group to another. Additionally, the system, within which is situated this relationship between races, is justified in terms of some sort of deterministic theory which is usually based upon biology.¹⁵ On a personal level it can be said that in this light (Def.14) racism is the projection of negative impulses to maintain a societal standard of subservience one to another by the individual becoming involved in creating a double standard.

This double standard is a state of affairs by which one is not able to perceive another person or people as one perceives himself. Because of this resistance to perceive others as oneself what follows is some assertion that there is a genetic and/or cultural inferiority of the other, who will be a member of the oppressed group. This alleged inferiority is then used as justification for the adverse social position of the oppressed. Here again we see how racism becomes ideology for those who wish to maintain the status quo. Furthermore, the members of this oppressing group act in every way possible to affirm the existing patterns of social arrangement.

2. Mid-Twentieth Century American Societal Racism

Examples of various types of racism in American society can be drawn from many works. For instance, as has been noted, in the work Black Power the authors consider

¹⁵ See John Rex, Thomas Gossett, Winthrop Jordan works listed in endnotes.

institutional and individual racism. Additionally, the philosopher Irving Thalberg, in his writings addressing this subject, offers remarks concerning the visceral racist. Fredrickson, as an historian, presents his research concerning implicit/societal and explicit/ideological racism. And there are other social scientists, historians, and philosophers who list in their discussions, ideological racism, societal racism, overt racism, covert racism. The consequences and the effects of each of the just mentioned types of racism, separately as well as collectively, are by name aversion and dehumanization. What these racist types have in common is an irrational¹⁶ element within the beliefs they, who see themselves as a group, have of another.

The discussion presented by Thalberg concerning the visceral racist may be enlightening for the purposes of this discussion of societal racism. In his remarks Thalberg draws attention to the distinction which is claimed to lie between, and which marks, racism, on one hand, and prejudice and discrimination on the other. According to Thalberg

¹⁶ The "irrational" which is alluded to here is the description of the end result not the process of deciding action. As has been pointed out by Dr. Meyer Weinberg, Director of the Horace Mann Bond Center for Equal Education, "Racism has often resulted from calm, deliberative, extended reasoning." That this has been the case in innumerable instances there is little argument (see Walter White's, A Man Called White). Rather the point to be made here is that the conclusion reached by this method of deliberative racist thought is a conclusion of convenience for the racist and his or her racist ideas; therein is found the irrational element.

racism is held by an individual, group, culture, etc. as a conscious belief, i.e., an ideology. However, this is to be distinguished from the understandings given to the terms -- prejudice and discrimination. For prejudice is a matter of attitude and feeling a person or people have of others, while discrimination is a description of behavior.

What then is the content of the 'conscious beliefs' which are held by those who are termed visceral racists? Irving Thalberg's presentation of the make-up of the visceral racist's beliefs must be preceded by this one point of interest. It is clear that the points raised by Thalberg have benefitted from the Black Power Movement of the middle and late nineteen sixties. It is exactly those same conditions, which were to spawn the Black Power Movement, that were to dramatically underscore the issues which indicate the beliefs concerning racism held by the visceral racist¹⁷. Also in Thalberg's discussion he speaks as if visceral racism is a state of mind which is to be found only among whites. He says,

(Def.15) "Visceral racism is a set of unacknowledged beliefs that afflict so-called 'unprejudiced' whites, especially middle-class liberals who have a tendency to

¹⁷ The conditions noted in Black Power which give rise to the militant movement are: 1) economic isolation; 2) political exclusion; 3) social ostracism; and 4) cultural victimization.

regard themselves as doing just about as well as can be expected with the race problem."¹⁸

According to Thalberg the visceral racist draws about him/herself a protective cocoon of ignorance and distortion which the greater societal group has spun through institutional activity. One result of developing life within this institutional cocoon is ignorance. It is horrifying to discover that the ignorance is maintained by this means -- the visceral racists disbelieve the descriptions of the conditions of oppression and discrimination as told by the oppressed. For example, if it is argued that affirmative action plans are needed because it is still the case that a) selection of employees, and, b) advancement of those same employees are based upon consideration of race, the visceral racist would hold that the description of the alleged biased hiring and promotion is not as described. The visceral racist may even go as far as to argue that affirmative action claims are continued attempts by the oppressed to receive special consideration. Or, to the other extreme, the visceral racist perceives this of American society -- that

¹⁸ This is a statement which is clearly dated and it could well benefit from the twenty years of hindsight available to us now. The updated definition of the term 'visceral racism' would read as follows: visceral racism is the term identifying the belief held by an individual who makes judgments about others yet does not take into consideration the account of the issue made by the victim. Visceral racists, Black or white, today are recognized because of their traits and dispositions.

American society is progressing with all deliberate speed toward social, civil, and political equality.

That this type of visceral racism has had its place in American social history is highlighted by the dramatic announcement that the Topeka, Kansas, school system is, in 1986, as segregated as it was 1954 at which time the Supreme Court of the United States of America decided, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, against the "separate but equal" doctrine. The raising of the Topeka, Kansas, issue is an appropriate demonstration of the effects of visceral racism. For in this example, as is found in so many cases, the description which too often is accepted is not the one presented by the victim. This is the case with visceral racism most notably in instances when one description of a situation is presented by the victim and another is offered by the visceral racist. Thus the visceral racist ignores significant incidents of the exploitation of the Black community. This is the case whether the visceral racist is white or Black.

In short visceral racism is the holding of beliefs which are predisposed to perceive and describe social events in which Black people figure to:

- 1) structure and report such events in a manner that screens out social inequalities which are "obvious" to Black observers; and,
- 2) represent Blacks as dependent upon the white majority.

3. Focus on Civil Rights

It is often naively thought by those who have not considered the complexity associated with racism that racism is ideological in the sense that mankind's universal problem is intolerance to difference. If we were not so intolerant of the differences found among people (differences of skin color and other physical indicators), then we would be able to accept the others for themselves, just as we would want ourselves accepted because of who we are. (In a very interesting way this is a re-statement of Kant's Categorical Imperative.) But racism, as a recognizable phenomenon in the world, is not such a described event. Woodrow Wilson in 1901 wrote the following for Atlantic Monthly. Writing of the beginning of Reconstruction after the Civil War, Wilson declared:

An extraordinary and very perilous state of affairs had been created in the South by the sudden and absolute emancipation of the Negroes, and it was not strange that the Southern legislature should deem it necessary to take extraordinary steps to guard against the manifest and pressing dangers which entailed. Here was a vast laboring, landless, homeless class, once slaves; now free; unpracticed in liberty, unschooled in self-control; never sobered by the discipline of self-support; never established in any habit of prudence; excited by a freedom they did not understand, exalted by false hopes, bewildered and without leaders, and yet insolent and aggressive; sick of work, covetous of pleasure, a host of dusky children untimely put out of school. (Logan, "The Negro. . .")

The image which is conjured by the words "untimely put out of school" is an interesting one. What were the schools to which Wilson is referring at that time. What was a student to do when 'timely' put out of school? The work of the world at that time was the work of the white man. The Caucasian, the Western man, was a race then based upon physical characteristics and all of the seemingly cultural advances which were associated with progress. But the non-Western man was condemned to fail the Western cultural test. The Western cultural test claimed -- verbally, at least -- to look at no outward physical distinction as a criterion which would automatically disqualify or exclude any individual. However, under the system of Western culture institution building, non-Western man was especially the target of disqualification and exclusion. The reactionary trend of excluding Black politicians from the political process at the close of the Reconstruction period is an example of this disqualification process.

CHAPTER VI

*American prejudice and racial
discrimination shudder at his very name.
Rev. Dr. William Moses*

Reference to Du Bois

As we have seen, racism is a chameleon-like phenomenon. It can be disguised in many forms, e.g., institutional racism, individual racism, covert racism, overt racism, visceral racism, cultural racism, implicit or explicit racism and societal racism. Because racism can take any of these forms, it is necessary to constantly adjust the programs, arguments and targets of action which would eliminate racism. If it is true that in some cases there are present two good alternatives but one of the good alternatives is distinguished as the better situation, then to select the better situation is to select the good. If, in some cases, the selection of the good is the decision to act so that the good's effect will be most immediately realized, then, in cases which involve the injurious effects of racism, it is the good selection to bring about an end to racism at the earliest possible date. By most accounts of those who are familiar with the work of Du Bois, all of the actions engaged in by him were directed to bring about an end to racism at the earliest possible moment. If this is true, then a survey of works on racism should reveal the

consistency of appeal to the work of Du Bois which addresses this topic. Such a survey of the work which makes use of Du Bois' analysis will show that body of work contributes to the understanding of the issues connected to racism; or, it will show his work should be discounted because it has been found lacking.

A reader of the work of Du Bois is struck by the personal dedication reflected in his words which are aimed to bring about an end to racism. What will be found in his writings is his analysis of the growth and influence of racism. The analysis presented by Du Bois will, by the end of his life, reflect eighty years of thought and research. During that time his responses to racism varied and changed because of circumstance. And so the first step to gather an insight into his work is to find key terms used and explained by Du Bois. Two such terms which assist us in discovering his understanding of racism are "integration and self-help".

For instance, during the years of Reconstruction after the Civil War, conditions demanded integration. Integration here is understood to point to those attempts to move the Black American into the mainstream of American social order and institutions. At other times it became necessary for the Black American to look inward, i.e., to rely upon himself and the actions and activities of his people. This, in a word, is the meaning of 'self-help'. Self-help became a necessity during certain periods because the outside world

paid at best lip-service to the problems and conditions faced by the oppressed; at worst the environing society seemed to actively seek and encourage the destruction of the oppressed, for in part the racist blames the victim.

To give background to this discussion this section of the discussion of racism begins with what may be called a first attempt to formally construct a reasonably faithful picture of Negro life and relationships with the white race in America. One of the attempts to construct such a picture was carried out by the sociologist and educator Charles S. Johnson. The work in which he detailed what he believed to be the pathological problem of race relations was titled, The Negro in American Civilization¹⁹. It is not until

¹⁹ In the "Foreword" to this work, The Negro in American Civilization, the following is stated: ". . . (an) initiative was taken by sixteen national organizations engaged for the most part in day-to-day tasks of social work for the Negro and the improvement of relationships between white and colored in this country. They came together and formed a central Executive Committee in the autumn of 1926. They differed in activities and in their ideas of the best methods of solving what has come to be known as the 'race problem,' but they were united in believing that they and all others actively at work on this subject needed to know more about it. They were aware of numerous studies which had been made in their own organizations and in others like them and in universities and research organizations, but for the most part the results of these studies had not been assembled or reflected upon as a whole to see what light might come out of them. Nor had they been integrated into the thought and action of the workers in these organizations. Moreover, the public was not aware of the facts nor their significance." (p v.) The organizations whose representatives constituted the Executive Committee were American Friends Service Committee, Interracial Section; American Social Hygiene Association; Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Council of Women for Home Missions; Federal Council of Churches, Commission on the Church and

Chapter XXV of this work that Johnson turns his attention to "Racial Attitudes". Racial attitudes, he contends, are in large part responsible for the behavior which is an overt expression of race prejudice. Johnson does not discuss the ontology of racial attitudes. What is dealt with are the contributing factors which bear upon racial attitudes when they are used to express race prejudice. Johnson questions whether this expression comes from instinct or whether race prejudice is "contingent upon a certain type of group consciousness which may have no defense whatever in scientific classification?" (Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p 356.)

The suggested explanation that race prejudice is a result of economic processes is presented. Economic foundations which may account for the antipathies are presented. For example, there is a reference to "voluminous literature"²⁰ which suggests that factors in race relations in America

Race Relations; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Home Missions Council; The Inquiry; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Board Y.W.C.A.; National Catholic Welfare Conference; National Council Y.M.C.A.; National Federation of Settlements; National Urban League; Phelps-Stokes Fund; Protestant Episcopal Church, Department of Christian Social Service. The Federal Council of Churches, Commission on the Church and Race Relations, began the movement which culminated in the National Interracial Conference. This beginning was in a national conference organized by the Commission in conjunction with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation held in March, 1925.

²⁰ See Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p. 356.

were more economic than racial. Then surveys of lynchings in targeted Southern counties were reviewed. Special attention was paid to those lynchings which were expressive of economic antagonism. Next reasons for the racial antagonism other than economic status in a) labor, b) education, c) health, and, d) housing were explained. However, even though studies of racial attitudes are reported and organizational efforts and projects are recounted²¹, Johnson makes no reference to the work of Du Bois. This, at first, may be worrisome since it is noted that Du Bois was a "registrant" and representative of the NAACP at the December, 1928 National Interracial Conference. The worries are set aside when the use of the material and efforts of Du Bois is noted in other sections of the Johnson work.

Chapter I of The Negro in American Civilization is titled, "The Seven Labors in the New World." This chapter details the growth of the presence of the African from the days of the Conquistadors at the beginning of the 16th century and follows that chapter of history through the dawning of the 20th century. The chapter begins by discussing the uncertainty which accompanied the Africans' presence in the

²¹ For example work done by the National Urban League, The Young Men's Christian Association, The Young Women's Christian Association, The Commission on the Church and Race Relations, The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in addition to work done by individuals connected to various research organizations and institutions.

New World. To make the point of the ambiguity connected to the nascent institution of slavery Johnson reports:

" . . . The muster rolls of the settlement of Virginia in 1624 and 1625 found 23 Africans all of whom were listed as 'servants' as were the whites of this class. Thirty-four years after the Negroes came (1653), Anthony Johnson, a Negro and undoubtedly one of the first twenty arrivals, got a court judgment sustaining his claim to the perpetual service of John Castor, another Negro. The status of slavery was not crystallized for fifty years." (Johnson, The Negro in American Democracy, p 6)

Johnson then addresses the growth of what seems to him to be evidence of racial antagonism. The growth of racial antagonism is said to have been first recognized²² by 1) the feeble interests expressed in slavery, and 2) the occasional flare-ups of abolitionist sentiment. He draws out the concern shown for the employment of the large number of Blacks in the country and the developed passionate defense of the slave institution with the connected rationalization of the use of Negroes as slaves. For example, scholars and theologians are presented as giving their assistance to the rise of the doctrine of racial inferiority which became enunciated with a bitter finality and fury. An example of the fury of their environment is taken from Du Bois' Harvard dissertation in which he quotes President Thomas Dew of William and Mary College,

²² The first half of the seventeenth century, i.e. 1607-1650.

"It is the order of nature that the beings of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should dispose of those who are inferior. The exclusive owners of property ever have been, ever will and perhaps ever ought to be the virtual rulers of mankind." (Du Bois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America - quoted in The Negro in American Civilization, p 10.)

Chapter IV of the Johnson work is titled, "The Negro Working Population". Here the discussion addresses the jobs of Blacks and what those jobs returned in wages and advancement. The chapter is based on statistics gathered by the organizations contributing to this study. Wages paid to the Black laborer were measured against the wages earned by his white counterpart. The labor was viewed from the perspectives of each industry. The labor was viewed by the skill required to complete the associated tasks; the division of the laborers by state and geographic region; the allocation of wage to worker by day; and by the differential of rates of wages paid to workers because of race. In studying the "Negro Worker in the South", Johnson turns to a study completed a) by Du Bois while at Atlanta University, and, b) in conjunction with The Tradesman²³. The study reported the inquiries made of 344 plants employing Blacks in the South in 1902. (Johnson, The Negro In American Civilization, p 56) When the discussion turns to "Employers

²³ For details, see Johnson' The Negro in American Civilization, pp 56 & 68.

Opinions of the Competence of the Negro Labor", Johnson includes an extension of the earlier work which was done by Du Bois. Though no reason for the opinion is given, Johnson reports Du Bois as saying that, ". . . it was the feeling that the average Negro worker at that period was probably less efficient than the average European" (from Du Bois, American Economic Association, series 3, Vol. VII, 1906, quoted in Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, pp 68-69)

The conclusion of The Negro in American Civilization reflects Johnson's high regard for Du Bois and the respect accorded him at the time. Earlier in the work Johnson notes that as of the writing at the end of 1928 "there had been awarded to Negroes 44 degrees of the rank Doctor of Philosophy". (Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p 294.) There Du Bois is mentioned first.

The first and major section of the last Chapter in the work is written by Du Bois, "The Negro Citizen". In it Du Bois argues that -

. . . political power is the beginning of all permanent reform and the only hope for maintaining gains. That a disfranchised working class in modern industrial civilization is worse than helpless. It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs; and it will be insulted by caste restrictions. (quoted in Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p 466.)

And what does Du Bois posit as the basis of this disfranchisement? Upon what do the caste restrictions rest? Du Bois answers by saying the system of color caste in the United States is based on legal and customary race distinctions and discrimination, having to do with separation in travel, in schools, in public accommodations, in residence, and family relations. There is discrimination in the kind and amount of public school education and in civil rights of various sorts and in courts, jails and fines. There is disfranchisement of voters by means of various tests, including restrictions as to registration, voting in primaries and the right of summary administrative decisions, and finally there is lynching and mob violence. In these terms Du Bois points to the racism and the toll racism takes of the victims and institutions. Du Bois focusses solely on the institutional nature of racism. But in keeping with this he asks of the members of the National Interracial Conference why none other than he raised the question of political power and the Negro. He says:

. . .In the discussion the crucial problem was that of raising local funds for schools and having the national government supplement those funds in poorer states; and the essential point in the whole matter was purely the selection of local officials who would spend the money as the local voting population wished . . . The first point of such a debate should have been the question of the selection of such proper officials and of democratic control of their actions. (Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p 465.)

The significance of the work done by Johnson and Du Bois is that it established the momentum which would lead to continued study by social researchers. Their work, and the work of the others presented alongside of them, demonstrated that the race problem in the United States was a problem which would not ameliorate itself in time. The race problem, as described through Johnson and Du Bois, in fact was and would continue to worsen if attention on a national scale was not focussed on the complex and numerous issues which it contained. Evidence that their collaboration, in fact, led to such a concerted national movement is reflected in the work which was to follow. The research work subsequent to their own not only addressed the topics that they had raised but turned to them and their work as sources of information and reference. Most notable among this research was that begun in 1938 and directed by the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal.

In May of 1940 the war situation in Europe necessitated Gunnar Myrdal's return to Sweden. Myrdal had been invited by the Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation in 1938 to carry on a general study of the Negro in the United States. During the two-year period when Myrdal directed the study, memoranda on all the more important aspects of Negro life in America were prepared. Charles S. Johnson directed part of the field work for the Myrdal study. The work which Johnson published in 1943, Patterns of Negro Segregation,

was the essence extracted from the manuscript material collected by the Johnson staff.²⁴ The subject of the work is accurately captured in the title. Rather than accepting the assumption that the processes by which races are segregated and are kept separate mirror one another no matter the location, this work examines the differences found in the various population centers²⁵. The work is marked by the sophistication reflected in reporting racist attitudes, implied and expressed, that the Negro should be "kept in his place".

An unusual feature of Johnson's study is its attempt to present, not another statement concerning the "Negro as a problem" or "the Negro problem," but rather the efforts to present the "Negro's reaction to discrimination", the "Negro's responses to segregation", in terms other than simply anger, annoyance, resentment and resignation. Johnson

²⁴ See the "Foreword" of Patterns of Negro Segregation for the further detail of the history of the Johnson/Myrdal/Carnegie collaboration. The reader may be interested to note the other memoranda which were published separately or which may be found in manuscript in research centers, e.g., the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library; a listing may be found in "Author's Preface", American Dilemma, pp liv-lv. Microfilm copies of the memoranda are available for purchase and/or use.

²⁵ The areas selected for intensive study were: A) The rural South - Bolivar County, Mississippi; Poinsett County, Arkansas; Johnston County, North Carolina; B) The Urban South - Nashville, Tennessee; Richmond, Virginia; Birmingham, Alabama; Atlanta, Georgia; Houston, Texas; C) The Border Area - Baltimore Maryland; Indianapolis, Indiana; D) The Urban North - Chicago, Illinois; New York, New York.

states that Negro segregation must be studied and analyzed with the following as background:

. . . the point of view of the study assumes a developing cultural process. The democratic principle has not yet found full acceptance or expression in the United States. In its initial opportunity, during the post-Revolutionary War period, democracy was deflected from its course by the rise of the planter "aristocracy", which offset even the vibrant, leveling, frontier influence. When the middle class became the custodian of democracy immediately following the Civil War, it ushered in an insistent capitalism which demanded a society no less stratified than the one which it had conquered. Capitalism could be fully realized only if the masses, who were not to share in the larger economic benefits emanating from it, could be pacified in the meantime. The solution was reached by providing the masses with an illusion of superiority in relation to a lower caste, the Negro group, and thus obscuring for a time the undemocratic tendencies of the total society. (Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, p xvii.)

Thus, Johnson held that those who ruled white America avoided popular dissatisfaction by directing the dissatisfaction to Blacks. In a word it is 'scapegoating'.

The remarks quoted above, as well as elsewhere in the work, point to a fantasy. This fantasy is the belief that it is true that there is a significant difference between races. It is a fantasy which is part of the American record of history. Johnson reports statements made by Negro Americans. These statements show the full range of compliance or non-compliance of individual actions to the

fantasy observed in the demanded and expected "racial etiquette". The racial etiquette associated with compliance to the fantasy results in undramatic public and personal relations; the racial etiquette associated with non-compliance results in acts of hostility and aggression.

Johnson, in Patterns of Negro Segregation, cites Du Bois once. The citation is found in the chapter titled, "Hostility and Aggression". The terms hostility and aggression are used to demonstrate the various processes through which the Negro American channelled his/her reaction to racism. The hostility or aggression is presented in terms which suggest the openness or hiddenness with which the racist situation is met by Black people in a racist society. In the section headed "Organized Aggression" we find the following:

Direct action in opposition to racial discrimination has been attempted by several organizations with some measure of success. The more aggressive Negroes have directed their resentment of personal and group discrimination through these organizations which have more power to effect changes or to punish. One of the earlier efforts to combat racial discrimination was the so-called "Niagara Movement", organized in New York by W.E.B. Du Bois in 1905. Out of this, in 1910, grew the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is the most effective of the present organizations combating discrimination. It is supported very largely by Negro membership throughout the country. It has an impressive record of successful court battles against discrimination in social, civil, legal and political

relations. It has won practically every case carried to the Supreme Court, and each of them has involved the protection of the fundamental citizenship rights of Negroes. (Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, pp 313-314.)

The work for which Charles S. Johnson had completed his research to be contained in Patterns of Negro Segregation was published during World War II. The work is American Dilemma. There is no question that Myrdal's work marks a watershed. The importance of the work is appreciated not because it was well received by all²⁶, but because of the quality of the scholars who advised Myrdal. The individuals whom Myrdal consulted are outstanding from any point of view. In a review of the names listed in the "Introduction" to the first edition more than half of the names mentioned are of Black scholars who, in ordinary American academic practice, would not have been chosen to write on Black people. In spite of the prejudice which they faced, these Black scholars had been preparing for just such a study. Ten years prior to the initiation of Myrdal's work I have already mentioned that there was the National Interracial

²⁶ The most severe criticism of Myrdal's selection of research topics and the interpretation of the findings and data gathered from the field may be found in Herbert Aptheker's The Negro People in America: A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma. For example, the "Conclusion" of the work begins with the following sentence: "In summary, we find Myrdal's philosophy to be superficial and erroneous, his historiography demonstrably false, his ethics vicious and, therefore, his analysis weak, mystical, and dangerous." (Aptheker, The Negro People in America, p 66.)

Study project begun and completed with the publishing of the Charles S. Johnson work, The Negro in American Civilization.

White America, even its academic elite, had proved largely unable, prior to Myrdal, to deal comprehensively and truthfully with the role of Blacks in American life and history. An interested reader may find the story which is told concerning the generation of the Department of Philosophy at Harvard interesting. That action came about at the end of the Civil War. These American intellectuals were among the first group of American thinkers maturing without the dichotomy of a democratic nation half-slave while half-free. Important to this group's thoughts was the topic moral attitudes. These thinkers, i.e., the pragmatists, determined that moral attitudes were best understood seeking the answers to questions concerning the true. An example is found in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1877. The first generation of schooled philosophical thinkers gathered at the newly established Department of Philosophy, Harvard University, and the connected "Golden Age"²⁷. Names which may be associated with this are William James, George Santayana, and George Herbert Mead. However, the first generation of American post-bellum social thinkers were unable to adequately address the race problem. One reason for this inability is that they were bequeathed an

²⁷ See Bruce Kuklick's The Rise of American Pragmatism, Yale University Press. 1977.

intellectual environment within which the Black American demanded little respect. As the demand for respect became more clearly stated, the problem of the color line became a national concern. Sixteen organizations which had nation wide affiliations joined together for the first coordinated study. An American Dilemma announces through the international position held by the director of the project that although the Negro problem is a moral issue to Negroes and whites in America, primary attention is given to what goes on in the minds of white Americans.²⁸

The Myrdal work reflects sweepingly the contribution of Du Bois to the study of racism in the United States. There are fifty-eight (58) references to work done by Du Bois or citations of statements made by him. These fifty-eight references are noted within the footnotes. Of the forty-five chapters which make up the work, Du Bois is cited in twenty-four.

The first mention of Du Bois in An American Dilemma has some interest to this study. Chapter 2 is titled "Encountering the Negro Problem". Myrdal develops the position that the "Negro problem" is inescapable in America. There may be ways for the problem to be put aside, overlooked, ignored, forgotten, gone unmentioned, but each of these ways requires a special effort. In section 7 -

²⁸ See "Introduction", section 3. A White Man's Problem in An American Dilemma, p lxxv.

"Negro and White Voices", Myrdal turns to individuals speaking from their own experiences. The section begins as follows:

What is at the bottom of this elaborated escape psychology? Has the old Negro fighter and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois struck a vein of truth when he remarks -

Nor does the paradox and danger of this situation fail to interest and perplex the best conscience of the South. Deeply religious and intensely democratic as are the mass of the whites, they feel acutely the false position in which the Negro problems place them. Such an essentially honest-hearted and generous people cannot cite the caste levelling precepts of Christianity, or believe in equality of opportunity for all men, without coming to feel more and more with each generation that the present drawing of the color-line is a flat contradiction to their beliefs and professions. (from Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, quoted by Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 42.)

The passage carries with it an odd aura. The words may well be Du Bois' words spoken early in the twentieth century for they certainly do not have the biting edge which seemed so much a part of the writing which engaged Du Bois in the late thirties. In fact the passage is taken from the 1924 edition of The Souls of Black Folk. The point of interest, in the first use and reference to Du Bois by name, is the manner in which he is introduced. Myrdal addresses him as the "old Negro fighter and scholar." At the time of publication of An American Dilemma in 1944 Du Bois was seventy-six years old and had held his Doctor of Philosophy degree for forty-seven years. Perhaps Myrdal was accurate in calling him the "old fighter and scholar". The luxury afforded scholarly work being done now is the chance to apply the statements which

were at hand but not used by earlier researchers. That is the case in reviewing the Myrdal work in reference to its appeal to the genius of Du Bois: we can look at the statements used as well as the statements not used and retrospectively criticize or praise. Within a footnote to "Chapter 3 - Facets of the Negro Problem", Myrdal includes the following:

In explaining the similarities of the deprivations imposed upon different minority groups, Donald R. Young points out that:

It is . . . to be expected that dominating majorities in various regions, when faced with the problem of what to think and do about minorities, will fail to be sufficiently inventive to create unique schemes of relationships and action. Variations in intensity of restriction and oppression, special techniques in maintaining superior status and other adaptations to the local scene will always be found, but the choice of fundamental patterns of dominance in majority-minority relations is limited by the nature of man and his circumstances. (emphasis added) (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, vol I p xc.)

The worry which Young points to, i.e., that adaptations to the local scene will always be found, is another attempt to define racism. To his credit, Myrdal attempts to make allowances for the limiting natures of man by recognizing his own limitations. Where Myrdal found himself ignorant, he gathered information from those who knew. A very interesting example is found when we examine Myrdal's turn to Du Bois as one source of information. The wealth of insight and material which he received is best examined looking at the works used. The following chapter will begin here by examining the works of Du Bois to which Myrdal appeals.

CHAPTER VII

*... the teachings of Du Bois teach us
to disavow racism of any nature
whatsoever, wherever it raises its
head."*

Lorraine Hansberry

An American Dilemma: What Was Known and When

The bibliography of An American Dilemma lists thirteen separate works of Du Bois. The copyright dates begin with the publishing of monograph no. 3 of the Atlanta University Publication series, "Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment", 1898. The copyright of the most recent Du Bois work used by Myrdal was the 1940 publication, Dusk of Dawn; An Essay Toward a Autobiography of a Race Concept.²⁹ Reference to these works is dispersed throughout the forty-five chapters. The chapters are divided into eleven (11) sections which Myrdal names "Parts". Parts contain two or more chapters; except Part XI, the last, and

²⁹ The complete list of works listed in the bibliography in Myrdal's An American Dilemma in chronological order are - Some Efforts of American Negroes for their Own Social Betterment, 1898; The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study, 1899; The Souls of Black Folk, 1903; Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans. Report of a Social Study made by Atlanta University, 1907; The Negro, 1915; Darkwater; Voices from within the Veil, 1920; The Hosts of Black Labor", 1923. "Black Folk and Birth Control", 1932; Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880, 1935; "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?", 1935; "A Negro Nation within the Nation", 1935; Black Folk, Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race, 1939; Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept, 1940.

it is Chapter 45. Du Bois is cited in every one of the eleven Parts and, furthermore, is cited in at least two chapters of each Part. There does not appear to be any other individual who is called upon as frequently throughout the work as Du Bois. To highlight the point here is an outline of the names of the eleven topics which the work addressed - these are first-level outline entries. The second level entries are the names of the chapters in which Du Bois is cited:

1. Part I - The Approach (Chapters 1 - 3)
 - a. Chapter 2 - Encountering the Negro Problem
 - b. Chapter 3 - Facets of the Negro Problem
2. Part II - Race (Chapters 4 - 6)
 - a. Chapter 4 - Racial Beliefs
 - b. Chapter 5 - Race and Ancestry
3. Part III - Population and Migration (Chapters 7 - 8)
 - a. Chapter 6 - Population
 - b. Chapter 7 - Migration
4. Part IV - Economics (Chapters 9 - 19)
 - a. Chapter 10 - The Tradition of Slavery
 - b. Chapter 14 - The Negro Business, the Professions, Public Service, and White Collar Occupations
5. Part V - Politics (Chapters 20 - 23)
 - a. Chapter 20 - Underlying Factors
 - b. Chapter 23 - Trends and Possibilities
6. Part VI - Justice (Chapters 24 - 27)
 - a. Chapter 24 - Inequality and Justice
 - b. Chapter 27 - Violence and Intimidation
7. Part VII - Social Inequality (Chapters 28 - 30)
 - a. Chapter 28 - The Basis of Social Inequality
 - b. Chapter 30 - Effects of Social Inequality
8. Part VIII - Social Stratification (Chapters 31 - 32)
 - a. Chapter 31 - Caste and Class
 - b. Chapter 32 - The Negro Class Structure

9. Part IX - Leadership and Concerted Action (Chapters 33 - 42)
 - a. Chapter 35 - The Negro Protest
 - b. Chapter 38 - Negro Popular Theories
 - c. Chapter 39 - Negro Improvement and Protest Organizations
 - d. Chapter 41 - The Negro School
10. Part X - The Negro Community (Chapters 43 -44)
 - a. Chapter 43 - Institutions
 - b. Chapter 44 - Non-Institutional Aspect of the Negro Community
11. Part XI - An American Dilemma (Chapter 45)
 - a. Chapter 45 - America Again at the Crossroads in the Negro Problem

Several chapters listed above have particular interest to this paper and the discussions referring to Du Bois. For example, Chapter 4, "Racial Beliefs", begins with a survey of racial beliefs which addresses two schools of thought. One school is termed "liberal" because the liberal is inclined to believe education and social reform will improve the individual and society. The other school of thought is termed "conservative" because it asserts that "human nature" makes individuals and society what they are. Myrdal then follows the development of the arguments met during the Enlightenment period in much the same way that they are presented in Chapter I of this dissertation. Myrdal speaks of an "ideological clash" in American political and moral thought. This conflict results from an opposition of two kinds of equality: the notion of equality in the natural rights of man being an expression of moral equality versus the notion of equality in natural endowments which is an expression of material equality. The intricacies involved in

the growth of the slave/Negro question are followed through the slavery debates engaged in by the founding fathers, including Washington and Jefferson. The presence of the abolitionist movement in the North and in the South is mentioned by Myrdal. Slowly we see that the race doctrine of biologically-based inequality between whites and Negroes is offered as the most convenient solution to the Negro/slave question.

The result of the Civil War according to Myrdal was that-

. . . the race dogma was retained in the South as necessary to justify the caste system which succeeded slavery as the social organization of Negro-white relations. In fact, it is probable that racial prejudice increased in the South at least up to the end of the Reconstruction period and probably until the beginning of the twentieth century. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 88)

It is interesting to note that the line of argument taken by Myrdal suggests that the dogma of racial inequality is a product of the Enlightenment. I interpret his suggestion to mean that if there were a case when the principles as stated by Enlightenment were realized, one of the principles which all would share would be moral equality. Myrdal then points out that moral equality should be extended to all within the American social system constructed according to the principles of the Constitution. However, moral equality could not be claimed by the Afro-American in the United States because there was associated with the American Enlightenment a well defined understanding of material

equality.³⁰ The inability to resolve the dilemma, i.e., were Africans human as Europeans considered themselves human, resulted in the creation of a biological ideology which claimed there were significant differences between races. The biological ideology used by racists explained the failure of a nation committed to democracy to live out its principles - the Negro was a member of an inferior race. Myrdal explains:

The need for race prejudice is a need for defense on the part of the Americans against their own national Creed, against their own most cherished ideals. Race prejudice is a function of egalitarianism. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 89)

The biological rationalizations mark the point at which scientific arguments begin to take effect and occupy a place of importance in the questions surrounding the Negro. Interestingly, Myrdal states that what is found in the statements of Thomas Jefferson about the "real distinctions" between Negroes and whites, is a high point in the early history of the literature on Negro racial characteristics. Myrdal then goes on to say, addressing Jefferson's ideas, ". . . in a critical sense and in reservation for the results of further research (viz. scientific studies of the real

³⁰ Moral equality would require that an act which I would carry-out is morally wrong if it were morally wrong for you to engage in the very same act. If there is a well defined understanding that a people could be enslaved by a people who claimed to be free, then the individuals who are enslaved necessarily can not be co-equals sharing in moral equality.

distinctions between Negroes and whites), it (Jefferson's statement of the real racial distinctions) was not surpassed by white writers until recent decades." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 90) These points of discussion are preliminary to Myrdal's use of the work of Du Bois. In the discussions which immediately follow the just quoted passage, Myrdal presents examples of how the biological ideology movement was an expression of utilitarian activities, i.e., the most practical actions to maintain the status quo. These utilitarian activities were racist in that they supported the assumption of hereditary inferiority.³¹ The names of those white researchers and scientists who challenged the deceit found in the biological racist ideology are mentioned. Prominent among the challengers is mentioned the name of Franz Boas³². The name is not out of place in this

³¹ I present a sample of the self-serving arguments which Myrdal mentions - "The numerous enemies of the Negro left a whole crop of pseudo-scientific writings in the libraries, emphasizing racial differences. Robert Shufeldt's book, America's Greatest Problem: the Negro (1915) illustrated the inferiority argument . . ."; "In an elaborate study of Negro skulls and brains Robert B. Bean attempted to show that the skulls were smaller than the skulls of white men, and that the brains were less convoluted and otherwise deficient. . ." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 91)

³² The point of this aside is to establish how broad was Du Bois' contact with those very areas Myrdal was to turn. The notation of the references Myrdal makes directly to Du Bois does not also note the other contacts who, themselves, drew from Du Bois' work.

I should also add that Du Bois quoted Boas in 1908 saying that: ". . . an unbiased estimate of the anthropological evidence so far brought forward does not permit us to countenance the belief in a racial inferiority, which would

discussion for Boas and Du Bois were correspondents beginning in 1905 when Du Bois wrote -

My Dear Sir,

Will you kindly direct me to the best and latest works bearing on the anthropology of the Negro -- particularly his physical measurements, health, etc. Atlanta University is going to make a study of the Negro Physique for our next conference May 29, 1906. . . . We expect to have a large number of Negro physicians present at the time . . . (Milligan, "W.E.B. Du Bois' American Pragmatism", Journal of American Culture: Studies of A Civilization, Summer 1985, p 35)

In his chapter, "Racial Beliefs", Myrdal goes to great pains to establish that the racial beliefs which were held of the Negro and developed to argue for the continued position of racial inferiority of the Negro were not held by the Negro himself. As a first example Myrdal turned to Frederick Douglass to show how a Negro leader argued against the mid-nineteenth century notions of racial inferiority.³³

unfit an individual of the Negro race to take his part in modern civilization. We do not know of any demand made on the human body or mind in modern life that anatomical or ethnological evidence would prove to be beyond the powers of the Negro". Du Bois, "Race Friction Between Black and White", American Journal of Sociology, May 1908, cited in Weinberg, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader, p 293.

³³ Frederick Douglass' address, "The Claims of the Negro", July 12, 1854 - "It is not necessary in order to establish the manhood of any one making the claim to prove that such a one equals Clay in eloquence, or Webster and Calhoun in logical force and directness; for, tried by such standards on mental power as these, it is apprehended that very few could claim the high designation of man. Yet something like this folly is seen in the arguments directed against the humanity of the Negro. His faculties and powers,

Moreover Myrdal argues that at the end of the nineteenth century American Negroes were presented statements which countered the then prevailing opinion of the Negroes' place within American society.

. . . The Negro writers constantly have proceeded upon the assumption, later formulated by Du Bois in Black Reconstruction: ". . . that the Negro in America and in general is an average and ordinary human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings. . ." This assumption is now, but was not a couple of decades ago, also the assumption of white writers. Negro writings from around the turn of the century, therefore, sound so much more modern than white writings. It is mainly this historical accident which explains why, for example, Du Bois' study of the Philadelphia Negro community, published in the 'nineties, stands out even today as a most valuable contribution, while white authors like H. W. Odum and C.C. Brigham have been compelled -- and have had the scientific integrity and personal courage -- to retreat from writings of earlier decades even though they were published after Du Bois' study. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 96)

Following this discussion Myrdal takes an interesting tack in his investigation of Racial Beliefs. He looks at the beliefs held by the "unsophisticated". These beliefs became grounded, as we have mentioned, on the notions of biological

uneducated and unimproved, have been contrasted with those of the highest cultivation; and the world has then been called upon to behold the immense and amazing difference between the man admitted, and the man disputed. The fact that these intellects, so powerful and so controlling, are almost, if not quite, as exceptional to the general rule of humanity, in one direction, as the specimen Negroes are in the other, is quite overlooked." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol I, p xcv)

inferiority. The notions of biological inferiority were inseparable from the notion that race determines inherent ability and human nature and that race announced itself via the physiognomy. These attitudes had helped to create the political, social, educational, and health care institutions within which the Negro was deprived and entrance and benefit from those institutions was restricted. That the conditions which created bad housing, lack of schooling, and, malnutrition were the responsibilities of the Negro was not questioned. That these conditions were evidence of the inferiority of the Negro was taken for granted. It is here that Herbert Aptheker's criticisms of the Myrdal work come into play. Myrdal acknowledges that "unscrupulous demagogues" consciously concoct prejudices to benefit themselves, i.e., for their profit or to advance their self-interests. Because self-interest stands in the way of critical scrutiny of personal moral beliefs "through the generations, strengthened by tradition and community consensus, a public opinion among whites is formulated which is plainly opportunistic in the interest of the majority group". Contrary to this explanation would be the charge that public opinion is created not by a majority of whites at all; rather, it is the opinion created by those who have material interests in keeping the majority under control and antagonistic toward one another. Exceptions include those

who, despite prejudiced attitudes which surround them, manage to avoid indoctrination.

In a rather long footnote Myrdal presents a autobiographical statement of a white student from Georgia in 1934 who became aware of the process of indoctrination and stated the following which bears directly upon this discussion:

. . . It was less than a year ago when I saw for the first time in my life a negro newspaper. Before that time I had not known that Negroes had papers of their own. They were not to be seen in the places I frequented, though I often went as a boy into the homes of Negro tenants. I do not believe I ever heard one of the Negroes that I then knew say, I read thus and so in the newspaper. If they read at all, it was not of their reading that they talked to white folks.

I was in college before I read a book written by a Negro. I had been to Negro churches and heard their preachers. Probably the first singing I ever heard was that of Negroes. But I had never associated them with writing, or very much with reading. There were things, like our Boy Scout troop and school picnics, in which they had no part. I remember the surprise I felt at finding Du Bois' The Souls of Black Folk, my first contact with Negro writing, not different in outward respects from the other books I had read. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol I p xcvi)

The first volume of An American Dilemma is titled, "The Negro in a White Nation". This volume contains chapters 1 - 23. There are twenty-two (22) citations to work and

statements made by Du Bois.³⁴ The chapters which make up this first volume all touch upon one consistent theme presented and developed by Myrdal. Myrdal announces the theme by calling it his "Main Hypothesis: The Vicious Circle". The viciousness of this circle or cycle is that it is repeated in whatever is the area of investigation subject to determining the place of the Negro within the white nation.³⁵ In brief this circle reflects the historical subordinate position in which the Negro has found himself situated through no fault of his own. The conditions which are associated with the subordination are without exception marked by being on the lowest end of whatever standard or scale of measurement is used. Within this framework of adverse tradition the Negro of each generation meets a disadvantaged start. Furthermore, the racial discrimination which is also present then depreciates the Negro's potentialities by pointing to the low standards of efficiency, reliability, ambition, and morals as proof of

³⁴ The title of the works referred to and the number of citations to each work in Volume I are as follows: The Souls of Black Folk, 1903 - 6 citations; Black Reconstruction, 1935 - 5 citations; The Philadelphia Negro, 1899 - 4 citations; "The Negro Citizen", 1930 - 2 citations; (one citation to each of the following) "Black Folk and Birth Control", 1932; "A Negro Nation within the Nation", 1935; Black Folk, Then and Now, 1939.

³⁵ See Myrdal's discussions which speak specifically to this point in Chapter 3, Chapter 9, and Appendix 3 of An American Dilemma.

the alleged inferiority. About the scheme which bears so heavily upon the members of the group Myrdal states:

The causal interrelation [of the vicious circle] is as important in explaining why Negroes are so poor and in evaluating the wider social effects of Negro poverty. . . . The dynamics of the problem is this: A primary change, induced or unplanned, affecting any one of three bundles of interdependent causative factors -- (1) the economic level; (2) standards of intelligence, ambition, health, education, decency, manners, and morals; and (3) discrimination by whites -- will bring changes in the other two and, through mutual interaction, move the whole system along in one direction or the other. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 208)

The references made to Du Bois are designed to support the argument that the vicious circle is a scheme whereby conditions of inferiority are imposed. In Chapter 10 - The Tradition of Slavery Du Bois is cited to present the points which are made in Black Reconstruction: a) that the prices of slaves tended to rise up to the time of the Civil War; b) that Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner attempted to lead a movement for land reform (basic for any economic reform of reconstructing the South) which was doomed; c) that if realized, the promise to give a million Negro families a forty acre freehold would have been a basis for real democracy but was also Utopian to an extreme.³⁶ In the final

³⁶ For developed decision concerning these topics see Du Bois' Black Reconstruction, Chapter I - The Black Worker, Chapter IX - The Price of Disaster, Chapter XIV - Counter-Revolution of Property.

chapter of the first volume we find that Du Bois is quoted in support of Negro suffrage in the South by his contention that restrictions of suffrage should be applied impartially to whites and Negroes alike.

The imposition of the position of inferiority and subordination is not always the result of action by those who are antagonistic and seek to display a personal antipathy. This is the most beneficial use of the work of Du Bois. In it Myrdal found statements which demonstrated that a researcher could clearly point to the gross injury which "acts of omission" can cause. For example, in "The Negro Citizen" Du Bois offers this:

I do not for a moment argue that political power will immediately abolish color caste, make ignorant men intelligent or bad men good. We have caste and discrimination in the North with the vote, and social progress in some parts of the South without it. But there is this vast difference: in states like New York, where we are beginning to learn the meaning and use of the ballot, we are building a firm and unshakable basis of permanent freedom, while every advance in the South, unprotected by political power, is based on chance and changing personalities. I maintain that political power is the beginning of all permanent reform and the only hope for maintaining gains.

There are today a surprisingly large number of intelligent and sincere people, both white and black, who really believe that the Negro problem in the United States can ultimately be solved without our being compelled to face and settle the question of the Negro vote.

Nearly all of our social studies apparently come to this conclusion, either openly or by assumption, and do not say, as they ought to say, that granted impulse by philanthropy, help by enlightened public opinion and the aid of time, no permanent improvement in the economic and social condition of Negroes is going to be made, so long as they are deprived of political power to support and defend it.

Nowhere else in the world is there any suggestion that a modern laboring class can permanently better itself without political power. It may be a question, it certainly is a question, as to just how labor is going to use this power ultimately so as to raise its economic and social status. But there is no question that such power must be had. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, pp ccxxxvi-ccxxxvii)

The second volume of An American Dilemma contains twenty-two chapters divided into six sections (Parts). Volume Two is titled "The Negro Social Structure". The discussion of the disadvantaged position at which the American Negro found him/herself mid-way through of the twentieth century is the central theme which is explored. The Negro social structure was found by Myrdal and his research assistants to be filled with law-breaking, crime and corruption, poverty and distress, heartlessness and ignorance. The volume begins with a chapter titled, "Inequality of Justice", and the last chapter of the work is "America Again at the Crossroads in the Negro Problem". The racism, racial prejudice, race discrimination, racialism, bigotry, racial antagonism, racial exploitation and the other terms, which are used to

name the expression of race hatred directed from one racial group toward another, describe the manner by which the Negro in the United States of America in the mid-1940's was isolated and assigned to a lower social status. The references here to Du Bois are numerous³⁷ but there are two striking points to be taken from the reading. The first point is that there is desperation which Americans face in every phase of life. This desperation has been long in developing and has been kept in place by much physical, institutional, and psychic effort. The second point is that Du Bois and others had for some time been in the forefront of announcing the very same state of affairs which are the basis of the Myrdal work.

In the opening chapter of Volume 2 Myrdal says that "the fact that the administration of justice is dependent upon the local voters is likely to imply discrimination against an unpopular minority group, particularly when this group is disfranchised as Negroes in the South." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 523) The results which can be expected of a system founded upon exclusion of the minority are violent in every respect. The intimidation, implicit or explicit, will also go unpunished within this system and lawlessness will

³⁷ References to the following are made in Volume 2 - An American Dilemma: Dusk of Dawn, 1940 - 18 citations; The Souls of Black Folk, 1903 - 7 citations; Black Reconstruction, 1935 - 7 citations; "Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment", 1898; Darkwater, 1919; "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?", 1935.

bear a badge of scientific normalcy. The effects upon the victims are described by Myrdal, i.e., their hurt, their growing distrust, their eroded confidence, their forced solidarity, and their powerlessness among others. Whatever is the manner by which the victims become aware of the discrepancies, Myrdal turns to Du Bois as example of the attitude of Southern Blacks to the conditions at hand. It is of interest to note that the passage selected from the available work of Du Bois is from the 1903 work, The Souls of Black Folk. Almost a half a century before the publication of An American Dilemma, Du Bois wrote these words:

. . . the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice, not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression. The laws are made by men who have absolutely no motive for treating the black people with courtesy or consideration: . . . the accused law-breaker is tried, not by his peers, but too often by men who would rather punish ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, pp 525-526)

The first four chapters of Volume 2 are found under the heading - Part VI - Justice. Chapter 27 - "Violence and Intimidation" begins with a discussion of "Patterns of Violence". The reference made to Du Bois in this section is to the statistical reports included within the 1940 Dusk of Dawn. These statistics are those which total the number of casualties in racial violence which occurred within the

first three decades of the twentieth century. The chapter presents the various means by which violence and intimidation are directed against the Black population. It is a pattern of violence and intimidation with a relative absence of fear of legal reprisal. It was the case that a white man could strike or beat a Negro, steal or destroy his property, cheat him in a transaction and even take his life without fear of the law. This state of affairs was confounded by the fact that those who were the victims of the violence were also the victims of intimidation by being economically dependent upon those very same persons who exercise such control over their lives. The ultimate control over life is underscored by the ultimate threat to take a life, any life. The ultimate threat present in the South was "lynching". Myrdal says, ". . . lynching has become a Southern psychopathological phenomenon and a racial one." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 561)

As was pointed to earlier, the greatest number of citations used by Myrdal to work by Du Bois in Volume 2 of An American Dilemma is to Dusk of Dawn. This is an autobiographical work which Du Bois called an essay attempting to present his definition of the concept of race. The work was published in 1940 following the effort which produced Black Reconstruction five years earlier. In these two works twenty-five of the thirty-three references to Du Bois in Volume 2 are found. Interestingly, these two works

by Du Bois begin a movement away from the considered and broadly based position of leadership which had been the mark of Du Bois until this time. The particulars of this movement to the polemicist, the instigator of discussions to raise contradictions will be discussed in full later. The point of attention is that within these last chapters of An American Dilemma Myrdal's discussion of racism becomes sharper and the references to Du Bois reflect the frustration the "old Negro fighter and scholar" had realized in his seventy-five years of life.

"The Basis of Social Inequality", Chapter 28, begins by saying that equality in "social relations" is denied the American Negro. To prevent the building of intimate relations on any plane of equality, an elaborate system designed to separate the groups has been implemented. Once again the reader is taken through a history of the Afro-American experience beginning in slavery, then facing the Jim Crow laws, a detailing of the beliefs, systems of support, and the theories upon which the continued social inequality thrives. Upon the basis of inequality are constructed the most destructive of social threats. The effects of social inequality proscribe what a responsible leader must be as regards the progress of his/her people. It is exactly because the position of the leader is so starkly detailed that the leader becomes an easy target not just to the outside antagonistic group but to those in his own. The

effect of the social inequality is not to have only those aspiring to leadership vie among themselves but in so doing there is an increase in isolation among the members of the group.

For instance, Myrdal claimed that with the rise of the Negro middle class and upper class not only did they become distanced from their own cultural group but, additionally, they lived in seclusion from the white society. The effects of the social inequality could be seen within the cultivation of ignorance especially among the whites. The white refused to admit that with the growth of American society following World War I there too was growth within the Afro-American. But the growth of the Afro-American was repressed. The repression was carried out by the statement of barren half-truths concerning the Negro's ambitions and hopes, capacities and achievements. These half-truths were constructed into rigid stereotypes. A pretentious ignorance and a pretentious etiquette separated the white Southerner from the Negro resulting in estranged communities. The resulting ceremonial distance prevented white attention from being directed to the injury and the suffering which the Southern Blacks endured. Myrdal uses Du Bois' words from Black Reconstruction to address this issue:

It is easy for men to discount and misunderstand the suffering or harm done others. Once accustomed to poverty, to the sight of toil and degradation, it easily seems normal and natural; once it is hidden beneath a different

color of skin, a different stature or a different habit of action and speech, and all consciousness of inflicting ill disappears. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 658)

The final chapters and "Parts" of An American Dilemma are devoted to a discussion which reflects the Negroes' position within the Negro community. When Myrdal presents the distinctions which his study recognizes between the concepts of "class" and "caste", he bases his comments upon the following assumption: ". . . being a Negro means being subject to considerable disabilities in practically all spheres of life." (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 668) The Negro, according to Myrdal, was relegated to caste because it was with the expressed notion of "keeping the Negro in his place" that the rigid line separating one group from another was maintained. It is from a contrived basis of caste that racism gained its power. Those who attempted to give assistance to the Negro could be criticized for being "nigger lovers"; those who aided and abated the continued subjugation of the Negro were working to preserve the society as it was meant to be. But for the system to be maintained as "it was supposed to be" called for the identification of those who challenged and threatened the status quo. It was in the arbitrary and illusory attempts to identify Negroes where the racism was most dramatically seen. Myrdal reports an experience while attending the 1939 NAACP annual convention in Richmond, Virginia, in part by recounting -

. . . I insisted (to a group of officers and crew on the excursion boat) and pointed to Mr. Walter White, the secretary of the NAACP and some other "white" Negroes, and actually succeeded in drawing an acknowledgement that he and some other men were, indeed, white upon closer observation. One of my interlocutors went to have a closer look and came back and confirmed authoritatively that they were indeed white. "There are some 'nigger lovers' in the North and we have a few down here, too," he commented. When, however, I then pointed to a lady (whom I knew to be white) and intimated that she might be white, the whole company dismissed my idea as nothing less than absurd and, indeed, insulting. "No white woman would be together with niggers." Their theories of "white womanhood" obviously blinded them in the literal sense. (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p 684)

The effects of this and the associated blindness upon the position of the Negro within that caste society was described, from the Negro's perspective, by an appeal to the words of Du Bois. The passage selected was taken from Dusk of Dawn, "Concept of Race". There Du Bois charges that caste segregation is a means by which one group is separated from another without the dominant group admitting the discomfort and restrictions which are imposed upon the victimized people. It is this caste segregation which is the focus for the concluding discussions of Myrdal's work.

The effects of the caste segregation are realized in every sphere of the Black communities' social relations to one another. Within the Negro group, when considered unto itself as a class, there is found an abnormal distribution of

individuals within the class structure. What is found is a disproportionate grouping of individuals in the "lower class" compared to the number found in the middle or upper class groupings.³⁸ Another effect of caste segregation is the intragroup rivalry for leadership positions³⁹. Frederick Douglass' example is contrasted to Booker T. Washington as presented in passages taken from Kelly Miller. Booker T. Washington's program is contrasted against that of Du Bois and the members of the Niagara Movement. Du Bois and the members of the Niagara Movement are pitted against the Black Nationalist Movement, most notably represented by Marcus Garvey. And yet each leader and group attempted to present a plan of Negro advancement in the face of the hardships directed against the Negro people by the institutionalized and individual expressions of racism. Finally the effect of caste segregation was witnessed within the particular programs called for to encourage the Black peoples' advancement in spite of the seeming hopelessness of their situations. It is here that Du Bois is appealed to the most, in comparison with the earlier citations to his work.

Chapter 38 - Negro Popular Theories, cites twelve

³⁸ See Chapter 32 - The Negro Class Structure, for this discussion in full accompanied by appropriate and interesting charts created by W. Lloyd Warner, and Du Bois.

³⁹ This is not to say that there is not competition for leadership in non-caste-segregated communities.

references to Du Bois, nine of them are to Dusk of Dawn.⁴⁰ The concern directed at this use of the then most recent work of Du Bois is that we can benefit from the reports which Du Bois himself made of his ability to read the times and evaluate action and direction to be taken for the future. My first point is that the first edition of Dusk of

40 I present the Du Bois' words so that the reader may refer to them directly.

" . . . what Negroes need is hospital treatment now; and what Negro physicians need is hospital practice; and to meet their present need, poor hospitals are better than none; segregated hospitals are better than those where the Negro patients are neglected or relegated to the cellar . . . American Negroes have got to accept separate medical institutions. They may dislike it; they may and ought to protest against it; nevertheless it will remain for a long time their only path to health, to education, to economic survival. The NAACP from the beginning could never be an organization that took an absolute stand against race segregation of any sort under all circumstances. When the NAACP was formed, the great mass of Negro children were being trained in Negro schools; the great mass of Negro churchgoers were members of Negro churches; the great mass of Negro citizens lived in Negro neighborhoods; the great mass of Negro voters voted with the same political party At the start (of the NAACP) what we did say was no increase in segregation; but that stand we were unable to maintain. Whenever we found that an increase of segregation was in the interest of the Negro race, we had to advocate it. We had to advocate better teachers for Negro schools . . . we had to advocate a segregated camp for the training of Negro officers in the World War. . . We had to advocate all sorts of organized movement among Negroes to fight oppression and in the long run end segregation." "Rail if you will against the race segregation here involved and condoned, but take advantage of it by planting secure centers of Negro co-operative effort and particularly of economic power to make us spiritually free for initiative and creation in other and wider fields, and for eventually breaking down all segregation based on color or curl of hair." ". . . (There needs to be) a racial attempt to use the power of the Negro as a consumer not only for his economic uplift but in addition to that, for his economic education". (Myrdal, An American Dilemma, pp 796-802)

Dawn was published by the then seventy-two year old Du Bois. At the time it is clear that he expected death to call soon, for he wrote in the opening "Apology": "My life had its significance and its only deep significance because it was a part of a Problem . . ." We know, too, that this anticipation of death had been met previously. In "The Shadow of Years" he writes: "Last year (1918) I looked death in the face and found its lineaments not unkind. But it was not my time. Yet in nature some time soon and in fullness of days I shall die, quietly, I trust; and, I shall, I am sure, enjoy death as I have enjoyed life." (Du Bois, Darkwater, p 23) This anticipation makes the reading of the chapter, "Concept of Race", critical. This chapter is one referred to by Myrdal but he does not first introduce it as an autobiographical statement, as Du Bois does, of a race concept. With this idea of autobiography in mind the reading of the last paragraphs of this chapter takes on a very important meaning for the third person pronoun is editorial usage behind which the reader must hear the first person voice of Du Bois ring through:

It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. It is as though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and persuasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression, and development; and how their loosening from prison would be a matter not simply of

courtesy, sympathy, and help to them, but aid to all the world. One talks on evenly and logically in this way, but notices that the passing throng does not even turn its head, or if it does, glances curiously and walks on. . . . the people within become hysterical. They may scream and hurl themselves against the barriers, hardly realizing in their bewilderment that they are screaming in a vacuum unheard and that their antics may actually seem funny to those outside looking in. They may, even here and there, break through in blood and disfigurement, and find themselves faced by a horrified, implacable, and quite overwhelming mob of people frightened for their own very existence.

It is hard under such circumstances to be philosophical and calm, and to think through a method of approach and accommodation between castes. The entombed find themselves not simply trying to make the outer world understand their essential and common humanity but even more, as they become inured to their experience, they have to keep reminding themselves that the great and oppressing world outside is also real and human and in its essence honest. All my life I have had continually to haul my soul back and say, "All white folk are not scoundrels nor murderers. They are, even as I am, painfully human. . .

Practically, this group imprisonment within a group has various effects upon the prisoner. He becomes provincial and centered upon the problems of his particular group. He tends to neglect the wider aspects of national life and human existence. On the one hand he is unselfish so far as his inner group is concerned. He thinks of himself not as an individual but as a group man, a "race" man. His loyalty to this group idea tends to be almost unending and balks at almost no sacrifice. On the other hand, his attitude toward the environing race congeals into a matter of unreasoning resentment and even

hatred, deep disbelief in them and refusal to conceive honesty and rational thought on their part. This attitude adds to the difficulty of conversation, intercourse, and understanding between groups.

This was the race concept which has dominated my life. . . (Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, pp 130-132 [emphasis added])

A second point which supports the reading of this passage in the manner I have suggested comes from Du Bois. In the "Preface" written for the Jubilee Edition of The Souls of Black Folk (1953) we find two points of interest. One point has been called to the attention of many who have studied the work of Du Bois. This point is that Du Bois asserts that because of his lack of familiarity (during his college training) with the work of Karl Marx he would revise, not change, his charge about the color line. He writes:

. . . I still think today as yesterday that the color line is a great problem of this century. But today I see more clearly than yesterday that back of the problem of race and color, lies a greater problem which both obscures and implements it: and that is the fact that so many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort even if the price of this is poverty, ignorance and disease of the majority of their fellowmen . . .

The other point which Du Bois makes which has not been given the attention which it deserves, but a point which is reflected in the passage presented above from Dusk of Dawn is stated by Du Bois as follows:

. . . As I re-read these messages of more than half a century ago, I sense two matters which are not so much

omission on my part as indications of what I then did not know or did not realize: one is the influence of Freud and his co-workers in their study of psychology . . .

As a student of James, Santayana and Royce, I was not unprepared for the revolution in psychology which the Twentieth Century has brought; but The Souls of Black Folk (and I would add especially Dusk of Dawn) does not adequately allow for unconscious thought and the cake of custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice.[emphasis added]

The point to be taken from this discussion addressing Myrdal's study, An American Dilemma, is that its use of Dusk of Dawn does not reflect a clear and accurate representation of the wealth of information concerning, racism, race prejudice, race persecution, caste prejudice, and racial discrimination found in Du Bois' work. Myrdal's survey of the materials prepared by Du Bois is limited. Perhaps the omissions are compensated for by reviewing the work done by others during this same period (1940-1950) which investigated the elements connected to the Negro Problem. I shall now turn the discussing to an examination of four of the major works addressing racism after the publication of An American Dilemma.

CHAPTER VIII

"Du Bois ranks among the foremost writers of true importance in this country."

Eugene O'Neill

Subsequent Studies of An American Dilemma

During the passing of the years in the fifth decade of the twentieth century, it became clear that "it was too late to argue if there was a Negro problem or not."⁴¹ One of the first corollary studies to follow An American Dilemma was the work completed by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (1945).⁴² The study reflects the movement of the Negro into the Chicago area beginning with the time when Chicago was a "city of refuge" for those escaping from the institution of slavery from 1840 to those who sought refuge from the reactionary movement of Jim Crowism and the Black Codes during and following the Reconstruction Period. Black

⁴¹ See Richard Wright's "Introduction", Black Metropolis, Cayton and Drake, p xxix.

⁴² The authors say the following concerning their work in connection to that of Myrdal: "The research for Black Metropolis had been concluded and the first draft of the book made before Myrdal's study appeared, but the authors have been interested in judging their own work by Myrdal's criteria . . . From the beginning of their research, however, the authors have been conscious of one problem which Myrdal raises about the nature of social classes. They are not entirely in agreement with his conclusion that "our class concepts have no other reality than as a conceptual framework". . . .

Metropolis examines the dynamics contained in the movement of Negroes from the rural South and small southern towns and cities to the "midwest metropolis" for a period of one hundred years. By 1945 the physical size of the area of Chicago to which this migration had been directed ceased to grow while the number of migrants continued with little ebb. Black Metropolis then is the study of a social racism, a cultural racism, which was to deny the Black people access to the necessities of social growth and progressive achievement. For example, the authors comment, "The strongest visual evidence of a color-line in midwest metropolis is the existence of a Black Belt. Of the city's 370,000 Negroes, over ninety out of every hundred live in areas predominately Negro." (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p 174) The racism which is the fundamental theme running through this work, which is faced by the individuals in this study, is highlighted in the following passage:

Given the definition of an area and the people in it as "undesirable", the expansion of the area will be resisted. If, however, individuals within it are able to change the telltale marks of poverty, name, foreign language, or distinctive customs, they may move out and lose themselves in middle-class, native-born white neighborhoods. This, Negroes wearing the badge of color, cannot do. Negro areas must either expand as parts of a constantly growing Black Belt, or stagnate as deteriorating slums. (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p 175)

All the impediments created by law and social antipathy which block the advancement and the progress of the Black people within the Black Metropolis are subject to the charge of racism. How is Du Bois appealed to, if at all, to support the case of designed racial discrimination retarding efforts of individuals and groups in the Black Metropolis?

The major focus of the study completed by Cayton and Drake constituted investigation of the Black Metropolis during the Depression and the early period of the Second World War. About these years the authors suggested that industrialization, nationalism, imperialism, urbanization, and secularization all came to their own points of culmination. Thus, the authors argued, for a society to experience such dynamic processes and not be torn in the activity is associated with each demanded selection of social controls, i.e., methods of social planning. As has been mentioned within the discussion examining An American Dilemma, social planning requires personal relations to be considered. It was when personal relations between whites and Blacks were the issue that the problem was met head-on. Cayton and Drake comment that -

. . . An eminent Negro scholar, W.E.B. Du Bois, once remarked that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line." At first glance this seems like a very narrow, ethnocentric approach to world affairs. It contains, however, a large element of truth. . . The color-line in America is merely a specialized variant of a worldwide problem. For over two hundred

years, Negroes were imported from Africa as slaves. But slavery never had complete moral sanction in America, nor were the slaves ever completely reconciled to servitude. The history of the Negro in Midwest Metropolis, like the history of the Negro in America, is the story of a conflict between the principles of American democracy and the existence of a color-line. (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p 97)

The study which details the conflict between the principles and the reality of the color-line springs from an appreciation of the work of Du Bois.

The appeal to Du Bois by the authors of Black Metropolis is not limited to an allusion to his words as background against which their work will unfold. Rather their appeal is made reflecting an understanding of Du Bois' insights. For example, of the three other references made to statements written by Du Bois, two of these address the quarrelsome issue - "social equality". Social equality was one of the often stated objectives to be realized by the programs designed and implemented by the NAACP.⁴³ The spectre of social equality was cause for personal attack and a call, especially by whites, to protection of the race. The fear which is associated with social equality is reported in several ways. One example is reported as follows:

When white people in Midwest Metropolis express fear that Negroes will demand social equality, they do not mean semi-social acts of courtesy, friendliness, and informal

⁴³ See especially Du Bois editorial, "Our Program", CRISIS, May 1930.

social intercourse. They mean, rather, the prospect of Negroes becoming members of white cliques, churches, and voluntary associations, or marrying into their families. .

and,

"The Negro is unwilling to resume his status of other years; he is exalting himself with idiotic ideas on social equality. Only a few days ago Attorney General Palmer informed the Senate of the nation of the Negroes' boldest and most impudent ambition, sex equality." [excerpted from Property Owners' Journal 1919] (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, pp 117-119)

To these explications of the concept of social equality can be added those noted by Du Bois:

At last we have a definition of the very elusive phrase "social equality" as applied to the Negro problem. In stating their grievances colored people have recently specified these points:

1. Disfranchisement, even of educated Negroes.
2. Curtailment of common school training.
3. Confinement to "ghettoes".
4. Discrimination in wages.
5. Confinement to menial employment.
6. Systematic insult of their women.
7. Lynching and miscarriage of justice.
8. Refusal to recognize fitness "in political or industrial life".
9. Personal discourtesy.

Southern papers in Charlotte, Richmond, New Orleans and Nashville have with singular unanimity hastened to call this complaint an unequivocal demand for "social equality", and as such absolutely inadmissible. . . (Du Bois, "Social Equality", Crisis, January 1911)

The greatest fear of the demand for social equality came from the prospect that Negro men generally would be desirous of white women or vice versa. So widespread was the

accusation that Negro leaders were advocating intermarriage that "the most aggressive Negro leader of the period, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, felt it necessary to write for the record: 'The Crisis . . . most emphatically advises against race intermarriage in America because of social conditions and prejudice and not for physical reasons. However, the Crisis will defend the moral and legal right of individuals who may think otherwise.'" (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, p 118).

Finally, the authors of Black Metropolis make one last appeal to Du Bois but not to any statement which concerns racism per se. Rather this last reference to work of Du Bois focusses on his seminal work, The Philadelphia Negro, "the first important sociological study of a Negro community in the United States". Though Du Bois maps the distribution of the Negro population by "social condition" and announces four divisions, the authors of Black Metropolis state how they benefitted from The Philadelphia Negro in ways other than consideration of the economic emphasis in community classification -

. . . Du Bois concluded that ". . . there is a far mightier influence to mold and make the citizen, and that is the social atmosphere which surrounds him; first his daily companionship, the thoughts and whims of his class; then his recreations and amusements; finally the surrounding world of American civilization. . ." This emphasis upon the social relations -- in family, clique, church, voluntary associations, school, and job -- as the

decisive elements in personality formation is generally accepted. The authors feel that it should also be the guiding thread in a study of "class" rather than the more arbitrary approach of defining classes by looking for "breaks" in a statistical distribution of incomes, or rents. [emphasis added] (Cayton and Drake, Black Metropolis, pp 787-788)

It is evident from the reading of Black Metropolis that the authors were, at least, sympathetic and, perhaps, encouraged by the work of Du Bois. It is clear that Cayton and Drake acknowledge that Du Bois was the forerunner of points of discussion which they presented and developed within their work. This is not surprising for Du Bois' work anticipates theirs and, in appeal to his pioneering work, they pay due respect to his farsighted and forthright scholarship.

Following the publication of Black Metropolis, in quick order came three⁴⁴ widely read and respected works. Franklin's From Slavery To Freedom is an historical work which had as its purpose "to re-tell the story of the evolution of the people of the United States in order to place the Negro in his proper relationship and perspective". (Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, p xi) The story which Franklin presented was based upon an assumption that the

⁴⁴ These works are in chronological order: John Hope Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, 1947; Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, 1948; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, 1949.

American society faced a racial crisis. Franklin could benefit from the work of Myrdal by appealing to it for research supporting claims that American society was indeed embroiled in a racial crisis. The task which Franklin accepts is to compose the history of the United States which appreciates the presence of the heritage brought to it by the Afro-American. In the "Preface" to the first edition of the work, Franklin credits the significant writing in the field which preceded his work and without which "it would not have been possible for me (Franklin) to write this book." The researchers to whom, by name, he pays this respect are: Carter G. Woodson, Charles H. Wesley, Luther P. Jackson, and W.E.B. Du Bois.

From Slavery To Freedom is an historical work. Thus any discussion in it which focusses upon or mentions an individual must do so within that context. So it is with the mentionings of Du Bois and his work. They are placed within the context of the time and the circumstances which surrounded him and his people. The index included in From Slavery To Freedom yields an interesting insight. There are more citations to the work of Du Bois than any other individual. The next largest number of citations is to Booker T. Washington. If we were to list not only references to both men but also add index listings of the NAACP and Tuskegee Institute, the number by which Du Bois outdistances Booker T. Washington is significant. The reason

for the numerous references to Du Bois is to note the diversity of involvement and activity in which he was engaged.

Another reason for the numerous references to Du Bois is Franklin's concern of presenting to the reader honest and complete historical scholarship. It was Franklin's experience that the traditionally taught historical ledger was incomplete and the traditionally taught history misrepresented the evolution of the nation. To point specifically to cases of incompleteness and/or misrepresentation, Franklin notes Du Bois' presence and contributions within a sixty year span (1890-1950). These references⁴⁵ include: a) his presence as a pioneer in Negro scholarship - e.g., University of Pennsylvania (p 552), Atlanta University Studies (p 408); b) his presence as a leader to ameliorate the social status of the Negro - e.g., i) director of Atlanta University's Conferences on Negro Problems (p 408), ii) founder of the Niagara Movement (p 445), iii) challenger of accommodationist stance to relinquish political, civil, and higher education rights (pp 390-395), iv) incorporator of the NAACP (p 446); c) his presence as a precursor to the "New Negro" and Harlem Renaissance - e.g., member of the New York Wits as novelist, poet, essayist (pp 501-502, 506), editor of journals, i.e.,

⁴⁵ All page notations marked by () are found in Franklin's, From Slavery To Freedom.

Crisis, Horizon, Phylon (pp 558-559); d) his being an observer and participant in international relations and diplomacy - e.g., Garvey controversy (p 491), International Race Congress (p 448), Pan-African Congresses (p 470), accredited observer of United Nations Organizational Conference (pp 602, 645).

In examining his From Slavery to Freedom we find that Franklin begins his work with three chapters devoted to the history of Africa and the African states before the slave trade began. When he directs his discussion, in Chapter VI, to the slave trade, he makes use of remarks presented by Du Bois at Harvard University in his Commencement Speech of 1890, "Jefferson Davis: A Representative of Civilization". Franklin paraphrases Du Bois words by saying:

. . .As Du Bois has pointed out, the concept of freedom which emerged in the modern world (after the Renaissance and Enlightenment) was a freedom to destroy freedom, the freedom of some to exploit the rights of others. It was, indeed, the concept of freedom with little or no social responsibility. If, then, a man was determined to be free, who was there to tell him that he was not entitled to enslave others? (Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, pp 43-44)

Though we find agreement here in their words, at the time of the writing John Hope Franklin was not in total agreement with Du Bois. When Franklin discusses the bibliographic sources available to him when composing the chapter "The

Effort to Attain Peace", i.e., the Reconstruction, he writes the following:

. . .A broader approach to the problems of Reconstruction was made by Francis B. Simkins and R.H. Woody in South Carolina during Reconstruction, while an attempt to redress the balance was made by W.E.B. Du Bois in Black Reconstruction which, unfortunately, contains a distended application of the Marxist doctrine to the problems of Reconstruction. (Franklin, From Slavery To Freedom, pp 670-671)

The reservations which Franklin holds concerning the application of Marxist philosophy to the study of Reconstruction does not dissuade him from appealing to and pointing to the achievements of Du Bois when it is called for. We may find that the political spectre of an appeal to Du Bois by later researchers became so threatening that in an effort to avoid controversy a giant was enveloped in the mists of racism.

It is not the case, however, that difficult issues are avoided in Caste, Class, and Race (1949), by Oliver C. Cox. What Cox's work contains, which has been absent from the works commented upon to this point, is a challenge to the moral question which has been applied to racism (for example recall statements by Myrdal). Cox states clearly, and often, that the question which must be considered is the material basis on which the racist's ideas of social relations is founded. For example, he writes, "Racial antagonism is part and parcel of this class struggle, because it developed

within the capitalist system as one of its fundamental traits." (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p xxx) Within his chapter, "Race Relations", we find, "Our hypothesis is that racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism, all racial antagonisms can be traced to the policies and attitudes of the leading capitalist people, the white people of Europe and North America." (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 322) And also he argues that, "Racism, as it has been recently employed in the literature, seems to refer to a philosophy of racial antipathy. Studies on the origin of racism involve the study of the development of an ideology, an approach which usually results in the substitution of the history of a system of rationalization for that of a material social fact. Indeed, it is likely to be an accumulation of an erratic pattern of verbalizations cut free from any on-going social system." (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 321) With these statements in mind, it may be useful to briefly outline Cox's ideas, as presented, and to raise a point of concern and question to his assertions concerning race prejudice.

A major assumption examined by Cox is that race prejudice is a social attitude.⁴⁶ An example of the social attitude is

⁴⁶ See "Prologue" especially pp xxxi-xxxvii for Cox's discussion.

constructed about one of the topics presented above, i.e., social relations as described by Myrdal and the remarks concerning "social equality" as exemplified by Du Bois. Cox looks to the Deep South for an example. There he points to the custom of different sexes of different races regarding each other as asexual objects, "Yet", he continues, "it would be utter nonsense to say that the difference in color has eliminated all chances of arousing sexual appetite between them." The point of his remarks is that, if race prejudice were simply a social attitude, then the individual would be born into it and accept it, as one accepts language, unconsciously. But the social attitude is an enforced attitude by which the members of the subordinate group must not be allowed to think of themselves as human beings having certain basic rights protected by law. Additionally, the dominant group members must demonstrate their hostility to any urge of the subordinate group to identify with them. That race prejudice is not a social attitude that one is born into becomes the line of demarcation between expressions of racial awareness in modern day society⁴⁷ and the ancient world.

To fully appreciate Cox's arguments one must accept his premise that race prejudice is an attitudinal instrument of modern human, economic exploitation. From this starting

⁴⁷ For Cox the modern world begins with the attention of Europe being trained on the New World - 1492.

point, he has grounds to claim that race prejudice, as we know it, was not found among the primitive peoples. Among the "primitive peoples" he includes the Egyptians, Babylonians and the Hellenic Greeks. In connection with the Greeks, it is suggested that they had a cultural, not a racial, standard of belonging. Thus the peoples of the world were Greek or barbarians, i.e., barbarians did not possess the elements of Greek culture, especially the language. Cox then goes on to say:

The experience of the later Hellenistic empire of Alexander tended to be the direct contrary of modern racial antagonism. The narrow patriotism of the city-states was given up for a new cosmopolitanism. **Every effort was made to assimilate the barbarians to Greek culture . . .** [emphasis added] (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 323)

That every effort was thus made to assimilate the barbarians to Greek culture is crucial for the later development of Cox's ideas. We may, however, point to an issue which is unclear and which Cox seems to dismiss. It is claimed by some that the interpretation of the meaning of "barbarian" made by Cox is inaccurate.⁴⁸ For these, the meaning of "barbarian" was not only one who was not Greek, in race, in language or culture, but one who was incapable of self-

⁴⁸ For a specific discussion of the Hellenic Greek influence on "modern-day" social relations, the reader is urged to read, "Aristotle and Black Slavery: A Study in Race Prejudice", Mavis Campbell, in Race, Volume XV, January 1974.

government. The effect this has on Cox's discussions is crucial.

According to Cox, racial antagonism attained full maturity during the latter half of the nineteenth century when the European nations began to justify their economic exploitation by appeal to theories of racial superiority and masterhood. Since race prejudice is an attitudinal instrument of "modern human, economic exploitation", then the question of race prejudice being found among primitive peoples should not arise. But it is exactly at this point, which Cox labels "maturity", where the question of race prejudice among primitive peoples does, in fact, arise. A note of caution -- it is not a claim made by this writer that there is evidence of race prejudice, as we know it, to be found in those ancient societies. The point to be raised is that the nascent race prejudice, which Cox identifies within the practical exploitative relationships of the sixteenth century Portuguese and Spanish conquistadors, did not originate in Iberia. The arguments, which Cox rightly points to⁴⁹, made by the theologian, Juan Gaines de Sepulveda (1490-1573), follow the Aristotelian model. That this was not coincidental is discussed by Mavis Campbell as follows:

⁴⁹ See Chapter 19 - "Race Relations, especially pp 333-335, where Cox presents his remarks concerning Gaines de Sepulveda.

. . . Sepulveda, the noted Spanish Renaissance jurist, (was) described as "one of the best trained minds of his time", and the most uncompromising of the Aristoteleans. Sepulveda's Latin translation of the Politics in 1548 was considered for centuries as indispensable. His opinion of the Indians followed the identical Aristotelean model. "The natural rudeness and inferiority" of the Indians, accorded, to Sepulveda, with the doctrine of "The Philosopher" (Aristotle) that some men were born to be slaves. The Indians therefore ought to serve their superior and their natural Lords "the Spaniards", who had an obvious right to rule over the "barbarians" since "The Philosopher" had taught us that it was good for the "inferior beings" to be thus governed. If they resisted this "overlordship", they should be forced to obey by force of arms, and warring against them was "just" as if one were hunting down "wild beasts". (Campbell, "Aristotle and Black Slavery: A Study of Race Prejudice", Race, Volume XV, January 1974, p 286)

With these points made we shall move the discussion on to Cox's remarks addressing racism and the place Du Bois occupies in them. As one may anticipate Cox is mindful of the work and presence of Du Bois. In the "Preface" Cox writes:

. . . Since this essay is not of the nature of a survey, we have not attempted to examine and to list the various sources from which valuable data, especially on race relations, may be obtained. . . . However, no study of race relations could be considered adequate without a knowledge of the contributions made by such works as Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma; St Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis; Stetson Kennedy,

Southern Exposure; and W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk. (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, pp xv-xvi)

These citations having been noted in the "Preface", it is interesting to note that the title The Souls of Black Folk is not referred to in the body of this 624 page work (as found in the Modern Reader edition) nor is it listed within the "Bibliography".⁵⁰ Having noted this I turn to the words of Du Bois cited by Cox.

For Cox, race prejudice constitutes an attitudinal justification for the exploitation of some race. Race prejudice is the social-attitudinal concomitant of the racial-exploitative practice of a ruling class in a capitalistic society. The substance of race prejudice is the exploitation of "the militarily weaker" race. The social attitude which defends against any Negro realizing social equality merely means that the "colored man" must be forever kept exploitable.⁵¹ Built upon this definition Cox presents his thoughts of what is the unvarnished purpose of all "racism". To make his point Cox uses a passage (taken from Du Bois' Black Reconstruction) spoken by a New Yorker, in 1859, who advocated the Southern system:

"Now, Gentlemen, nature itself has assigned his condition of servitude to the Negro. He has the

⁵⁰ The works written by Du Bois which are included in the Bibliography are Black Reconstruction, (1935); Darkwater, (1921); and, Dusk of Dawn, (1941).

⁵¹ See the discussion presented in Chapter 21, "Orthodoxy in Theories of Race Relations", pp 474-477.

strength and is fit to work; but nature, which gave him this strength, denied him both the intelligence to rule and the will to work. Both are denied him. And the same nature which denied him the will to work, gave him a master, who should enforce this will, and make a useful servant of him. . . . I assert that it is no injustice to leave the Negro in the position onto which nature placed him; to put a master over him; and he is not robbed of any right, if he is compelled to labor in return for this, and to supply a just compensation for his master in return for the labor and the talents devoted to ruling him and making him useful to himself and to society," (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 481)

The first appeal which Cox makes directly to Du Bois is in Chapter 19 titled "Race and Caste". Cox establishes his case concerning the distinctions found between 'race and caste' in the following:

. . .The structure of race and of caste relationship is incommensurable. Caste has reference to the internal social order of a society; race suggests a whole people, wherever found on the globe, and a people in actual world dispersion will not conceive of themselves as members of a caste. While there may be rivalry for position among castes, between races in opposition there will be struggle for power. A caste -- that is to say the endogamous group--is an organization; a race is not ordinarily an organization.

Cox suggests that the struggle for power, which is the mark of distinction involving opposed races, is the "principle which seems to underlie race adjustments." It is this principle which is responsible for the element of an

eruptive and unstable character that accompanies the attitudes of members of one race toward the members of the other. This leads Cox to quote Du Bois:

"What then is this dark world thinking? It is thinking that as wild and awful as this shameful war (World War I) was, it is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the White World cease. The Dark World is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer."

Cox concludes this use of Du Bois by saying: "This 'rising tide of color'⁵², which is the expressed hope of some colored leaders and the fear of some whites may be rather farfetched; at any rate, it illustrates an attitude which ever strives toward realization." (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 433) To characterize the statement of Du Bois at the time as "farfetched" was perhaps an overstatement. But in 1947 only a few foresaw the events which would transpire in urban centers and on college campuses which would demonstrate the frustration with treatment in the social and political institutions, let alone in the colonial countries of the world. Perhaps rightly so the statements of those visionaries were labelled farfetched.

"The Modern Caste School of Race Relations" is a chapter which again investigates distinctions between the terms

⁵² Cox uses this phrases as an allusion to Lothrop Stoddard, The Rising Tide of Color.

caste and race. What is examined in this instance is the South's construction of cultural institutions which divide white from Black and keep the races separated. The first distinction made is that the caste system of the South differs significantly from the caste system as found in India because of the role and the place of race. An example is given that in India a man of an upper caste may well marry a woman of a lower caste, i.e., there are no legal restrictions applied to such an event. However in the South there is exactly that, legal restriction, placed upon the intermarriage of white and Black -- in a word miscegenation. The discussion is developed further and Cox makes ample use of the works of Myrdal, Warner, Davis, Johnson, Gallagher, Durkheim, et al. The point of interest comes when Cox turns his discussion to the "Personality of Upper Class Negroes". It is not clear that Cox is continuing the discussion of caste within this section, though there is no indication that the subject has been dropped. There is evidence that Cox does not accept that "upper class" Negroes are concerned with caste at all. In caste systems, Cox argues, "a person belonging to a lower caste is not constantly butting his head against the caste line." (p 498) Then,

. . . Caste barriers in the caste system are never challenged; they are sacred to caste and caste alike. The personalities developed in the caste system are normal for that society.

To the contrary Blacks have challenged the system and rather than personalities of acceptance of discrimination, Cox argues that militancy is the well-spring of the drive for racial progress. Cox never fully informs the reader of all that is required to qualify one as an upper class Negro. He says that,

. . . dissatisfaction with the status quo must necessarily be the common preoccupation of all Negro leaders. There is, furthermore, some compensation to upper-class Negroes. Frequently they meet whites in flattering situations, mostly in business relations. They have considerable prestige among their own people, sometimes even more than that which whites of similar attainments can hope for within their own group. This windfall may not only compensate for loss of respect from low-class whites, but it may even result in a sort of grandiose importance inconsistent with reality. The 'big Negro', a recognized personality type, is usually indelicate and grossly lacking in humility; yet he is not pathological." p. 499

The point which Cox is making concerning the attitudes which are held by the "upper class Negro" is illustrated by reference to Du Bois. On this point Cox says that,

Enlightened Negroes recognize clearly the cultural inferiority of the poor whites. As a youth, W.E.B. Du Bois says of himself: 'I cordially despised the poor Irish and South Germans, who slaved in the mills and annexed the rich and well-to-do as my natural companions.' (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, pp 499-500)

But this is a serious misrepresentation of Du Bois.

The whole passage reads:

Wealth had no particular lure. On the other hand, the shadow of wealth was about us. That river of my birth was golden because of the woolen and paper waste tuestionablehat soiled it. The gold was theirs, not ours; but the gleam and glint was for all. To me it was all in order and I took it philosophically. I cordially despised the poor Irish and South Germans, who slaved in the mills, and annexed the rich and well-to-do as my natural companions. Of such is the kingdom of snobs. [emphasis added]

What is misrepresented is, first the statement which is to represent the sentiments of upper class Negroes is a statement alleged to have been thought as an adult, but clearly it was made as a youth. Secondly, the child who is to have considered this was neither from nor among the "upper class". Finally, the presentation of the statement by Du Bois was to be an example of the upper class syndrome, as suggested by Cox rather than the unconscious voicing of one so affected.

Just a short half page later Cox continues with references to Du Bois by raising the question of caste modification. Earlier Cox had presented W. Lloyd Warner's suggestion that in time the South would become a hybrid caste system. In it there would develop, rather than a horizontal caste structured society, a caste society separated by a vertical line; Blacks would have attained equality or parity in salaries, education, job position, but would still be separated because of color. With this as a jumping-off point Cox writes:

Warner believes that Dr. Du Bois has achieved leadership of a movement for "parallelism" among American Negroes. However, the fact that Du Bois as an assimilationist had a secure following, yet on his advocating a compromise with segregation was speedily wound up in his position and left to the thankless and interminable business of explaining his policy (Dusk of Dawn p 301ff), should have led Warner to give a different significance to the place of "parallelism" in the social aspirations of Negroes. He might have been on safer ground had he referred to the open plan of white South Africa ostensibly to develop a nation of whites and one of blacks within the same economically competitive area.

At any rate, segregation is a white man's principal anti-color weapon of oppression; therefore, Negroes can have but one quite obvious attitude toward it. Du Bois' leadership was doomed -- and is still so--when, he says of himself, he "proposed that in economic lines, just as in lines of literature and religion, segregation should be planned and organized and carefully thought through" (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, pp 500-501)

The grounds upon which Cox here claims that Du Bois' leadership was doomed are not stated fairly. It would seem from Cox's writing that Du Bois favored segregation in the crude racist-sense of the word. For this adaptation of a group's behavior to the wishes of the white dominant society is what led Cox to term Du Bois as an assimilationist. This appellation is usually reserved for Booker T. Washington⁵³.

⁵³ Cox is not the only one to talk of Du Bois in this manner. Don Quinn Kelly, in his paper "The Political Economy of Booker T. Washington: A Bibliographic Essay", writes: Du Bois' major criticism (of Washington) was that the white South should be forced to rectify its wrongs

However, it is about Washington that Cox and Du Bois seem to agree. In the chapter "Race Relations" Cox writes the following in his discussion of Washington's philosophy:

. . . However exalted his motives might have been, yet he enunciated one of the deepest intents of the exploiters of labor -- of black labor especially -- when in giving utterance to an essentially mercantilist labor philosophy he declared: "We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor . . ." (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 342)

How similar this criticism of Washington is to that which Du Bois had written more than forty years earlier. In the chapter, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others" of The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois writes, ". . . and so thoroughly did he (Washington) learn the speech and thought of triumphant commercialism, and the ideals of material prosperity, that the picture of a lone black boy poring over a French grammar amid the weeds and dirt of a neglected home soon seemed to him the acme of absurdities. One wonders what Socrates and St. Francis of Assisi would say to this." (Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, p 81) Not to belabor this point I will

through "candid and honest criticism": because Washington had propagandized that the Black man's "future rise depends primarily on his own efforts," -- not aroused or encouraged by the "richer and wiser" white majority -- the African race could not and would not succeed. For this, "Mr. Washington is especially to be criticized." Simply put, regarding social theory and race, Du Bois was an assimilationist, Washington a pluralist. (The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XLVI. Fall 1977, No. 4, p 405) Also see Elliot M. Rudwick's "An Accommodationist in Wartime", W.E.B. Du Bois: A Profile, Rayford W. Logan.

mention perhaps one explanation for this strange charge against such a staunch fighter for social, political, and educational rights for Black people.

Cox's attention in making this charge is directed to what he takes to be the meaning in Du Bois' statement, ". . . in economic lines, just as in lines of literature and religion, segregation should be planned and organized and carefully thought through." If, by the use of segregation, Du Bois meant an "anti-color weapon of oppression", then the criticism is well directed. However, if we were to turn to a March 1934 article written by Du Bois, there we would find that what Cox means as "an anti-color weapon of oppression" is that which Du Bois calls compulsory segregation. The direction Du Bois asked the Black people of the United States to consider was similar to that of Richard Allen and Absalom Jones when they left the Philadelphia St. George Methodist Church. Du Bois called their action internal self-organization. He asks the Black people, who then faced compulsory segregation during the Depression years of the 1930's, to do the same.⁵⁴ It should not be forgotten that

⁵⁴ In part the article written by Du Bois, "History of the Segregation Philosophy" reads: ". . . The excluded Negroes found themselves in a dilemma. They could do one of two things: they could ask to be admitted as a segregated group in some white organization, or they could form their own organization. It was an historic decision and they did both.

Richard Allen formed from the larger part of the group the African Methodist Episcopal Church . . . Absalom Jones formed St. Thomas Church as a separate Negro church in the Episcopal communion . . . Which of these two methods was

the Depression statements addressing this self-organization are found in the twenties. For example, Du Bois recognized that the problem of racism created a dilemma. He spoke of this dilemma before a Black audience in Philadelphia when he said:

. . . The Cheyney Normal School must have State aid or it will die. We cannot let it die, we need it; yet State aid makes it in fact if not in law a Negro normal school in Pennsylvania. Very good. If you promote a great Negro institution, well supported, beautifully built, with teachers from the greatest universities in the world, this is Race Pride. But at the same time this is also Segregation. The point that you must remember is this: the demands of democracy and the demands of group advancement cannot always be reconciled. The race pride of Negroes is not an antidote to the race pride of white people. (Du Bois, "The Dilemma of the Negro", American Mercury, Vol. 3 p 181)

Attention will now shift away from Oliver C. Cox to E. Franklin Frazier's work, The Negro in the United States. Both works accept the premise that the "Negro Problem"⁵⁵,

best will be a matter of debate. There are those who think that it was saving something of principle to remain in a white church, even as a segregated body. There are others who say that this action was simply a compromise . . .

No matter which solution seems to you wisest, segregation was compulsory, and the only answer to it was internal self-organization . . ." (Du Bois, CRISIS, March 1934, 85-86)

⁵⁵ In 1898 Du Bois wrote the following describing his understanding of the Negro Problem:

. . . though we ordinarily speak of the Negro problem as though it were one unchanged question, students must recognize the obvious facts that this problem, like others, has had a long historical development, has

wherever the blame lies, has been documented well by An American Dilemma. The works by Franklin, Cox, and Frazier are the last of the list of distinguished works which follow Myrdal and Johnson's works within the decade of activity immediately following the publication of An American Dilemma. The difference between the work of Cox and Frazier is marked by Cox's concern with demonstrating that the "maladjustment" between the technological potentialities of Western society and the possibilities of bringing them into the service of human welfare is an inherent trait of Western, especially American, capitalist social order. On the other hand, Frazier's work looks at the maladjustment from a slightly different perspective. In the author's preface Frazier states his concern about "the process by which the Negro has acquired American culture and has emerged as a racial minority or ethnic group, and the extent to which he is being integrated into American society".⁵⁶

changed with the growth and evolution of the nation; moreover, that it is not one problem, but rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex; and these problems have their one bond of unity in the act that they group themselves about those Africans whom two centuries of slave-trading brought into the land. (Du Bois, "The Study of the Negro Problems", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. II 1898, p 3)

⁵⁶ The difference of concern which is reflected between these two works is also noted by this observation. Though these works are separated by only a year in publication date in the Cox work there is no appeal to the term "integration" for any discussion relative to the Black American and the American social order. In Frazier's work the concern with integration is of primary and initial attention.

The Negro in the United States is a sociological study of the Negro American which "would throw light upon the problem of race and culture contact." (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p xiv) How this discussion will fit within our subject of the place of Du Bois in the discussion of racism is determined by two considerations. One is the use of the material produced by Du Bois as found in the Frazier work. As we have noted in earlier discussions, the appeal to Du Bois has been consistent, though the interpretation and the application of what may be taken as Du Bois' meaning runs the spectrum of accurate to questionable⁵⁷. The second consideration is the meaning applied to the term which is used for the expression of racism. As has also been noted there are various terms used for the attitude directed toward the Negro which marks the oppression and discrimination experienced, i.e., the "Negro Problem". The term used by Frazier is "race prejudice". The term itself is not defined until the last chapter of the text. That the term has been applied throughout the discussion is not questioned, but the meaning is allowed to vary from author to author. At times an assumption is made that the reader is in agreement with the suggested meaning of the discussion presented by the author. An example of this treatment of the

⁵⁷ The readers' attention is directed back to the discussions of Charles Johnson, Gunnar Myrdal, John Hope Franklin, and Oliver Cox.

use of the term being left in the hands of those on whom the discussion focusses is found in Part 2 - Racial Conflict and New Forms of Accommodation. In the three chapters which make up this Part there are seventeen citations to the work of Du Bois, fourteen of these being directed to pages in Black Reconstruction.

The nature of Frazier's sociological study is to throw light on the problem of race and culture contacts in the American experience. To turn to those who have marked the points of contact and the results following that association is just what Frazier is determined to do. Frazier reports about the point of contact after the Civil War by saying that, "it appears that the great body of white people were not willing to accord the Negro the status of a free man." (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p 127) The reason for the lack of accord by the whites he leaves for Du Bois' work to establish. The reason whites did not accord Blacks the respect they deserved is assumed to be self-evident, viz., racism. Frazier introduces the discussion of the nature of racial prejudice by describing an attitude held by a majority of whites. These whites had suffered the loss of property, friends, and relatives and were embittered by the

defeat on the battlefield. Of this Carl Schurz⁵⁸ in 1867 writes:

Wherever I go I hear the people talk in such a way as to indicate that they are yet unable to conceive of the Negro as possessing any rights at all. Men who are honorable in their dealings with their white neighbors, will cheat a Negro without feeling a single twinge of their honor. To kill a Negro, they do not deem murder; to debauch a Negro woman, they do not think fornication; to take the property away from a Negro, they do not consider robbery. The people boast that when they get freedman's affairs in their hands, to use their own expression, "the niggers will catch hell."

The reason of all this is simple and manifest. The whites esteem the blacks their property by natural right, and however much they admit that the individual relations of masters and slaves have been destroyed by the war and by the President's emancipation proclamation, they still have an ingrained feeling that the blacks at large belong to the whites at large. [emphasis added] (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p 128)

It is that "ingrained feeling" which Frazier assumes all will acknowledge as racial prejudice. That this, as with so many other cases, his intention is clear when we find that he says -

. . . race prejudice is an attitude with an emotional bias. The reasons which a person offers for his prejudice are "rationalizations" rather than "reasonable grounds" for his attitude. . . . The latest rationalization

⁵⁸ Carl Schurz, a German immigrant in 1849; by 1865. he was a well-known American politician who was appointed by President Johnson in 1865 to report on the conditions of the South directly following the Civil War.

advanced for not educating the Negro is that education makes the Negro unhappy.

. . . During the period of slavery when the inferior status of the Negro was fixed, race prejudice tended to be absent. Whatever racial prejudice was manifested toward the Negro was directed against the free Negro. (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp 666-667)

That this expression of race prejudice flies in the face of the definitions previously met is found in the unique assertion that race prejudice may discriminate in selecting the object of its attention. In this passage Frazier seems to suggest that free Negroes were targets of race prejudice but when the Negroes were slaves they were saved from racial prejudice. To this suggestion by Frazier it should be interesting to contrast the statement made by Cox. The appeal to Cox is made not because there is agreement that race prejudice has purely a material basis but because he so clearly gives a contrary suggestion that race prejudice cannot be so arbitrarily assigned to an individual because of an assumed status as Frazier's remarks suggest. Cox writes:

. . . Race prejudice, from its inception, became part of the social heritage, and as such both exploiters and exploited for the most part are born heirs to it. It is possible that most of those who propagate and defend race prejudice are not conscious of its fundamental motivation. To paraphrase Adam Smith: They who teach and finance race prejudice are by no means such fools as the majority of those who believe and practice it. (Cox, Caste, Class, and Race, p 333)

There is an interesting distinction made by Cox in his remarks. One group consciously schemes and plans racist policy. Another group is composed of those who unwittingly practice and implement policy. This type of distinction of separating policy from individual act is found within the work of Frazier.

The last section of Frazier's work, Part 5 - Problems of Adjustment, is devoted to the main problems of adjustment which the Negro has had to face. Of course within this the problems of health and physical survival must be addressed. When Frazier turns his attention to the effect of racial prejudice, i.e., segregation and discrimination, has had on health, for example, what is faced is the separation of individual racism from institutional racism. The institutional aspect of the problem is reflected in the following statements made by Frazier concerning hospital care.

. . . The limited hospital facilities for the Negroes were especially serious in regard to tuberculosis. In 1934 there were in the 13 southern states only 1,666 beds set aside for Negroes whereas during that year 11,385 Negroes died from tuberculosis. In order to meet the need for hospital facilities, Negroes have established over a hundred hospitals, mainly in the South. Less than a fifth of these hospitals are approved by the American College of Surgeons and only nine are approved by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association for the training of interns.

. . . The inadequate health provisions for Negroes are partly the result of segregation and discrimination in the training of Negro doctors, dentists, and nurses. There are about 4,000 physicians, 1,600 dentists, 9,000 nurses, and 1,400 pharmacists included in the Negro professional personnel in the United States. About 85 per cent of the Negro physicians received their training at the Howard University Medical College in the District of Columbia and Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1942 there were 3,810 Negro doctors in the United States or a ratio of 1 to 3,379 Negroes; while the ratio for the entire nation was one physician to 750 persons. At the present time about 70 Negro doctors are graduated annually from each of the two Negro Schools and about 12 from northern medical schools. The relatively few Negroes graduating from northern medical schools is the result of a general policy of excluding or discouraging the attendance of Negro students. [emphasis added] (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp 586-589)

The individual racism, which Frazier points to in this discussion, consists of the barriers raised against the Negro physician via policies of the American Medical Association and allied organizations

. . . Negro physicians have been excluded from the Association by the stipulation that membership is contingent upon membership in a physician's local, county, or state association. Consequently, because of the attitude of white physicians in 17 southern states and the District of Columbia, Negro physicians are denied the benefits conferred by membership in the Association. [emphasis added] (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, p 590)

There is another connection which is found in Frazier's work to a broader application of the meaning of race prejudice than is found and presented by him in the chapter "Race Relations". Interestingly enough one of the reasons for the broadened appeal is in part due to the use of a work by Du Bois which has not been mentioned nor referred to in any of the other works. The work is Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace (1945). Frazier refers to it when he points to Negroes having begun to identify their struggle for equality with the struggle of colonized people world wide. What must be one of the common elements in the appeal of viewing the world wide struggle is the exploitation and oppression to which both/all are subjected. In this way it again does not benefit Frazier's argument to claim that race prejudice is selective in choosing its victim. In the "Conclusion" of this work he writes:

. . . The defense of democratic principles has become identified in the minds of many people in the world with the struggle of the colored colonial peoples for self-determination and independence. The colored colonial peoples, who have been compared to the slum dwellers of Western cities, are themselves increasingly demanding a larger share of the resources of the lands which they inhabit. . . The American nation is committed to certain principles, the most important of which are human freedom and human equality, and in its bid for the support of the colored majority in the world, the treatment of the Negro can become its greatest asset. (Frazier, The Negro in the United States, pp 704-705)

These concluding remarks by Frazier are a bit unsettling. If the insights which have been shared about the nature of racism are accurate, especially concerning his remarks describing health care given to Negroes, then there is little basis for Frazier to seem so optimistic. Yet, Frazier seems to suggest that because of a commitment to basic "democratic" principles, the United States will seek support from the colored peoples of the world. In this search "the treatment of the Negro can become its greatest asset." The treatment which would benefit this suggested gathering of future support was in fact not forthcoming. The years of World War II had just precede the 1949 publication of this Frazier work. From the war experience there was no encouragement that the lives of Afro-Americans was to be significantly changed such that their treatment would encourage other colored peoples to become less suspicious of American intentions. In the next chapter we examine the attitudes expressing racism which are found in the second half of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER IX

... his determination to secure freedom for all peoples was the hallmark of his great and illustrious life. I am certain that he will continue to wield enormous influence through his immortal writings.

John Hope Franklin

Periods of Du Bois' Statements Addressing Racism

In earlier chapters this discussion of racism has been punctuated by various definitions and descriptions of racism. Thus, when the term racism is used, it should be remembered that it includes, in this context, all the terms which are used to describe that phenomenon of overt and covert discrimination acted-out by individuals. These individuals, who comprise the group identified as racist, claim to be different because of inherited racial characteristics. In the middle chapters of this work, the major works which have investigated the "Negro Problem" were examined, and the references which each made to the work of Du Bois were highlighted. In our modern age, i.e., the four decades (1950-present) which have marked the continued discussion of racism and have addressed the problems connected to the "color-line", appeal to the work of Du Bois has increased greatly. One reason for this increased attention is that ideas which are relevant to our modern day racial climate were clearly enunciated by Du Bois at the

beginning of the 20th century. In 1900 Du Bois penned the words:

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line.

These words were written when Du Bois served as an officer of the Pan-African Conference held in London, 1900, which was convened by Henry Sylvester Williams. This statement reflected, in 1900, Du Bois having already: 1) completed the first (1896-97) sociological study of the Negro, The Philadelphia Negro; 2) received his B.A.-Fisk University '88, A.B.-Harvard '90, M.A.-Harvard '92, Ph.D.-Harvard '96; Study in the University of Berlin, 1892-94; 3) joined Atlanta University, the Department of Sociology, and directed the 100 Year Study of the Negro, 1897⁵⁹; 4) completed for the United States Department of Labor, "The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia," 1897, and "The Negro in the Black Belt: Some Social Sketches," 1899. By 1900 Du Bois knew the Negro problem well so that his remembered statement, "The problem of the twentieth century is the

⁵⁹ The Atlanta University Studies are interesting one. It is interesting because of the concept on which it was construct. I am of the opinion that Du Bois' scheme in designing the study is unique and original to Du Bois. His stated idea was that the study of the Negro should be a sociological study based on 10 - decades. At the beginning of a decade the study-subjects would be looked at again and in order. The result would be ten studies in ten social areas of the progress of a people and race into the social structures of twentieth century American society. Du Bois directed the first fourteen of the studies and during that time directed the study through one full cycle which was all that was possible at the time.

problem of the color-line," was indeed a diagnosis. The Negro problem is a problem of racism. The Negro problem, that is the Negro being the continued victim of racist acts and policy to this day, draws much attention. There are claims that racism is present on university and college campuses throughout the United States. If these claims are true, then they underscore the point that what should have been learned from Du Bois' work is still to be learned.

For example, in the article "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Concepts on Race and Class", the authors introduce the line, "The problem of the twentieth century . . ." by saying, "The concept of race was of central importance to all of his work; he considered races as the central problem of the greatest of the world's democracies and so the problem of the future world." (Green and Smith, Phylon, Dec. 1983, p 264) In "Racism: a Lingering Societal Malady", the often quoted statement is prefaced with the following words:

. . . Throughout the history of this nation, the arbitrary and capricious method of classifying people by skin color has led to the development and perpetuation of an illusionary divider known as the "color-line". As early as 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois predicted the problem of color becoming a critical social issue of the coming century - "The problem of the twentieth century . . ." (McClain, "Racism: A Lingering Societal Malady", The Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol.8, No.2, p 74)

In addition to the timeliness and, in some cases, the timelessness, of Du Bois' statements, another reason for the

increased attention given to Du Bois by contemporary researchers⁶⁰ is that present day race relations have demanded it. But the presence of Du Bois within the discussions of race relations, and the appeal to his statements concerning race relations and racism, have been uneven. On the one hand, Du Bois has been disserved by uneven reports of his work, viz., 1) material written before 1980 which did not have access to the Du Bois Papers Collection at the University of Massachusetts, and 2) the works written since make but limited use of that collection. On the other hand, aside from the issue of a comprehensive use of the Du Bois Papers Collection, appeals to the work of Du Bois frequently fail to reflect a consistency of insight, understanding, or agreement about his work. The reasons for the failures in these areas perhaps rests with the assuredness some writers seem to bring to their work with Du Bois. The assuredness allows the writers to pass quickly from point to point. But the result is that hardly more than snippets of Du Bois' enormous output are offered instead of an extended, comprehensive overview.

As concerns this topic of racism, the comprehensive overview of Du Bois' work would present the statements of Du Bois in which he mentions racism. Additionally, the comprehensive overview would include the meaning of the

⁶⁰ See Joseph DeMarco, The Social Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois; Manning Marable, W.E.B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democratic; Nathan Huggins, Writings: W.E.B. Du Bois.

term, racism, as used by Du Bois and/or an explication of his meanings. An example of this oversight, i.e., an appeal to Du Bois' use of the term without development or explication of his meaning, is found in the work of Elliot M. Rudwick. Rudwick certainly has shown himself understanding of Du Bois⁶¹. However, in Rudwick's "An Accommodationist in Wartime" Du Bois is characterized as a) naive, b) inconsistent, and, c) racist. In regard to the charge of Du Bois being racist, Rudwick argues that in an attempt to counter the glorification and superiority claimed by whites, Du Bois expresses "the other side of the coin of racism", viz., reverse racism. Rudwick writes:

. . . The Negro race was (according to Du Bois) noble and "can stand before Heaven with clean hands." Having been deluded, demoralized, and destroyed, Negroes were called upon to return to "old ideals . . . old standards of beauty . . . not the blue-eyed, white-skinned types which are set before us in school and literature but rich, brown and black men and women with glowing dark eyes and crinkling hair . . . that harks back to the heritage of Africa and the tropics." (Du Bois, "Of the Culture of White Folk", cited excerpted in Logan, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Profile, p 169)

Rudwick follows this passage with this remark - "For a long time Du Bois had denounced white critics for racism, but it was clear he learned a few lessons from them." The reasons

⁶¹ See Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest, and Rudwick, et al., The Afro-Americans: Selected Documents.

for denouncing the racism of white critics sprang from another and unconnected source than that which prompted Du Bois' words. The racism which Du Bois condemned in the 1917 article, "Of the Culture of White Folks" was based upon the definition of racism which he presented in The Negro in 1915:

'(Racism) is a wide spread assumption throughout the dominant world that color is a mark of inferiority.' (Du Bois, The Negro, p 6)

Du Bois' statements, which Rudwick compares to Du Bois' own criticisms of the white critics, are written not to claim that the color of white skin is a mark of inferiority. Rather Du Bois' words are critical of those who would deny that contributions to the American society have and can only be made by those with white skin. The implicit or explicit statement of skin color being indicative of inferiority is the major lesson to be learned from the actions of white racist critics; the rhetorical element in Du Bois' attack upon the racist should not be confused nor should it lead to confusing the actions of Du Bois being racist in his meaning of the term.

There is a trend followed by many writers who address racism and Du Bois' remarks concerning it. This trend is marked by the writers assuming that the reader understands their meaning of racism as well as what they take to be Du Bois' meaning. It is the point of this dissertation to point to those who understand the term racism in regard to Du Bois

and what is meant when the term is used. In a 1934 dissertation titled, W.E.B. Du Bois As A Man Of Letters, is another example of this assumption being incorporated in the discussion. In this work it is taken for granted that the reader will understand what Du Bois means with the use of the terms "prejudiced minds", "ruthless exploitation", and "exploiting capitalists".

. . . Prejudiced minds have kept most white people from knowing about the Negro and his work. [p 47] . . . The Negro must avoid the mistakes of ruthless exploitation which have marked modern economic history. Race prejudice has hindered Negro business just as it has other phases of Negro life. [33] . . . white and black working men must unite against exploiting capitalists. [p 116] (Drake, W.E.B. Du Bois As A Man Of Letters)

The reader may get a sense of what the author believes is the meaning to be applied to these terms. But there is no development of the idea(s) which lie behind the terms to assist the reader in arriving at some conclusion. In another work we are told that Du Bois felt, "racism was only a matter of incorrect knowledge and belief in myths". It is claimed that his major failure in his discussions of racism at the end of the 19th century was claiming that racism was "a result of ignorance and misinformation" while not at the time connecting racism to the material needs of capitalism. (Richards, "W.E.B. Du Bois and American Social History: Evolution of a Marxist", Radical America, Nov. 1970, pp 39 and 42) Here again the reader is asked to accept a point of

criticism without knowing the implications of the terms used. For example, what is meant by racism being a "result"? It is a result of ignorance in what respect? The misinformation which is claimed is presented in what manner so that we see that it is a result of racism?

When we examine the works addressing racism and those especially which make reference to Du Bois, Du Bois is constantly called upon by the writers to speak for himself. This is accomplished by the writers picking phrases and passages which to them make sense without further explication. Meier says that "the radical Negroes were chiefly 'radical' on the race question" (Meier, "Radicals and Conservatives - A Modern View", found in Logan, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Profile, p 57) but the meaning of the race question is left for the reader to determine. Meier in another article writes ". . . the race prejudice isolated the Negro group and threw upon it 'the responsibility of evolving its own methods and organs of civilization'". Meier, "The Paradox of W.E.B. Du Bois", found in Logan, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Profile, p 68) What that race prejudice is is not stated. Similarly we find that Turner uses Du Bois' words from "The African Roots of War" to establish a connection between race prejudice and the justification of imperialist exploitation. He quotes Du Bois saying:

. . . that sinister traffic (slave trade), on which the British Empire and the American Republic were largely built, cost Black Africa no less than 100,00 (sic) souls,

the wreckage of its political and social life, and left the continent in precisely that state of helplessness which invites aggression and exploitation. "Color" became in the world's thought synonymous with inferiority, "negro" lost its capitalization and Africa was another name for bestiality and barbarism.

Thus the world began to invest in color prejudice. The "color line" began to pay dividends. (Du Bois, The African Roots of War, found in Turner, book review "W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks", Journal of Black Studies, June 1975, p 438)

Again we are left without the author's assistance in coming to know what is that race prejudice which made "color" synonymous with inferiority and caused Negro to lose its capitalization. It is probably the case that in each of these instances the author knew clearly what meaning was pointed to with the use of the phrase and/or statement. But it is also the case that Du Bois wrote so much, and so much has been written about him and the issues he addressed, that little can be taken for granted.

We find an example of the writer taking knowledge of Du Bois for granted when we turn to one of the great themes found in critical work concerning Du Bois. This is his notion of the "Talented Tenth". This group is so called because they are the educated elite who must assume the moral and cultural leadership of the race. It is by their leadership that the race will develop for civilization its particular message and ideal of human perfection. (Boxill, "Du Bois and Fanon on Culture", The Philosophical Forum,

Winter-Spring 1977-78, p 326) Addressing this topic Dennis writes, ". . . the educated elite was a concept that would be useful in the area of social change as it relates to politics, economics, education and culture. The educated elite was designed to eradicate problems besetting Blacks." (Dennis, "Du Bois and the Role of the Educated Elite", The Journal of Negro Education, Fall 1977, p 388) The reader must assume that the "problems" mentioned here are the problems created by racism. The force which creates the problems is not discussed. Later in this same article Dennis says that the "race problem was the major problem for Black Americans. The race problem would be corrected when the history of race and politics of race are known and understood." (p 393) Once again the key term 'race problem' is left undefined. And yet it is in answer to that problem that Du Bois offers a solution - the talented tenth.

The Talented Tenth was to become something more than a subject of debate. It was to take form and substance. One of the grand examples of the talented tenth at work is found in the American Negro Academy. This Academy was formed principally through the work of Alexander Crummell⁶². Crummell was a free born Black who, after he having tasted the bitter forces of racism in the United States, traveled to England in 1848. There he attended Queen's College in

⁶² See Du Bois, "Of Alexander Crummell", The Souls of Black Folk.

Cambridge, received a divinity degree in 1853, and chose not to return to America but travelled to Liberia where he stayed for twenty years. After witnessing the beginning and then failure of Black Reconstruction in the post-bellum South, Crummell looked to the creation of an authentic and incorruptible leadership among the members of the race; thus the idea for an "African Academy" which subsequently would be called the American Negro Academy. The formal acceptance of the Academy's goals came on the evening of December 18, 1896.⁶³

On March 5, 1897, the American Negro Academy held its first formal business meeting. The significance of the Academy's opening conference is met when it is noted that Du Bois had been called upon to prepare an address to be presented before the conferees. This address was "The

⁶³ The American Negro Academy was founded as "an organization of Colored authors, scholars, and artists" who accepted the following set of goals:

- a. To promote the publication of literary and scholarly works;
- b. To aid youths of genius in the attainment of the higher culture, at home and abroad;
- c. To gather into its Archives valuable data, historical or literary works of Negro authors;
- d. To aid, by publications, the vindication of the race from vicious assaults, in all lines of learning and truth;
- e. To publish, if possible, at least once a year an "Annual" of original articles upon various Literary, Historical, and Philosophical topics, of a racial nature, by selected members; and by these and diverse other means, to raise the standard of intellectual endeavor among American Negroes.

Found in The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth, Alfred A. Moss, Jr., p 24.

Conservation of Races". In this address, as has been noted, Du Bois defines his notions of race and intellectual. Race is that unit by which human progress is measured; and the intellectual is the member of the talented tenth by whose leadership the race's particular message and ideal is developed. About this address Moss writes:

. . . Anticipating objections that white hostility made it impossible for blacks to live up to their full capabilities, Du Bois dismissed race prejudice as a barrier to black development, describing it as simply an expression of the differences in "aims", "feelings", and "ideals" between two groups. As real as these differences were, because blacks and whites shared certain cultural traits -- the same language, religion, and legal system -- the prospect of a "fatal collision" was reduced. And, if there was a "satisfactory adjustment of economic life", he believed there was no reason they could not coexist. However, at the same time, Du Bois argued that white prejudice was a natural expression of valid differences, he admitted that its effect, together with the experience of slavery and the consequent economic weakness of his race, had been to create a situation in which blacks possessed only one means of advance, our belief in our great destiny". (Moss, The American Negro Academy, p 49)

Having been careful to distinguish the definitions which Du Bois offered for race and intellectual, Moss falters here by not following his practice and presenting definitions of race prejudice and white prejudice. Had he done so he might not have "dismissed" Du Bois' notion of race prejudice so quickly. Had he spent a line on defining the idea behind the term white prejudice he might have modified his statement

from that which says "white prejudice was a natural expression of valid differences."

In "The Conservation of Races" Du Bois uses dialectic argument as a rhetorical device. On the one hand we have races which are normally marked by physical characteristics. If we were to spend more time, however, we would see that though race sometimes is marked by common blood and language it always has among its members common history, traditions, and impulses. Similarly, Du Bois presents two notions of race prejudice. One type is the natural friction between different groups, as Moss points out, in aims, feelings, and ideals. However, the American Negro Academy was not convened to address these natural frictions which Moss would better consider as expressions of ethnocentrism. The American Negro Academy was convened because there had to be created a defense against the onslaught of race prejudice about which Du Bois wrote:

. . . Let us not deceive ourselves at our situation in this country. Weighted with a heritage of moral iniquity from our past history, hard pressed in the economic world by foreign immigrants and native prejudice, hated here, despised there, our one means of advance, our own implicit trust in our ability and worth." (Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races", found in Lester, The Seventh Son, Vol I, p 183)

The white prejudice which Moss claims was a natural expression of valid differences is not the subject of Du Bois remarks concerning the members of the American Negro

Academy. The prejudice of this latter circumstance is cruel, vicious, and this same prejudice is the reason for the iniquities to be found in the life and history of the Negro. These iniquities were not based upon "valid differences" as claimed by Moss.

The above examples are chosen because they reflect the manner in which Du Bois is appealed to but in that appeal disservice to his words and meanings is done. The disservice is not based upon a wish to misrepresent the work of Du Bois, but rather it springs from giving simplified statements without the benefit of the background of knowledge and experience which give impetus to his words. There is included in the literature to be sure, researchers who have spent time considering the background knowledge and experience brought by Du Bois to his work. It is to those that I turn attention in these next pages.

Those who have investigated the life and writings of Du Bois have felt it necessary to divide his work into periods. By so dividing the life into chronological segments the activity which the reader or researcher may focus on is given a contextual frame of reference. Herbert Aptheker, the executor of the Du Bois Papers, divided the correspondence of Du Bois into three printed volumes⁶⁴. Volume I contains selections of Du Bois' correspondence from 1877-1934. The

⁶⁴ There are included well over 150,000 items of correspondence in the material which comprise the Du Bois Papers Collection.

fifty-seven years included are subdivided and reflect these periods of Du Bois: 1) a student/teacher/scholar 1877-1904; 2) an organizer/editor/author, 1905-1920; 3) a national and international leader, i.e., The Era of Postwar 'Prosperity,' 1920-1929; and, 4) as a national and international leader, i.e., The Depression and Resignation from the NAACP, 1930-1934. Volume II contains selections from the decade 1934-1944, which Aptheker characterizes as the ". . . return to his first love -- scholarship and education." Of course even the casual student of American and World history of this period will expect to find, and will find, material concerning the Great Depression, World War II, Black Reconstruction, and Dusk of Dawn. Finally, Volume III is a collection of the correspondence of the last two decades of Du Bois' life (1944-1963). These twenty years involved some of the most turbulent and antagonistic experiences which Du Bois would have to face.

Against the grouping of the years in periods which has been done by Aptheker, one might be interested in comparing the periods constructed by Francis L. Broderick in his work, W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis; or the four periods established by Julius Lester in his two volume work The Seventh Son; or the divisions created by Arnold Rampersad in his 1976 opus, The Art and the Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois. Grouping the work and the life of Du Bois into periods is necessary since Du Bois' approach to race

varied according to circumstance and his own growing understanding. As a child of the Enlightenment, Du Bois assumed originally that when Americans learned of injustice, their moral principles and democratic institutions would demand reform from legislatures and courts. Later, when Du Bois realized that the morality of the nation, even if touched, would not translate into a lessening of the discriminatory and oppressive policies directed against minority people of color, he changed his arena of activity and work.

Perhaps the most helpful division of the life and work of Du Bois is presented by Lester in The Seventh Son. In that work he lists the following periods:

First Period: 1896-1910

Second Period: 1910-1934

Third Period: 1934-1948

Fourth Period: 1948-1963

The First Period follows Du Bois from the beginning of his teaching career to his joining the NAACP as the Director of Publication and Information. I will take a small liberty and extend this period by not establishing a beginning date. The reason for this is that, at the age of fifteen, we find Du Bois presenting in print⁶⁵ what he takes to be accurate

⁶⁵ Lester has these items of interest grouped under the heading, "Early Writings". About these Lester says:

When he was fifteen, Du Bois was writing a column for a black newspaper, the New York Globe (later known as the New York Freeman, and still later, the New York Age.) Edited by one of the leading black intellectuals of the

descriptions of the world about him as he saw it. These descriptions, among other things, include accurate descriptions of the effects of racism.

For example, during his senior at Fisk University (1887-1888), Du Bois served as the editor of the student newspaper, the Fisk Herald. As editor he drafted a letter which lectures those in the outlying community as to why the Negro vote had not joined those voting for Prohibition in Tennessee during the election of 1887. In his effort to show clearly and calmly why Negroes had come to believe that whatever was benefitted the "White (sic.) man" was to their (the Negroes') detriment, he wrote:

. . . Nor is it strange he (the Negro) should jump at such a conclusion; a blind prejudice has too often heaped injustice of the grossest kind upon him; the rights dearest to a freeman, trial by his peers, a free ballot, a free entrance into the various callings of life, have been ruthlessly wrested from him in multitudes of cases. Arguing him into an inferior being you ("Whitemen", i.e., racists) have forced him into the gallery, the hovel, and the "Jim Crow" car; arguing his ignorance have rendered nearly seven millions of people practically voiceless in politics; in the face of this you have refused his children equal educational advantages with yours, because,

day, T. Thomas Fortune, the newspaper carried a number of news columns from cities and towns in the East. Du Bois reported on the social and cultural life of blacks in Great Barrington. These columns give an excellent picture of the social life of the time, as well as showing Du Bois' early race consciousness and political interests." (The Seventh Son, Vol I, p 154)

forsooth, we do not pay as many taxes. . . (Aptheker (ed.), Against Racism, p 2)

What the nineteen year-old Du Bois described is racism in its most direct form. He called the random punishment of individuals, punishment like that which is a result of a bull raging in a crowded walled-street, a blind prejudice. As Du Bois saw it, blind prejudice is an institutional phenomenon which allows individuals the right to be unjust.

The racist for Du Bois at this time, and for the rest of his life, is a person who blocks out the reality of avoidable suffering and oppression endured by others. In this respect blind prejudice is an accurate description of institutional racism -- institutional racism being the agent by which "the rights dearest to a freeman have been wrested away". It is certainly the case that individuals cannot take rights away, which is one meaning taken from the words of "rights being wrested away". What we are witness to is Du Bois exercising a rhetorical idea - personification. Du Bois says that the rights were "wrested away". Does the lawyer in making his closing statement wrest away a right? No. What wrests away a right is a very clumsy system which is an institutional creature. Unthinking individuals, and worse, who are the worker-bees within the confines of the institutional structure, implement the institution's demands. These worker-bees for the most part avoid personal blame or guilt. Avoidance of personal guilt is the ultimate success of institutional racism.

Following his allusion to 'institutional racism', i.e., his use of the phrase "blind prejudice", in the 1887 Fisk editorial is another mark of the developing writing-style of Du Bois. The first mark was the use of figures of speech, and the example was personification. Then, in a very subtle shift of attention, i.e., point of view, he points to 'individual racism' by commenting that "you (the Southern white) have refused his children equal educational advantage". The point of view has shifted from the reader being asked to imagine, which is the role of the figure of speech, to the reader being challenged to see for himself and for herself the attack on defenseless children which is made by racism. With all of this in mind, the question and/or point of interest is, Whence comes this ability to see so clearly and describe so accurately the plight of the Negro in the South?

To answer the question I shall first say a few words about writings on Du Bois' childhood and early years in Great Barrington, Massachusetts.⁶⁶ In these reports it is accepted that in childhood Du Bois experienced some racial

⁶⁶ The reports of Du Bois' early years are found in his autobiographies; Darkwater, Dusk of Dawn, The Autobiography, as well as in Aptheker's prefaces to the Du Bois works in the Kraus-Thompson editions; Lester's The Seventh Son; Rampersad's The Art and the Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois; Broderick's W.E.B. Du Bois, to mention only a few sources.

tension⁶⁷. However, the reports which he offers in the *New York Globe/Freeman/Age*⁶⁸ are reports of what the members of the Black community in Great Barrington might do to defend themselves against the prejudice, i.e., racism, of which they were acknowledged victims.⁶⁹ We are told that Du Bois was taught that, "Wealth was a result of work and saving, and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were to be blamed. They were lazy or unfortunate, and if unfortunate their fortunes could be easily mended by thrift and sacrifice." (Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, p 7)

However, the young Du Bois, in the Fall of 1885 (having been thrust into the heart of the "Negro Problem" all about him in Nashville, Tennessee) was to become aware of the world split into white and Black halves. He described the conditions by saying, ". . . the darker half was held back by race prejudice and legal bonds, as well as by deep ignorance and dire poverty." (Du Bois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom", in Logan, What the Negro Wants, p 36) In this atmosphere he begins to analyze and hypothesize in ways which were beyond the expression and insight of most

⁶⁷ See Du Bois' description of the exchange of greeting cards in his Great Barrington schoolhouse found in "Of Our Spiritual Strivings", The Souls of Black Folk.

⁶⁸ For other discussion see: Broderick, W.E.B Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, pp 4-5; Rampersad, The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp 10-11.

⁶⁹ See Rampersad's The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois pp 10-11; Lester's The Seventh Son pp 154-169; Broderick's W.E.B. Du Bois pp 1-6.

teenagers in the nation at the time. At the age of nineteen he wrote, just a short three years after leaving Great Barrington -

. . . it is not against particular acts that I inveigh, but against the spirit that prompts them: it is not that I care so much about riding in a smoking-car, as the fact that behind the public opinion that compels me to ride there, is a denial of my manhood. Against such a sentiment laws or force cannot avail. It lies wholly with you. If you correct this evil you will find that in the future, as in the past, you will have in us staunch friends in sunshine and storm; if you do not the breach can only widen, until a vast throng of fellow-citizens will come to regard each other as natural foes. (Du Bois, Against Racism, p 4)

The burden of the toll taken in human suffering, because of racist and prejudiced policy, is placed by this nineteen year-old squarely in the lap of the racist. The demands which Du Bois makes for his people are designed to protect and advance the rights due any citizen.

It has been argued that the form of argument which is reflected in the early writings of Du Bois was the result of learning the model offered by the rhetorical instruction in Adams Sherman Hill's The Principles of Rhetoric. This work was the basic text used by Du Bois at Fisk and Harvard⁷⁰. That this exposure and training may well have had a lasting influence on the style of Du Bois' expression is an issue

⁷⁰ See Rampersad, The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois, pp 36-57.

for argument but not here. What is an issue is the form of argumentation which was developed by Du Bois. There were models of those who had eloquently argued for resistance to the racism which could be found all about Du Bois. We are told that his valedictory speech at his Great Barrington high school commencement exercise focussed upon the abolitionist Wendell Phillips. The speeches of Frederick Douglass (and his rhetorical style of direct accusation of white individual action in the continued oppression of his brethren during his ante-bellum addresses) were known by Du Bois. But to this background of resistance and outspokenness, Du Bois added a new element. This new element, found in his writings as a senior at Fisk, presented issues concerning race hatred to an audience who had but little insight into the make-up of the lies of Southern racism.

During Du Bois' senior year at Fisk University some touring German educators visited the University campus. On that occasion Du Bois addressed the visitors in German by reading a prepared speech⁷¹. Du Bois clearly anticipated that these German educators had been exposed to the myth of the alleged inferiority of the Negro, especially the Negro

⁷¹ The original of this speech, written in Du Bois' hand and on Fisk University stationery dated 1887, is found in the University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst. In the UMass Archives is found the bulk of the papers of W.E.B. Du Bois. The micro-film which the Library Archives has made available are incomplete with eighty-nine (89) reels comprising the set.

in the South. It was Du Bois' assumption that they, as others who had popularized the Negro inferiority, believed that the conditions which the Negro endured were conditions brought about by biological inheritance rather than imposition from without. Du Bois was to make the point that the color of a man's skin indicated only the hue of a man's skin. That color did not impute any other significant characteristic is the point Du Bois' wishes to get across in his words. He does this by saying:

. . . Perhaps for the first time since coming to America you are within the walls of a Negro university. You hear the rhetorical efforts of a class which has learned to love **your** mother tongue; are the results different than among whites? We do not wish to win your sympathies with long speeches or clever conversation; visit us and see for yourself if the Negro, at least as represented here, is not worthy of your respect. Do not let the bogey of social equality drive away your good feeling; the Negro does not wish to idle in your visiting rooms, but he demands that God-given right to be treated like a man. And when your minds can say without prejudice, "The color's but a Guinea's stamp, and a man's a man for all that," then by the tumbling water of the Rhine the shield of Germania will gleam brighter in the midday sun, her shining sword, lifted higher, will seek the heavens, and with her eye turned towards the new fatherland she will murmur a joyful "Amen!" (Du Bois, "The New Fatherland", University of

Massachusetts Library Archives/Du Bois Papers
Collection)⁷²

The importance of these statements and insights presented by Du Bois rests in the demonstrated ability of Du Bois to present his insights via oration. The oratorical style was to be retained as evidenced by Aptheker's collections of Du Bois' speeches found in The Education of Black Folk and Against Racism. If we use this speech presented to the visiting German instructors in 1887, we can mark the end point of his oratory with the April 2, 1960 speech delivered at Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina - "Whiter Now and Why". The importance of this rhetorical style was highlighted very accurately by Broderick when he wrote:

. . . He (Du Bois) spoke with passion of the "mission of the Black orator of the 20th century" to raise his people by the power of truth. (Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, p 8)

Just as his insights into the nature of racism ("no one but a Negro going South without previous experience of color caste can have any conception of its barbarism") were immaturely, though accurately, expressed during these Fisk years, so too were his insights into the new intellectual expression that was budding and would soon blossom about him. The new intellectual expression he gave voice to was

⁷² Translation from the German by Francis Fortino and Sara Lennox, German Language Department, University of Massachusetts/Amherst.

pragmatism⁷³. This intellectual trend and philosophic expression were being developed at Harvard at the time of Du Bois' announcement of his mission to raise his people by the power of truth. It was into this nurturing environment which Du Bois would travel in 1888 at the conclusion of the Fisk experience. It was this environment about which Du Bois would write sixty-five years later saying that:

. . . it was in search of answers to fundamental problems which you (Aptheker) discuss that I went to Harvard. . . . I determined to go to the best university in the land and if possible the world, to discover Truth, which I spelled with a capital.

For two years I studied under William James while he was developing Pragmatism; under George Santayana and his attractive mysticism and under Josiah Royce and his Hegelian idealism. I then found and adopted a philosophy which has served me since. . . . Several times in the past I have started to formulate it but met such puzzled looks that it remains only partially set down in scraps of manuscript. I assumed that Truth was only partially known but it was ultimately largely knowable. Science adopted the hypothesis of a knower and something known. The Jamesian Pragmatism as I understood it from his lips was not based on the "usefulness" of a hypothesis but on its workable logic if its truth was assumed. (Du Bois, The Correspondence, Volume III pp 394-395)

⁷³ A complete discussion of the place which Du Bois holds in the development of American pragmatic thought can be found in this author's unpublished Master's Thesis of 1980, A Pragmatist W.E.B. Du Bois, University of Massachusetts/Amherst.

The commitment to use the power of truth to uncover the source of racism and the correction of racist policies became the life's work of Du Bois. He would begin this attack on racism by means of determining ways by which Americans would be informed of injustice directed against the Black Americans; thus informed, their moral principles and democratic institutions would demand reform from legislatures and courts. Perhaps Lester stated this best when he wrote, "It was Du Bois' contention that if he, through intellectual attainments, could prove that a black man was equal to whites, whites would have no legitimate reason for maintaining prejudice." (Lester, The Seventh Son, Volume I, p 19)

From the moment of Du Bois' entrance into Harvard in 1888 through the term he spent at Atlanta University, which ended in 1910, the purpose of his work was to make himself the example to disprove the notion of Black inferiority. We find in Du Bois the realization developing slowly that exposing Black inferiority as a lie did not necessarily bear any relationship to weakening the prejudices or racism of whites. Du Bois entered Harvard desirous of studying philosophy. The two years he spent as an undergraduate in Cambridge were guided by a close working relationship with William James (especially as noted in the excerpt of the 1956 letter to Aptheker quoted above). At the beginning of Du Bois' graduate studies he decided to move from philosophy

to political science and attempted to construct an historical interpretation of race relations. The very notion of exploring the world for an historical interpretation of race relations is very conservative. It is conservative in the respect that the researcher need not become directly involved with the subjects of study. This is conservatism of method.

For example, about the four years of classroom study at Harvard, it is stated that "Du Bois was being taught by men whose views were to the left of his own as they then stood, and who were educating him into liberal thought."⁷⁴ This claim is partly based upon the commencement speech subjects Du Bois had selected for his graduation ceremonies at Fisk and, as an A.B. candidate, at Harvard.⁷⁵ The claim is additionally based upon superficial interpretations of Du Bois' actions. It has been claimed that there are correct interpretations which can be brought to the works of Du Bois. This is true only to a point. For example we can turn our attention to Du Bois' use of terms by which he named racism. The following list is only a thumbnail sketch of the terms used by Du Bois in naming the phenomenon we have come to call racism. The list exemplifies the constancy in Du

⁷⁴ Rampersad's, The Art and Imagination of W.E.B Du Bois, p 34.

⁷⁵ At Fisk Du Bois' chosen topic was Count Otto von Bismarck and at the Harvard ceremonies he selected Jefferson Davis.

Bois' remarks which address racism and the terms he employs to name and/or point to it.

- 1897 - . . . the tide of prejudice drove so many
 Negroes from the city
 . . . the harshness of race prejudice
 . . . omnipresent excuse for failure, prejudice
 (The Philadelphia Negro)
 . . . If a Negro discusses the Negro question, he
 is apt to discuss simply the problem of race prejudice
 . . . shadow of prejudice
 . . . the veil
 . . . shades of the prison-house closed round
 about us⁷⁶
 ("Strivings of the Negro People")
- 1900 - . . . the problem of the twentieth century is the
 problem of the color-line
- 1903 - . . . race problem
 . . . race feeling
 . . . prejudice
 . . . the Veil
 . . . Valley of Humiliation
 . . . color prejudice of the South
 . . . inevitable tendency of war is to underesti-
 mate the prejudices of the master
 . . . race prejudices keep brown and black men in
 their "places"
 (The Souls of Black Folk)

⁷⁶ The complexity of Du Bois is shown here. This line taken from the first chapter of The Souls of Black Folk, which is an essay originally written in 1897, is an allusion to William Wordsworth's "Ode. Intimations of Immortality" -

Not in entire forgetfulness,
 And not in utter nakedness,
 But trailing clouds of glory do we come
 From God, who is our home:
 Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
 Upon the growing boy . . .

The levels of reference used by Du Bois at any one time are always open to investigation. There are times when the insight is clearly and uniquely his. Then there are the times when the insight is into the insight of another work, which is the case here. (I would liked to thank Marla Goldberg for bringing this allusion to my attention.)

- 1904 - . . . the Negro problem a spirit of caste arising in a land founded on eternal opposition to class privileges
 . . . the Negro problem in America is the sign of caste distinction
 ("Caste in America")
- 1910 - . . . race prejudice in America must be combatted, corrected, and lessened
 ("Race Prejudice")
- 1915 - . . . yellow Japan has apparently escaped the color bar
 ("The African Roots of War")
- 1929 - . . . color line
 ("The Darker World")
- 1933 - . . . Color discrimination, some say, has decreased
 - for the time has passed when a white man had the right to knock a Negro down
 ("Color Caste in the United States")
- . . . the Negro is at the bottom chained to helplessness first by slavery, then by disfranchisement and always by the Color Bar
- 1936 - . . . color discrimination
 . . . American prejudice
 ("Does the Negro Need Separate Schools")
- 1937 - . . . the race prejudice of England and America refuses Japan fellowship as an equal
 ("The Meaning of Japan")
- . . . war against Japan would be based on color prejudice
 (Telegram 10/7/37 Du Bois to McNutt)
- 1945 - . . . he (FDR) leaves an organized white minority in the South who know that race prejudice is fatal
 ("What He Meant to the Negro")

Because of the constancy of Du Bois addressing the attitudes which express racism, he is found and pointed to in the works by Johnson, Myrdal, Frazier, Cox, Cayton, Drake, Broderick, Aptheker, Lester, Rampersad, Logan, and

others as described above. However, in that review of works which focus on Du Bois or make reference to Du Bois, the studies begin to show a lack of freshness. What we find is that each in its own way seeks a perspective to bring to the reader already mentioned and discussed material written by Du Bois. These actions are actions which attempt to point out subtleties and complexities previously overlooked or ignored. One way the subtlety and the complexity can now be included in the work of conscientious researchers is through the availability of the University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst Du Bois Papers Collection. What has been added to this collection, besides providing access to the papers and correspondence which all researchers, except Aptheker, had but limited entree, has been the reports contained in government files recently secured through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The subtlety and complexity which contemporary works must reflect are gained by this now available record of government surveillance. The result is that there are three divisions which may be made of Du Bois' life which have not been suggested. These divisions may be called:

The Age of Pragmatism (1885-1918)

The Age of Victimization (1919-1939)

The Age of Resignation (1940-1963)

The reasons for establishing these divisions, when considering the life and works of Du Bois, will be developed in the following chapters. The purpose of my suggesting

these three divisions is to introduce a discussion of Du Bois that is absent from discussions offered by any of the previously cited authors. My concern is that we may lose sight of what Du Bois saw racism to be when we examine his life and works. In this regard, the analogy can be rightly made from working with Du Bois' material to not being able to see the forest for the trees. We are at times overwhelmed by the amount which Du Bois wrote on the subject.

Additionally there are shifts and changes which occur in Du Bois offering a definitive statement of racism. One of the important changes is discussed in DeMarco's The Social Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois.

The major change which DeMarco points to is that when Du Bois became suspicious of the extent that racism was caused by ignorance, he developed his own type of economic determinism as an explanation of the phenomenon. In that explanation he saw that the character of racism created an economic life of a group. This economic life was based upon material goods, i.e., where the goods are produced, how they are distributed, when they are consumed, and at which place along task oriented lines the individual found him/herself. DeMarco's claim is accurate for in both Black Reconstruction and Dusk of Dawn we find Du Bois accepting a theory that economic conditions mold social life - " . . . economic foundations, the way men earn their living, are the determining factors in the development of civilization, in

literature, in religion and the basic pattern of culture." (Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn, p 303) But what I am looking for is the statement by which we may say that here Du Bois has pointed to what racism is. The understanding of racism which Du Bois carried with him at this time of change is found in Black Reconstruction, published in 1935.

Black Reconstruction is a seminal work which presents a revisionist's view of the Afro-Americans' participation in and following the War of Emancipation. From the language used and the arguments included in Black Reconstruction, it is evident that Du Bois was consciously using a voice reflecting Marxism. For example, one of the revised interpretations which Du Bois offers concerning the Black slaves taking part in their own liberation is naming their action of refusing to work in support of the Southern war effort a strike -- The General Strike. In this way Du Bois pins a organized labor strategy on the acts of slave/laborer. In the development of his thesis that Reconstruction was one of the most heroic efforts modern man has made in his attempt to realize social democracy, Du Bois presents the groups in this work as being a member of one of the following: 1) the Black worker/laborer; 2) the white worker/laborer; 3) the Planter/Southern oligarchy; and, 4) the Northern industrialist. In the discussion Du Bois offers his insights into what were the forces which propelled the members of these groups into conflict with one another.

For instance, Du Bois claims in "The Price of Disaster" that the opportunity to reconstruct the South was based firmly on freedmen and poor whites sharing political power. When the freedmen and the poor whites achieved, and could continue to exercise the ballot, at that time the Federal government was to withdraw. But this did not happen. The reason for this failure, Du Bois argues, is that Northern industrial powers would not allow the laborers of the South to control the wealth and industry in the South. Thus, when "the Southern landowners and merchants had yielded to the Northern demands of a plutocracy, at that moment the military dictatorship should be withdrawn and a dictatorship of capital allowed unhampered sway." (Du Bois, Black Reconstruction, pp 345-46) It is at this juncture, where Southern and Northern employers saw a common interest, that the racism as understood by Du Bois in 1935 is presented.

. . . North and South businessmen agreed that laborers must produce profit; the poor white and the Negro wanted to get the profit arising from the laborers' toil and not to divide it with the employers and landowners. When Northern and Southern employers agreed that profit was most important and the method of getting it second, the path to understanding was clear. When white laborers were convinced that the degradation of Negro labor was more fundamental than the uplift of white labor, the end was in sight.

. . . One cannot study Reconstruction without first frankly facing the facts of universal lying; of deliberate and unbounded attempts to prove a case and win a dispute and preserve economic mastery and political domination by

besmirching the character, motive, and common sense, of every single person who dared disagree with the dominant philosophy of the white South. (Black Reconstruction, p 347)

What was the dominant philosophy of the white South which so threatened anyone who challenged it? Du Bois tells us that the philosophy held as "axiomatic the endless inferiority of the Negro race". [p 727] Those Southerners and Northerners who held this philosophy misinterpreted, distorted, and ignored any fact which challenged or contradicted the philosophy. The racism which Du Bois saw clearly was responsible for the continued plight and oppression of the Negro. This racism fostered "the most stupendous efforts the world ever saw to discredit human beings, an effort involving universities, history, science, social life and religion." [p 727]

It is clear that Black Reconstruction is a salvo fired by Du Bois to fend off that "stupendous effort to discredit human beings." In spite of the government agencies and social institutions' attempts to misrepresent, distort, and ignore the truths asserted by Du Bois, his assertions over time have been shown to be accurate. Du Bois must be given much credit for formalizing the twentieth century movement of social reformation in the United States. That part of the social reformation movement which focussed on racism has forced the American people to confront the challenges and contradictions which have been presented before the

conscience of this democratic nation. But in making demands upon the conscience of this nation to admit and correct wrong doing, Du Bois and others attracted the most determined and destructive actions which could be mobilized by reactionary government institutions and their agents. The pretext for these actions to nullify the antagonistic group's influences and to silence their spokesmen, in part, was based upon an appeal to a Constitutional provision -- police power. The context of police power here is that authority which is vested within agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Internal Revenue Service, Central Intelligence Agency, and the Treasury Department. The exercising of this police power, as concerns the discussion of Du Bois and racism, was carried out with excess zeal by law enforcement and intelligence agencies' agents.

The Constitutional provision allowing the exercise of police power is necessary when freedoms such as speech, press, and/or assembly may be used as an offensive weapon designed to weaken national security. However, when the power exercised is based upon the agency and its agents displaying contempt for a subordinate group, then the power is misused. Contempt for the subordinate group is shown by unwarranted action directed against that group, not because it and its members are clear and present threats, but because the group challenges assumptions of the dominant

society. It is within the misuse of this power, police power, that I have found a major contribution made by Du Bois to the discussion of racism. He better than anyone else drew out those actions which displayed misuse of the Constitutional provisions allowing police power to be exercised.

What is presented in the closing chapters of this dissertation are examples of the attention directed to Du Bois by those agencies and agents who took inspiration for their contemptuous actions from the police power provisions. In these actions we find evidence of the agents distorting in reports the activities and contributions of some Black Americans. About this practice, and perhaps anticipating continued actions in the twentieth century, Du Bois wrote the following in 1898 --

. . . the most baneful cause of uncritical study of the Negro is the manifest and far-reaching bias of writers. . . . When such men come to write on the subject, without technical training, without breadth of view, and in some cases without a deep sense of the sanctity of scientific truth, their testimony, however interesting as opinions, must of necessity be worthless as science. (Du Bois . . .

It is the activity of biased writers, in this case law-enforcement agents broadly interpreting police power, to which we turn. These biased writers whose views were worthless as science, were accepted as offering support for alleged scientific statement and academic policy. The biased writing in this case was nothing more than racism. It is

this racism which Du Bois pointed to and this racism would make him victim of its unreasonable power.

CHAPTER X

So many thousands of my generation were uplifted and inspired by the written and spoken words of Dr. Du Bois that for me to say I was so inspired would hardly be unusual. My earliest memories of written words were those of Du Bois and the Bible.

Langston Hughes

Du Bois and The Age of Victimization

The suggested divisions to establish an overall perspective of Du Bois' life I have named, i.e., The Age of Pragmatism (1885-1918); The Age of Victimization (1919-1939); The Age of Resignation (1940-1963). These must be used with the other schemes offered by Aptheker, Broderick, Lester, Rampersad, and DeMarco in mind, i.e., divisions differentiating the periods found in the life and writings of Du Bois.

The new element which the scheme above offers is a change of focus. Until recently Du Bois has been characterized and considered other than human. The wisdom surrounding Du Bois has been, for the most part, that all of the actions in which he was engaged were actions for which he was solely responsible. This is patently untrue. It is the actions carried on by forces beyond the control of Du Bois which are responsible for this new perspective on Du Bois. These actions are the reason for the naming of the second age, The

Age of Victimization⁷⁷. The forces at work upon the life's activities of Du Bois come from the activities of the American intelligence gathering agencies. These agencies, e.g., War Department, FBI, CIA, placed Du Bois under surveillance, but their activities did not just report the movements of Du Bois. In fact their activities influenced those who found themselves connected and/or involved with Du Bois even in the casual instances.

An example of the influence which the surveillance of Du Bois had upon his life and future is found in a 1919 memorandum. This War Department MEMORANDUM⁷⁸ is marked "Secret". It is dated, April 28, 1919, by Major W.H. Loving to Colonel Masteller. The Loving memorandum is a report of the activities of Du Bois in his efforts to travel to Paris in December of 1918. Paris was the site of the Versailles Peace Conference and Du Bois travelled as an observer and reporter from the Crisis Office of the NAACP. It was his intention to call another meeting of the Pan-African association. This gathering, which answered Du Bois' call, is now called the first Pan-African Congress.

⁷⁷ The first period listed, The Age of Pragmatism, is discussed fully in Meade's, A Pragmatist: W.E.B. Du Bois, Master's Thesis, University of Massachusetts Library/Amherst.

⁷⁸ Contact University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst W.E.B. Du Bois Papers Collection - see under "Accretions".

When reading the memo, attention should be directed to Loving's description of Du Bois and the events. It is upon that foundation that the government's fabricated image of Du Bois was based. If all which is reported to be the "true story" is distorted, and the distorted image is appealed to by racists, the activities in which that individual becomes involved are artificial. This is the victimization of Du Bois marked by me as the second age. He was the victim of artificially created situations. It is not surprising for us in the 1980's to hear that personal decision-making is not always left to the person. For example, we have the reports from David Garrows and Stephen Oates⁷⁹ that Dr. Martin Luther King was a similar target and victim of Federal intelligence agency schemes.

Similarly, Du Bois was the victim of Federal intelligence agency schemes. In part the Loving memorandum reads:

Dr. DuBois' trip to France is credited directly to Mr. Emmett Scott, who has proven that in his official capacity he cares not what embarrassment might befall the War Department so long as he can profit by the deal. The following is a true story of just how Dr. Du Bois got to France:

A Mr. Stockbridge, at one time private secretary to Colonel House, and now publisher in New York City, and Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of

⁷⁹ See Garrow's works The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr. and Bearing the Cross; also Oates' work Let the Trumpet Sound.

War, got together and decided that they could make a clean up financially by writing a history giving the Negro's participation in the great war (sic.). With this object in view they celebrated several meetings in New York City in the office of Mr. Stockbridge to perfect plans. During one of these meetings it was pointed out that Dr. DuBois also intended to write a book. Seeing at once that too many books on the market would not be profitable to any particular author, overtures were made to Dr. Dubois (sic.) to join the Stockbridge-Scott Co. It was pointed out that with Mr. Scott in his official capacity where all of data concerning the colored soldiers could be easily obtained, combined with Dr. DuBois' power and ability with the pen, they could turn out a history containing the Negro's achievements in the great war that would be second to none. Dr. DuBois and Mr. Scott have long since been enemies, but Mr. Scott was perfectly willing to cast aside all differences which might hinder the carrying out of their plans successfully. Therefore they offered to send Dr. DuBois to France to personally collect data for the book. The cunning Dr. DuBois had been trying for weeks to get to France to do this very same work for himself, and lost not time in grasping the opportunity. This was on Friday morning and the boat on which he was to sail was the same one which was designated to take the members of the American Press to France and scheduled to sail the following Sunday at noon. That same night he was off to Washington and Saturday morning was assisted by Mr. Scott in securing a pass port (sic.). On his return to New York, Dr. Du Bois was clever enough not to accept any money from the Stockbridge-Scott o., but informed them that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would defray all of his expenses. Of course the Stockbridge-Scott Co., thinking that they were getting something for nothing readily agreed to the proposition

and the foxy Dr. DuBois had made with the company to the effect that he would furnish them all of the information he gathered concerning colored troops while in France. Dr DuBois cleverly double crossed the Stockbridge-Scott Co., which resulted in the publication of the articles in the marked copy of the "Crisis". These articles are degrading and humiliating to the War Department and should be thoroughly investigated. And if there is any truth in Dr. DuBois articles, then the half concerning the treatment of colored soldiers in France has not been told. In this same connection it is to be remembered that Mr. Ralph W. Tyler was also selected by Mr. Scott and sent to France as an official war correspondent for the express purpose of getting data for Mr. Scott's book. Upon his return he condemned the War Department in his first speech.

W.H. Loving
Major P.C. Rtd.

To believe that the memorandum from Loving to Masteller is representative of a 1919 War Department intelligence report is discouraging. The one material fact upon which Loving's interpretation of the events surrounding Du Bois as he saw them, holds or is defeated is not stated accurately. Loving states:

. . . overtures were made to Dr. Dubois (sic.) to join the Stockbridge-Scott Co. . . . they offered to send Dr. DuBois to France . . . the cunning Dr. DuBois had been trying for weeks to get to France . . . (he) lost no time in grasping the opportunity. . . . the boat on which he was to sail was the same one which was designated to take the members of the American press to France. . .

Loving suggests that Du Bois, not being a member of the American press, was added without reason onto the roster. If

there were one who most assuredly carried credentials to show that he was a member of the American press it was Du Bois. By December 1918 Du Bois had edited 149 separate issues of four magazines⁸⁰. The most recent was the December 1918 Crisis Magazine which was the 98th issue edited by Du Bois since Crisis had begun publishing in November 1910. If there was a credential which applied to Du Bois, it was his membership in the American press.

The Loving memorandum moves from the position of unfounded to preposterous. The correspondence between Scott and Du Bois immediately preceding the series of events which led to Du Bois' travel to Washington to secure the necessary travel documents with the assistance of Scott do not hint of the hostility suggested by Loving. For instance, Loving writes, "Dr. DuBois and Mr. Scott have long since been enemies, but Mr. Scott was willing to cast aside all differences which might hinder their plans . . ." A year before, October 1917, Du Bois wrote to Scott say, "I congratulate you upon your appointment⁸¹ and would be glad to have a photograph and an account of your life for use in the Crisis."⁸² Scott replied

⁸⁰ According to Paul Partington Du Bois edited twelve (12) numbers of the Fisk University Herald; five (5) numbers of The Moon Illustrated Weekly; thirty-two (32) numbers of The Horizon; ninety-eight (98) numbers of The Crisis.

⁸¹ The appointment referred to his Scott's assuming the position as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

⁸² This note is dated October 6, 1917, and is found in the University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst Du Bois Papers Collection.

to this note with a hand written letter on October 11, 1917. The reader is asked to determine whether or not this reply suggests that a year before the steamboat booking "Dr. Du Bois and Mr. Scott have long since been enemies" as Loving alleged.

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON
October 11, 1917

My Dear Dr. Du Bois,

I value and appreciate most sincerely your very kind letter of October 6th with expressions of congratulations, etc. I hasten to send this personal word upon receipt of your letter which is forwarded from Tuskegee.

I shall do my best here - that is all I dare promise! To keep the Department informed with respect to the Colored people's eager desire to contribute their best of mind and spirit to the Great Cause. The Secretary has spoken most appreciatively of your interview with him. When in New York next I shall wish to do myself the honor to call upon you to discuss at such length as may be agreeable those matters which are to us of common interest and importance. Let me assure you of my desire to hear from you at any time regarding such phases of these problems . . . ⁸³

If these men were enemies, there is no reason for the outpouring of emotion which Scott's letter contains. Words such as best, promise, shall wish, the honor to call, and agreeable do not convey antagonism between the writers. I am not advancing a claim that these men were close friends, but

⁸³ This letter is found in the University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst Du Bois Papers Collection.

there was a struggle to be fought and each in his own way closed ranks. The issue about which they have joined forces is hinted at by Scott in his letter when he writes ". . . matters which are to us of common interest and importance." The matter of common interest and importance at the time was the War. The treatment of the Black soldiers needed to be overseen from every angle. To add to the burden of oversight the highest ranking Black office in the Army had been removed from active duty. Col. Charles Young, United States Military Academy graduate, had served in the segregated Army for twenty-eight years. He had served in Haiti, Liberia, and with Pershing in Mexico. At the time after the NAACP had gained a compromise from the Federal government - segregated troops but Black troops with Black officers - they looked to Col. Young to head the training of the Black officer candidates. This was an assignment Col. Young was never to have. Du Bois in his Autobiography describes the reaction to Young's forced retirement by saying, ". . . coming at the time it did, every Negro in the United States believed that the 'high blood pressure' that retired Colonel Young was in the prejudiced heads of the southern army oligarchy who were determined that no Negro should ever wear the star of general." (p. 267)⁸⁴ For Young and for all the young Black

⁸⁴ Colonel Young's June 20, 1917 letter to Du Bois should be read by any interested reader of this subject who has not yet read it. The letter reflects the tragedy that accompanies war. It is found within the Charles Young Papers housed in Wilberforce University Library, Xenia, Ohio.

soldiers Scott and Du Bois had responsibilities to uphold. At least for this time, counter the claim of Loving, Scott and Du Bois do not seem to be "enemies".

This writer does not have access to all of the material upon which Loving seems to draw his inferences. But of the material written concerning the studies addressing the Black American soldier in World War One, the name of the preeminent historian Carter G. Woodson must be mentioned. If there is any source for the alleged hostile attitudes which surrounded the development of the "book" idea, then Woodson and his correspondence should be consulted. On October 27, 1918, the following was written to Du Bois by Carter G. Woodson -

My dear Dr. DuBois:

After talking with you today it occurred to me that I did not make it clear to you that, should I undertake this work and do it myself merely with the advice of you and the other friend mentioned as an editor, I would have to receive full credit for all of the work. I would then be sole editor and you and the other gentleman concerned associate or advisory editors. I shall not undertake this work unless it is thoroughly understood that I am to have the honor.

. . . So far as I am personally concerned it matters little how many histories of the Negro in the World War may be written. I know that I shall still have an opportunity to make a contribution. I believe, moreover, that I can write as valuable a history of this war independently as I can by cooperation. The only advantage I see in your plan is a financial one . . .

The intelligence report written and submitted by Loving ddistorts the history of Du Bois' activities. The report submitted by Loving selectively includes and excludes information relevant to the issue he is pursuing. It is clear from the other reports made at this time that Du Bois had been charged by the NAACP to research the Black soldier in the Great War. To do this Du Bois believed it necessary to travel to France and be present at the Peace Conference and all the related activity. The NAACP Board concurred and arrangements were made. Emmett Scott, because of his position in the War Department, was able to give Du Bois assistance in obtaining a passport and travel credentials necessary for the steamship passage. The December 1918 Crisis Magazine reported that, "As a representative of the N.A.A.C.P., Dr Du Bois will summon a Pan-African Congress, to meet in Paris, to press the question of internationalization of the former German colonies. . . . Dr Du Bois goes in a three-fold capacity: he goes as a special representative of The Crisis at the Peace Conference; to collect first-hand material to go into a History of the American Negro in the Great War; and finally to bring pressure on delegates to consider the interests of the colored peoples of the United States and the world." (Lester. The Seventh Son, Volume 1, p 77)

The element of racism which marked the American Black Soldier treatment during the Great War is the denial of his

presence by the federal government. The pain of this review of the Black Dough Boys' experience is recorded in the lengthy essay which Du Bois composed upon his return from France in 1919. Loving had written, ". . . If there is any truth in Dr. Du Bois' articles, then the half concerning the treatment of the colored soldiers in France has not been told." It would be a disservice to the sacrifice and memory of the Black soldiers who served during the First World War to digress into a discussion of who claimed what to be the case and who else claimed another thing. What would be better is to go to the record which is available of one who fought and experienced the conditions in France during the time. By measuring the statement of one who was there with the description of the treatment of the Black soldier as presented by Du Bois, the accuracy of Du Bois' claims may best be supported or contravened.

In the May 1919 Crisis Magazine Du Bois' article, "An Essay Toward A History Of The Black Man In The Great War", appeared. The article is long and is the first of several pieces which Du Bois would compose on the subject. What Du Bois found in his visit and investigations of the American Negro troops in France during the War is what makes theater.⁸⁵ The heroism which was displayed is sensitively

⁸⁵ In the Du Bois Papers Collection there is the following memo marked 'Secret'. The memo needs no interpretation; one small aside may be of interest - the Brigadier General mentioned was then the commanding officer of the Black 92nd Division which will be mentioned later.

reported. The trials of those soldiers accused of crime are not overlooked nor are the trials of those who were falsely accused of crime. The actions of enlisted men and commissioned officers are noted. The differences in attitude between the American and French reports highlight the difference of societal backgrounds. The object of this discussion is to move to a position where the actions of the Black American soldiers, who made up the "Red Hand Division", may be viewed. What follows are short excerpts from the Crisis article in which background may be gathered by which the Loving memorandum is measured. It is ironic that Loving ends his memo by saying if the story of the Black soldier as presented by Du Bois others is true, "the half has not been told."

. . . The story of stories is that of the American Negro. Here was a man who bravely let his head go where his heart at first could not follow, who for the first time as a

A.P.O.766, 1 January, 1919

Secret

Memo:

To Intelligence Officers-

1. A man by the name of Dubois, with visitor's pass, reported on his way to visit this Division. His presence at station of any unit will be immediately reported in secret enclosure to Assist Chief of Staff, G-2, these headquarters. Likewise prompt report will be made to G-2 of all moves and actions while at station of any unit.

2. The fact of this inquiry as to Dubois and his moves will not be disclosed to any person outside the Intelligence Service.

By command of Brigadier General Erwin:

F.P. Schoonmaker,
Major, General Staff

nation within a nation did his bitter duty because it was his duty, knowing what might be expected, but scarcely foreseeing the whole truth.

We (the American Negro) gained the right to fight for civilization at the cost of being "Jim Crowed" and insulted; we were segregated in the first officers' training camp; and we were allowed to volunteer only as servants in the Navy and as common laborers in the Army, outside of the four regular Negro regiments. The Army wanted stevedores, road builders, wood choppers, railroad hands, etc., and American Negroes were among the first to volunteer. Of the 200,000 Negroes in the American Expeditionary Force, approximately 150,000 were stevedores and laborers, doing the hardest work under, in some cases, the most trying conditions faced by any soldiers during the war. And it is the verdict of men who know that the most efficient and remarkable service has been rendered by these men. Patient, loyal, intelligent, knowing all that they were up against among their countrymen as well as the enemy, these American black men win the war as perhaps no other set of men of any other race or army won it.

The Negro fighting units were the 92nd and 93rd Divisions. The so-called 93rd Division was from the first a thorn in the flesh of the Bourbons. It consisted of Negro National Guard troops almost exclusively officered by Negroes, -- the 8th Illinois, the 15th New York, and units from the District of Columbia, Maryland, Ohio, Tennessee and Massachusetts. The division was thus incomplete and never really functioned as a division. For a time it was hoped that Colonel Young might be given his chance here, but nothing came of this. Early in April when the need of the French for re-enforcements was sorest, these black troops were hurriedly transported to France and were soon brigaded with the French armies.

The story of the Black soldier in the War continues in great detail. I don't not wish to minimize any of distinctions won by the various units of Black fighting men, nor do I wish to understate the valor with which their distinction was secured. What will be done here is to briefly outline the activities of one fighting unit and offer this as an example of the treatment received by the Black soldier at the hands of his American commanders. What will also be seen is that the treatment which the Black soldier received at the hands of the French differed markedly from the American counter parts.

The division mentioned above, the 93rd Division, ceases to be mentioned in military records after April 14, 1918. What happened to the division seems to be that it and the 371st Regiment were brigaded with the 157th French Division, 13th Army Corps, General Petain, commanding. The unit was trained in French methods by French officers and non-commissioned officers with French ordnance equipment. Du Bois reports that finally this unit of Black soldiers was permanently assigned to the commander of the 157th French Division, General Goybet. As one might imagine the reports which follow the Black soldiers' activities in the last part of the War is presented in praiseworthy statements. That this is a characteristic of Du Bois, to highlight the contributions of the Black individual, which some take to be over compensation, is to be acknowledged. Thus I wish to

move the discussion from the report offered by Du Bois to a soldier who fought in this unit about which Du Bois has taken notice. It should be stated that this writer had the privilege of meeting with this patriot, the late Alfred Persip of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, whose words are reported here.

Alfred Persip enlisted October 1917 in Westfield, Massachusetts. He joined L Company, a Black National Guard unit of the 6th Massachusetts Regiment. The basic training was conducted in Charlottesville, North Carolina. About the training Persip recalled it was the worst of his Army career.

All the colored were on one side of the camp, all the whites on the other. The Massachusetts whites who came down with us came over to visit, and heard some southern boys saying 'here are some new ones, let's shoot'em.'

In the city there were certain streets colored people couldn't go down. We went downtown, five or six of us, to get some military collars. We went into a nice store, the collars were on a table right in front. But the clerks just walked around us and the manager finally came over and said 'we don't serve colored people here.'

Persip recalled that when the troops finally sailed, from Newport News, Virginia, his regiment had Black officers. But, he continued,

. . . it seemed like we were put in the French Army in the middle of the ocean. Three days before we were to go over the top we were told that Woodrow Wilson recalled our officers and gave us all white officers. Wilson is one of the reasons that turned me into such a strong Republican.

I still don't know why we were not allowed to fight with our country. All I know is that our regiment was lent to the French Army. The only thing we had American was our uniforms. Even our helmets were French.

The French asked us not to forget the Red Hand, and I wear it on my American Legion hat.⁸⁶

About this "Red Hand" Division Du Bois completes his report describing their battle service with these remarks which blend without contradiction to the report of events as Persip remembered them.

. . . For nine days 372nd Regiment helped push the Hun toward the Belgian frontier. Those days were hard, but these men did their duty and came out with glory. . .

After the relief of the battlefield, the regiment reached Somme Bionne (Marne) October 8. Congratulations came in from everywhere except American Headquarters. After a brief rest of three days the remaining colored officers were disposed. As a consequence of the order that officers (white) were to shoot any soldier on the least provocation, a corporeal of Company L was shot and killed for a reason never explained.

Despite the prejudice of the officers toward the men the regiment marched to Granges of Vologne where individuals in the regiment were decorated for deeds of gallantry. General Goybet presented four military medals and seventy-two 'Croix de Guerre' to enlisted men. Colonel Tupes presented four

⁸⁶ The interviews from which these remarks are taken are found on a tape of Mr Persip's visit to a Black Culture course of Berkshire Community College in 1978, and a September 15, 1977, interview reported in the Berkshire Eagle.

Distinguished Service Crosses to enlisted men. At the time, the regiment had just returned to the American command, the following order was read:

Hqrs. December 15, 1918.

157th Division
Staff.

General Order No. 246

On the date of the 12th of December, 1918, the 371st and the 372nd R.I., U.S. have been returned to the disposal of the American Command. It is not without profound emotion that I come in the name of the 157th French Division and in my personal name, to say good-bye to our valiant comrades of combat.

For seven months we have lived as brothers of arms, sharing the same works, the same hardships, the same dangers; side by side we have taken part in the great battle of the Champagne, that a wonderful victory has ended.

The 157th Division will never forget the wonderful impetus irresistible, the rush heroic of the colored American regiments on the "Observatories Crest" and in the Plain of Menthais. The most formidable defense, the nests of machine guns, the best organized positions, the artillery barrages most crushing, could not stop them. These best regiments have gone through all with disdain of death and thanks to their courage devotedness, the "Red Hand" Division has during nine hard days of battle been ahead in the victorious advance of the Fourth French Army.

Officers and non-commissioned officers and privates of the 371st and 372nd Regiments Infantry, U.S., I salute your glorious dead and I bow down before your standards, which by the side of the 333rd R.I., led us to victory.

Dear Friends from America, when you have crossed back over the ocean, don't forget the "Red Hand" Division. Our

fraternity of arms has been soaked in the blood of the brave. Those bonds will be indestructible.

Keep a faithful remembrance of your General, so proud to have commanded you, and remember that his thankful affection is given to you forever.

(Signed) General Goybet, Commanding the
157th French Division,
Infantry.⁸⁷

The issue which this discussion addresses is the issue raised above by Col. Loving's memorandum reporting actions and activities of Du Bois. The memorandum ended with these words:

. . .the information he gathered concerning colored troops while in France resulted in the publication of the articles in the marked copy of the Crisis. These articles are degrading and humiliating to the War Department and should be thoroughly investigated. And if true the officers responsible for such orders should be called upon to account for the same. If there is any truth in Dr. Du Bois' articles, then the half concerning the treatment of the colored soldiers in France has not been told. In this same connection it is to be remembered that Mr. Ralph W. Tyler was also selected by Mr. Scott and sent to France as an official war correspondent for the expressed purpose of getting data for Mr. Scott's book. Upon his return he condemned the War Department in his first speech.

It may seem that the story has been told. But there is "a half" which remains. For some it would be enough that the treatment of the Black soldier which was reported, in fact, occurred. The Black soldier was subject to American racial

⁸⁷ See Du Bois, "The Black Man in the Great War", The Crisis, June 1919.

prejudice and victim of individual racist acts as were so many Black citizens victimized at home during the same period. There is another insult to be noted. The service of American Black soldiers in the Red Hand Division has not to this date been recognized by an act of Congress which would allow battle benefits for the individuals and families to be extended. Because of actions by officers such as General John J. Pershing who decided that "giving the black soldier to the French, who had their own black colonial troops and labored under no tradition of race prejudice, would nicely settle two problems with one stroke of the pen"⁸⁸ the members of the Red Hand Division were not in line for American benefits. Why haven't the members of the Red Hand Division received their due? When asked, the late Alfred Persip, a member of the Red Hand Division who, as his brothers-in-arms, had been denied benefits, replied, "I still don't know to this day why."

What I called The Age of Victimization in regard to Du Bois is shown to be a process of victimization which includes others far beyond the reach and direct influence of Du Bois. The element of racism which is introduced within this is a novel type of institutional racism which had not been acknowledged prior to this. With this victimization comes an intrusion into the personal life and activities of

⁸⁸ James E. Overmeyer cites this from Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri's work The Unknown Soldiers, September 15, 1977, Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

an individual. This intrusion is so deep that the government agencies created the image to which they wished others would respond.

The Loving memorandum points to the intelligence agency deciding for and within itself how much of the truth was to be told. As we shall find there are suspicions that the intelligence gathering communities continued to create the image of surveilled subjects as they liked but in doing so that image of the individual became the image said to be accurate. What is more and what is germane to this discussion is that the image was rudely shaped by the attitudes of racism within which the intelligence was gathered. For we have seen that it does not have to be the case that the agent be racist or express racism. Rather, as has been read in the Loving memo, the elements which signify racism are already present, i.e., that the Black soldier was victimized during and after the War simply because of his race. As we have found with Du Bois, anyone who would challenge the accuracy of alleged facts is regarded as an adversary. Marking of so-called adversaries became an on-going process with the Federal intelligence gathering community especially if those marked were of color and were critical of the treatment received by people of color.

CHAPTER XI

Racism made neutrality in studying Afro-America an impossibility. It was the struggle against racism that led Du Bois to do what no other America social scientist of his time was either willing to do or able to adequately do: seriously study Black culture and history.

Werner J. Lange

Surveillance and Intelligence Gathering

In January and February of 1919 Du Bois was sent to Paris to be present at the Peace negotiations and also to oversee the Pan-African Congress sponsored by the NAACP. The Pan-African Congress, which Lester suggests was Du Bois' "personal priority", undeniably was a movement to confront international racism as constructed via colonialism and imperialism. The success of the 1919 Congress, and the subsequent Congresses of 1921, 1923, 1927, and 1945⁸⁹, has

⁸⁹ The "Manifesto of the Second Pan-African Congress" began as follows:

The absolute equality of races--physical, political and social--is the founding stone of world peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of science, religion and practical politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

The Manifesto ends with a listing of the demands which the Congress made of the white western world:

1. The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color.
2. Local self government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow, to complete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world.
3. Education in self-knowledge in scientific truth and in

been a topic of some debate. Broderick wrote that "in the end the congresses accomplished, if anything, less than the Niagara Movement." Rampersad added that the "achievement of the congress was not in specific events but in the very existence of an international meeting of peoples of African descent speaking to the white world with one voice, however muted."

The importance of the 1919 Pan-African Congress and the subsequent meetings cannot solely be judged by the "immediate" results which we see or find recorded. One small coincidental point which should be raised is the influence which the first Congress seems to have had on the development of the Negritude Movement. Lester, in his "Introduction" of The Seventh Son, writes:

The Pan-African Congress met in February 1919, at the Grand Hotel, Boulevard des Capucines, in Paris. Fifty-seven delegates from fifteen countries in Africa and the Caribbean attended. The countries with the largest

industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.
 4. Freedom in their own religion and social customs, and with the right to be different and nonconformist.
 5. Cooperation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the basis of Justice, Freedom and Peace.

6. The ancient common ownership of the land and its natural fruits and defense against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

7. The establishment under the League of Nations of an international institution for the study of Negro problems.

8. The establishment of an international section in the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, charged with the protection of native labor.

(CRISIS, November 1921)

representation were the United States with sixteen delegates, The French West Indies (as Martinique and Guadeloupe were then called) with thirteen, and Haiti and France with seven delegates each. (p 81)

It was not long after this and the second Congress that the Martinique poet, Aime Cesaire, coined the term Negritude. As a literary movement, Negritude challenged the cultural principles presented in the literature and politics of Africans and those of African descent world-wide. Where did the inspiration for the naming of the movement based upon the Greek root term, viz., "tude" -- the study of? Where is the model from which Cesaire and Senghor take their inspiration? From where springs the impulse and opportunity to call African liberation groups together?

In 1912, under the presidency of Reverend John L. Dube, the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC) was organized. Du Bois met Rev. Dube and other founders of SANNC while attending the 1911 Universal Races Congress in London, England. SANNC Secretary General Sol Plaatje strengthened that affiliation, begun in London, by his participation in the 1919 and 1921 Pan-African Congresses organized and called by Du Bois. As is probably evident the SANNC is the parent organization of what is now called the African National Congress (ANC). We see here another element in what has been termed the Age of Victimization. For clearly identifying and announcing the causes and dangers in the

strife of southern Africa Du Bois, among others, was ostracized.

The SANNC delegation after having attended the 1919 Congress traveled to London to meet with the Colonial Secretary. This group's intention was to begin negotiations for an amelioration of the oppression experienced by the Black South Africans. The initiatives of peaceful discussion and non-violent action were turned aside. But worse is that those who watched from the sidelines in this ninth decade of the twentieth century are, in Du Bois' words, "generations of men who do not know the past, or believe in a false picture of the past. . . Our history becomes 'lies agreed upon' and stark ignorance guides our future." (National Guardian, 2/15/60)

What were the actions which created the atmosphere so that clear insightful statements made about conditions faced by millions of people on this globe were ignored and called fabrications? Why is it that in the United States there is suspicion of the intentions of the Black liberation forces in South Africa almost forty years after Du Bois remarked that "in the Union of South Africa is found the worst center of race hate in the world" and , "it seems almost unbelievable that in the middle of the twentieth century the Union of South Africa is widely recognized as a civilized

nation"⁹⁰ In part the reason for the ignoring and/or misrepresenting insightful statements of Du Bois is the work of the intelligence agencies. They created an image of Du Bois which was accomplished by the surveillance activities to which he was subject. These surveillance activities began, as we have noted, in 1919 and would continue until his death, i.e., a period of fifty-four years.

The next period of active surveillance for which there is documentation available⁹¹ begins in 1942. The reason or justification for the surveillance and the attendant investigation reads as follows:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This case originated at: Atlanta, Georgia
Report made at: New York City
Date when made: 5/1/42
Period for which made: 3/25;4/2,11/42

The following investigation is predicated upon a copy of a letter sent to the Charlotte Field Division by the Atlanta Field Office dated February 8, 1942, in which the following information was set (sic.) out: --

"Information was received by the Atlanta Office that subject, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS (Colored), whose residence was given as 226 West 150 Street, New

⁹⁰ See "This is Africa Today", November 29, 1948; and "Slavery in the Union of South Africa", 1955 - both in the National Guardian.

⁹¹ The surveillance reports which are mentioned here are those gathered by the University of Massachusetts Library Archives/Amherst from the Department of Justice via the Freedom of Information Act. The files which the Archives presently holds are the files gathered on Du Bois, the Peace Information Center, and the Council of African Affairs.

York City, business address 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, had stated in a speech made while in Japan that the Japanese were to be complimented on their progress and especially upon their military prowess. Further, that in the Japanese he saw the liberation of the negroes (sic.) in America, and that when the time came for them to take over the United States, they would find they would have help from the negroes in the United States."

One can attempt to remain neutral in a discussion which reviews an episode of history a quarter of a century after the events. But the mark of provocative literature is that though the reader attempts to remain neutral, the climate of the time is conveyed in the report.

During war time it is not to be expected that citizens of a warring nation would remain neutral when informed of one who is alleged to have made statements which give aid to an enemy. But this is the case with Du Bois. The report of the government's case reflects the information collected from 23 separate field investigations. Each subsequent summary report -- that is, subsequent to this report dated 5/1/42, accepts the validity of the information gathered in this first summary. We must probe the accuracy of the reported information gathered in the field and in research by the Special Agent in Charge (SAC).

The personal history of Du Bois is reported as it was then found in the 1937 Who's Who In America. Du Bois'

articles which appeared in the Crisis⁹² were briefly reviewed. In the opinion of the agent Du Bois constantly wrote of racial discrimination and how the Negro was oppressed, especially in the South. Du Bois is said to believe that "there should be social equality between all people, regardless of color, and, although he does not recommend marriage between the black and white races, he demands one's right to do so should he so desire". The report then moves to the subject of investigation, i.e., Du Bois and Japan.

The agent reports that in an April 1931 Crisis Du Bois had stated that he had friends who were representatives from Japan. In a January 1920 Crisis the agent quotes the following:

Leave the black and yellow world alone. Get out of Asia and Africa and the Isles. Give us estate and town and section and let us rule them undisturbed. -- 1. Absolutely segregate the races and sections of the world. 2. Let the world meet as men with men; give justice to all, extend democracy to all, and treat all men according to their individual desert.

There is something strange in the reading of this passage as it is reported by the Special Agent in Charge. For those who are familiar with Du Bois it just does not sound right. Here

⁹² The agent reporting first writes the following concerning the Crisis Magazine articles referred in the report, ". . . a number of 'Crisis' Magazines were briefly reviewed." In the report itself four Crisis issues are mentioned January and December issues of 1920, April 1934, June 1934.

is a correct rendering of the article as Du Bois wrote it in 1920:

. . . Today Negroes, Indians, Chinese and other groups are gaining new faith in themselves; they are beginning to "like" themselves; they are discovering that the current theories and stories of "backward" peoples are largely lies and assumptions; that human genius and possibility are not limited by color, race, or blood. What is this new self-consciousness leading to? Inevitably and directly to distrust and hatred of whites; to demands for self-government, separation, driving out of foreigners-- "Asia for the Asiatics," "Africa for the African," and Negro officers for Negro troops!"

No sooner do whites see this unawaited development than they point out in dismay the inevitable consequences: "You lose our tutelage," "You spurn our knowledge," "You need our wealth and technique."

Very well. Some of the darker brethren are convinced. They draw near in friendship; they seek to enter schools and churches; they would mingle in industry--when lo! "Get out," yells the White World. "You're not our brothers and never will be." . . . "Go away, herd by yourselves." . . . "Eternal Segregation in the Lord!"

Can you wonder, Sirs, that we are a bit puzzled by all this and that we are asking gently, but more and more insistently: Choose one or the other horn of the dilemma:

1. Leave the black and yellow world alone. Get out of Asia, Africa and the Isles. Give us our states and towns and sections and let us rule them undisturbed. Absolutely segregate the races and sections of the world.

OR--

Let the world meet as men with men. Give utter justice to all. Extend democracy to all and treat all men according to their individual desert. Let it be possible for whites to rise to the highest positions in China and Uganda and blacks to the highest honors in England and Texas.

Here is the choice.

Du Bois logically offers two alternatives which would fit the treatment extended to the Black American by American society of his day. Either cease exploitation if you do not want colored peoples among you; or if you are to be involved and among colored people, respect them as men. The report presented by the agent completely distorts this message. In turning back to the 1942 report, we find that the agent does little to support his claim that Du Bois saw in the Japanese the "liberation of the negro and when it came time for them to take over the United States, they would find help from the negro". In the five page report there are only two references to Japan. One reference to Japan is made in the selection presented above by the words, "Asiatics, and "yellow world". The other reference states that Du Bois traveled around the world in 1936 and one of the countries visited was Japan. The bulk of the report presents personal background and checks on the currency of that background information.

The agent, however, was very thorough in his review of Du Bois' personal areas of living. The completeness of the

personal investigation is highlighted on the last page of the report:

It was noted that the subject's residence was given as 226 West 150 Street, New York City, which is the Paul Lawrence (sic) Dunbar Apartments, one of the largest apartment houses in the colored sections, comprising over five hundred apartments. An inquiry revealed that subject had not resided there for over two years. When he did reside there, he occupied two apartments. Inquiry at this address and also at the office of the publication, the Amsterdam New York Star News, revealed that the subject is now located at Atlanta, Georgia, where he is Professor of Sociology at the Atlanta University.

A search of the New York Police Department criminal records and the records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York failed to reveal any information or record of the subject.

In July of 1942 a second summary report was submitted through the Charlotte, North Carolina, FBI Field Office. This report is based upon the allegation that Du Bois had said that in the Japanese he saw the liberation of the Negro in America, and that when the time came for the Japanese to take over the United States, they would be offered help by Negro. The agent in Charlotte interviewed a woman who heard Du Bois speak in Osaka, Japan, in 1937 or 1938⁹³.

She stated that at the time DUBOIS (sic) was making a speaking tour and was widely heralded as an American Educator. -----advised that the speech was given

⁹³ It should be noted that the year of Du Bois travel to Japan was 1936.

to a mainly Japanese audience through an interpreter.

_____ stated that the drift of DUBOIS' talk was to the effect of his resentment in being a negro in America and that she gained some impression of a desire on the part of DUBOIS to unite the yellow and black races in opposition to the white race.

She recalled that DUBOIS said that the Japanese should be leaders in their part of the world and that he further said that "the negroes in America will extend to the Japanese in their leadership a weak but willing hand.

_____ denied that DUBOIS made any such statement as that credited to him in referenced letter.
..

The last two reports in this group add little to the inquiry relative to the question of Du Bois and Japan which was the subject of the initial investigation. Instead the investigation has rapidly turned into a fishing expedition and any information of interest is sought. In a November 12, 1942, summary report the agent reports that

. . . he is highly recommended by his employers and is considered to be respectable and is said to own a home in Baltimore, Maryland, at the address stated above.

----- was contacted as to further information but was unable to offer same. He stated that he believed the subject to be a radical in his attitude on the racial and negro question. He also said that he had heard that the subject may have played a prominent part in the riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma several years ago in which a number of negroes were killed. He stated that it was discovered that the subject was headed to New York from Tulsa, Oklahoma the day after the riot

occurred. He was unable to offer any information as to the subversive activities of the subject in Atlanta.

The records at the Police Department, Atlanta, Georgia were checked under the subject's name with negative results.

Two points need to be raised. The first is that the report mentions a riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, "several years ago". The riot cited here happened in 1921, i.e., 21 years before, and was mentioned by Du Bois in the Crisis and The Brownies' Book at the time. Authorities had not charged Du Bois with direct involvement in the riot which began as a defense of the Black citizens to an attempted lynching. Second, in the earlier reports there was the following statement, "No evidence of subversive activity in New York." In this November 1942 report the agent has changed the wording so that there is no information as to the subversive activities of the subject in Atlanta. But the outstanding question which cannot be answered is, "What were the pretexts for the investigation of Du Bois?" It would seem that the obvious answer would be that the agents were directed to determine if, in fact, there was evidence to show that W.E.B. Du Bois was involved in subversive activities.

Finally, the agent of this November report presents remarks which Du Bois wrote within his work Dusk of Dawn. This work has importance which was highlighted in earlier chapters. The point to be recalled from those remarks is that Dusk of Dawn was published in 1940. Of course the work

itself is expressive of much more than Du Bois' attitudes towards Japan. It is a work which marks a watershed for Du Bois -- he becomes resigned to the frustration of his struggle. The optimism of the younger years (that there would be a lessening of the oppression connected to the color prejudice he had witnessed for so long) was gone. Du Bois says in this 1940 work that the most serious condition that faces the American Negro is the merging of the "race problem into the problem of economic class as determined by race prejudices."

If we were to examine the various items composed by Du Bois, e.g., speeches, magazine articles, newspaper columns, and, journal articles, we would find well over fifty sources within which Du Bois discusses Japan and his ideas/point of view concerning Japan's place in the world. The earliest citation is to Du Bois' 1897 piece "The Conservation of Races". In 1897 Du Bois was one of the organizers of the American Negro Academy. The Academy's stated purpose was to promote literature, science, and art of the Afro-American. "The Conservation of Races" is noteworthy for much, but for this writer one special point is Du Bois' demarcation of races. There are many keys to be sought in figuring out the strategy of Du Bois. One is found in this 1897 discussion. Specifically it rests with Du Bois' definition of a race. To that definition he says --

. . . there are differences -- subtle, delicate and elusive, though they may be -- which have silently but

definitely separated men into groups. While these subtle forces have generally followed the natural cleavage of common blood, descent and physical peculiarities, they have at other times swept across and ignored these. At all times, however, they have divided human beings into races, which, while they perhaps transcend scientific definition, nevertheless, are clearly defined to the eye of the historian and sociologist.

If this be true, then the history of the world is the history not of individuals but of groups, not of nations, but of races, and he who ignores or seeks to override the race idea in human history ignores and overrides the central thought of all history. What, then, is a race? It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life.

Thus, in part of "The Conservation of Races", Du Bois speaks about the development of races and he looks to Japan:

. . . For the development of Japanese genius, Japanese literature and art, Japanese spirit, only Japanese, bound and welded together, Japanese inspired by one vast ideal, can work out in its fullness the wonderful message which Japan has for the nations of the earth. For the development of Negro genius, of Negro literature and art, of Negro spirit, only Negroes bound and welded together, Negroes inspired by one vast ideal, can work out in its fullness the great message we have for humanity. ("The Conservation of Races")

One key to be taken from this passage is that Japan becomes a brother/cousin whom the Black Americans can study and Japan becomes a brother/cousin from whom the Black American can learn from successes and mistakes.

The other key which can be taken from the passages from "The Conservation of Races" has to do with the Age of Resignation which Du Bois experiences in the forties and fifties. In his 1961 work Worlds of Color he writes:

If for another century, we (Black Americans) taught our children -- in our own bettering schools, with our own trained teachers -- we would never be Americans but another nation with a new culture. But if beginning now, gradually, all American children, black and white, European and Slavic and Asiatic are increasingly taught as one -- in one tradition and one ideal -- there will emerge one race, one nation . . . Am I glad? I should be but I am not. I dreamed too long of a great American Negro race. Now I can only see a great Human Race. It may be best, I should indeed rejoice. (p 290)

Here Du Bois could not claim the emergence of one race in in America without an appeal to the 1897 "The Conservation of Races" statement. In part that statement read -- a race is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life.

The theme which Du Bois enunciates in "The Conservation of Races" about the Japanese is a theme which is to run

through his statements on Japan for fifty years. In the surveillance reports the most important aspect of Du Bois' attention given to Japan was overlooked. We find, beginning with the 1897 Conservation piece, an unmistakable constancy in Du Bois: The Japanese stand as an example to the colored world that colored people are not fated to oppression by Western nations. The race problem at the turn of the century, according to Du Bois, was the continued subordination and subjugation of the colored peoples and their lands for Western capitalist profit⁹⁴.

Through Du Bois' writings in Crisis we view the emergence of Japan for good and ill. In 1914 there is the suggestion that with World War I there is a searching for land by the Western nations. The targets are almost without exception colored nations. This is in keeping with the lines of argument presented by Du Bois in the essay "The African Roots of War". There is a claim that England and the United States are looking toward China for their imperialistic extension. With that worry Du Bois begins to follow the Japanese reaction and suspicion of the attention which China draws from the Western nations. In 1916 Du Bois sees the ascension of General Terauchi as Chief Minister of the Cabinet in Japan and believes that a hardening of attitudes begins, i.e., a hardening of attitudes which brings with it a militaristic element. These empire building attitudes

⁹⁴ See Du Bois' "The Evolution of the Race Problem".

lead to the development of the military and naval powers of Japan beyond the need for protection.

By 1922 Du Bois is hopeful that Japan and China will put aside their differences and unite in an unbroken and unified front to discourage ideas of Western imperialist aggression. Always in the back of the discussions is the suggestion that the other colored peoples of the world should look at the possibilities of the Asians and encourage them as, in return, they would be encouraged.

The omission of references to the Crisis articles which show the foundational idea that Japan can serve as a cultural model for the colored races adds to a distortion of the view which Du Bois had of Japan when reports are made during the war years. (Additionally, it is recognized that this incomplete and badly drawn picture greatly distorts the image of the man, Du Bois.) We find that Du Bois is sympathetic to the Japanese development -

In the 19th century it was assumed that the world belonged to and always would belong to the superior peoples of white Europe and America; no longer is this true and the changes came with the World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, the struggle for independence in India, and the great changes in Japan and China.

(Crisis, October 1929)

As well we find Du Bois critical and condemning of Japan's actions -

Japan is fighting Europe in its war against China;

however, Japanese militarism is a menace which could lead to calamity. (Amsterdam News, 10/21/31)

His criticisms are directed against the rationalizations which are offered by government for its concern with the Japanese actions in Asia. The interest in the statements in the December 1931 Crisis have a modern ring as well as their report of thought during the period -

The United States (which stole a large part of Mexico, invaded Nicaragua and Santo Domingo and raped Haiti, annexed the Philippines and Porto Rico and dominates Cuba) is now explaining the Golden Rule to Japan.

A careful researcher would find, in addition to the already mentioned articles on Japan, that from January 1932 to the date of the first summary report completed by the FBI, i.e., May 1, 1942, the following are found⁹⁵:

Crisis Magazine

March 1932 - Japan's assault upon China is not simply naked aggression because there looms upon China the rapacity of the white imperialist nations.

April 1932 - Japan is forced to choose between militarism or suicide . . .

January 1933 - (If) Japan and China cease fighting and unite, they with India would be able to drive the white exploiters from all of Asia.

December 1933 - (With) Japan's economic treaty with Ethiopia there is land for Japan in return for ingenuity, trade, and friendship. This foreshadows a closer union between yellow and black people. Japan's purpose is profit - but it can not be

⁹⁵ This is not a complete listing for some of the articles have already been mentioned and some fall after the date of the first FBI report. For a quick review of the amount of material found in the published works Aptheker's Annotated Bibliography is the best current source.

worse than the treatment by England, Italy, and France.

PITTSBURGH COURIER

- February 29, 1936 - Japan is choosing imperialism to bar Europe and the United States from Asia.
 February 13, 1937 - Japan's rule in Manchuria an exceptional form of colonialism devoid of racism.
 February 27, 1937 - The interest in Asia lies with the burning hatred of China and Japan.
 March 27, 1937 - Japan has modernized but there is a danger in it if she pursues the capitalist path. Japan fears England and this drives her toward expansionism; the expansionism demands militarism and with it fascism. This threat of fascism makes her an enemy of Russia.
 October 23, 1937 - Unity between Japan and Chins would save the world for the darker races.

AMSTERDAM NEWS

- November 18, 1939 - The tactics of Britain and France have helped make the agreement between Germany and the U.S.S.R.; similar pressures draw Japan towards Germany.

PHYLON

- Vol.1, no.1 1940 - Japan is convinced that European influence in China will make her very existence insecure unless she herself dominates China.
 Vol.1, no.2 1940 - Underlying reasons for the war between Japan and China
 Vol.1, no.3 1940 - Expresses sympathy for Japan
 Vol.2, no.4 1941 - Growing advocacy in American liberal press of war with Japan is disquieting
 Vol.3, no.1 1942 - Concerning the war with Japan even before there is any outlook for peace, we should bestir ourselves for a worldwide fight against race hatred and racial propaganda in the days of peace which may sometime come.

In none of the reports by the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is there a reference to any of the material listed above. The only claim I would offer of the statements by Du Bois which are found in these writings is that there is a consistency of statement and attitude which

Du Bois held of Japan. The suggestion of the FBI that he had offered subversive assistance to Japan in its war effort against the United States of America is not supported. Du Bois' statements addressing Japan span a half a century of watching and interpreting Japan's actions within world movements.

The reasons for the investigations into the activities of Du Bois are clear. In February 1939 Du Bois received a letter from Waldo McNutt⁹⁶. Aptheker introduces this letter in his edited collection of the correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois by saying:

Note has been taken earlier of Du Bois' tendency to sympathize deeply with Japan and, especially, to be suspicious of those who condemned her aggressions in China and "forgot" the record of Western aggressions against colored peoples. His 1937 (sic) visit to Japan and Manchuria certainly did nothing to diminish this feeling. The result was the kind of rumor reflected in a letter written to Du Bois early in 1939.

The idea of "rumor" which Aptheker mentions is taken from the second paragraph of the letter. It reads: "While in Washington over the past week-end, a number of liberals in Congress interested in this legislation asked me if it was true, as has been rumored, that you are receiving funds for Japanese propaganda work in this country. They indicated that some speeches coincided with those of official Japanese

⁹⁶ Aptheker identifies McNutt as an officer in the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc. during the later 30's and 40's.

propaganda agencies' propaganda in this country. The December 10th issue of the 'China Weekly Review' in an editorial names you as a suspect in the dissemination of Japanese propaganda."⁹⁷

Du Bois' reply⁹⁸ denied the charge of receiving funds but the more interesting point is that this circumstance must have been known to those who assigned the FBI the task of carrying on an investigation of Du Bois' activities as they concerned Japan. Yet, none of these were cited. To be sure, merely knowing of the speeches and perhaps reading them would not necessarily make any difference in the agent's subsequent report. The point is that agents are not academicians. For an example of the agent's inability to grasp an academic understanding of Du Bois, we can turn to Du Bois 1937 speech, "The Meaning of Japan".⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Aptheker here notes the following: There is an editorial essay, "Serious Racial Element in the Sino-Japanese Struggle," on page 32 of the cited "China Weekly Review". It notes that Japan is using the color issue as one of its propaganda lines, especially among Afro-Americans. It continues: "There were rumors that Professor W.E.B. Du Bois of Atlanta University, outstanding educator and former editor of The Crisis, who recently toured the Orient, had expressed pro-Japanese sympathies, but this was not confirmed."

⁹⁸ Du Bois writes: "Perhaps it is a miracle for an American to have an opinion which is not paid for. If so, the miracle has happened; it is true in my case. I have never received a cent from Japan or from any Japanese and yet I believe in Japan." February 25, 1939, Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, Vol. II, p 185.

⁹⁹ This speech was given at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, on March 12, 1937, and at Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana, June 23, 1937. It is found on microfilm

An important element in this speech highlights the place occupied by Du Bois in the academic discussions of racism. In the earlier chapters of this dissertation, an effort was made to show how an analysis of racism was assisted by the works Du Bois. In the last two chapters the focus shifts to discussing racists' actions which distort the activities in which he was involved. There is a strange irony in that the very actions which he points to --the actions of ignoring, dismissing, and, falsifying the historical record of a people which is the genocide practiced by racism -- are the actions which are directed against Du Bois. He is condemned for his candor by those who fabricate and fantasize. Du Bois says that he is drawn to Japan because "Japan is a colored nation and thus exemplifies one of the color problems of the world."

The color problems Du Bois sees in Japan are problems which are in part created by racism. There is confusion in any people attempting to survive in the face of the color line. The confusion is what Du Bois called "twoness". Twoness is the feeling of glory in being African, on the one hand, and the feeling of glory in being an American. A Negro and an American warred against one another within one body. The result of the warring was confusion as to how to identify oneself. Bell asked if Du Bois (and by implications any other individual) could draw upon both cultural

traditions and give out work of inspiration and expression which reflected an identity with one, i.e., Black people.

Bell answers the question by saying:

. . . A close examination of much of Du Bois' published and unpublished work from his early experience as a teenage news correspondent in New England through his long tenure as editor of the *Crisis* provides persuasive evidence that such a cultural duality was not only a possibility, but a fact rooted in the struggle to reconcile his double-consciousness as a black American: "one ever feels this two-ness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder." (Bell, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Struggle to reconcile Folk and High Art", found in Andrews, Critical Essays on W.E.B. Du Bois, p 106)

Addressing the issue of twoness Dennis looks to "The Conservation of Races" where he finds that Du Bois has raised the issue of bridging the gap between social-political theory and social-political action to be concerned with the developing of a sense of consciousness:

What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro, am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatened and separates Black and white America? Is not my only possible practical aim the subduction of all that is Negro in me to the American? (Dennis, "Du Bois and the Role of the Educated Elite", The Journal of Negro Education, p 390)

Stewart, in his article "Psychic Duality of Afro-Americans in Novels by W.E.B. Du Bois", argues that this theme of twoness remained a point of discussion and concern for Du Bois through his writing experience. He cites Du Bois having written ". . . She would make it as if it was the natural thing, for race was not color; it was inborn oneness of spirit and aim and wish . . ." (Du Bois, Mansart Builds a School, p 128); ". . . 'Mr. Ben Ali suggests that even you are not black, Mr. Towns.' 'My grandfather (replied Mr. Towns) was and my soul is. Black blood with us in America is a matter of spirit not simply of flesh.'" (Du Bois, Dark Princess, p 19)

Du Bois understood well the confusion which accompanies the striving of a colored people's action to compete with white Western industrial power. With attention directed to Japan, Du Bois finds the confusion heightened because of the richness of Japanese history and the ability and unity of its people. In 1868 Japan was a country about to be dominated by the European merchants, but in 1905 after Russia sued for peace, Japan had risen to the level of world power. From 1905 to 1937 "Japan has presented a problem for those who think of the future of modern civilization as a problem of white folk. . . . From being first a cunning curiosity and then a presumptuous imitator she is envisaged as a great danger and rival to Europe and America." ("The Meaning of Japan")

Evidence of Japan attempting to reconcile the confusion of twoness was to be found in its imitation of the West. This imitation was to have dramatic results. By it Japan was responsible, claims Du Bois, for putting the East into manufacture as a rival of the West. Japan integrated her handicrafts into commercial ventures, built factories, imported raw material, lowered money wages. In 1936-37 Japan exported five to six times as many furnished products as she did in 1914. In "The Meaning of Japan" Du Bois reports the following from Guenther Stein's "Made in Japan":

. . . if Japan's 1914 exports are used as a basic index of 100, the quantitative development of her exports is as follows:

1914, 100; 1920, 210; 1928, 254; 1932, 325; 1934, 555.

Japan's quantitative share in the world's trade of manufacture is now almost 10 per cent. In some products her share is much larger, for example in cotton tissues.

Today Japan is the largest exporter of cotton tissues in the world; her share is 40 per cent. A few figures will illustrate Japan's development of cotton tissue exports (in million yards):

	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>Japan</u>
1928	3,866	1,410
1932	2,198	2,032
1934	1,995	2,568

The lesson to be learned from the example presented by Japan, on one hand, was what the result could be if a people acted not as competitors but as a unit. On the other hand, there was a lesson about the developed race hatred which lurked behind all of the West's economic endeavors. In 1924

the Congress debated a Japanese exclusion law by which Japanese goods would not be imported into the country. In response Japan threatened to stop the annual purchase of \$200 million of American cotton. Du Bois claims that a political bargain between Western and Southern interests was struck. Though Du Bois does not detail the bargain I would think he saw that the South opposed the anti-lynching bill while the West supported the bill. The Western support for the anti-lynching was dropped when the South and the East joined to vote down the Japanese trade-exclusion law. As a result the anti-lynching bill was defeated in 1924. The point which Du Bois makes is bitter. His point is that in regard to people of color, capitalist economic activity is a process which has but one purpose -- domination. To carry out domination the individuals in dominant positions must harden themselves to the suffering which goes on all about them. The fuel for the calloused attitudes was racism¹⁰⁰. The agent who reported Du Bois' statements concerning Japan did not mention nor refer to "The Meaning of Japan". The

¹⁰⁰ He would later point to other evidence of racism as the internment of the Japanese Americans in California during the War and the continued plight of the Black American G.I.

See also U.S. Army, Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942, p 34; quoted in George D. Kelsey, Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man, p 30 :

The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have been 'Americanized' the racial strains are undiluted.

agent was not an academician and yet the agent was performing the academician's tasks. Had the agent reviewed the speech then in answer to the question - What did Du Bois see in Japan? - the following words from the speech might have been used:

We who watch the development of Japan from afar, with sympathetic eyes, and the curious tie of color with all its memory of insult, slavery and exploitation can but hope that her possible leadership of the world will make for industrial democracy and human understanding across the color line on a far larger scale than the world has yet seen accomplished. (Du Bois, "The Meaning of Japan")

Finally, the sympathetic attitude which Du Bois expressed so openly toward Japan did have its limits. His appreciation of the example which Japan offered was not blind, just as he was not blind to the claims that the barriers of color were being torn down. He would say in 1945, in his then resigned manner of drawing the polemic, that "most of us have been unhappy about the war upon Japan because they are a colored people and because the motives of Britain and the United States are suspect. But insofar as a Japanese exploitative ruling clique was trying to capture all Asia, we welcome its defeat." (Du Bois, "Chicago Defender", August 25, 1945)

However, the balance of Du Bois' views of Japan was not reported. Rather what is instanced here again is the action of a law enforcement agent reporting that which should have

been informed by the academic community. But the academic community was steeped in racism of its own. Professor Meyer Weinberg has pointed out that either The Suppression of the African Slave trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870 or The Philadelphia Negro would have established an outstanding academic reputation worthy of any of the elite schools had they been written by a white scholar. Du Bois completed the two works within a three-year period and yet, though The Suppression of the African Slave Trade is Number 1 of Volume 1 of the Harvard Historical Papers, Du Bois was never even asked to speak at his alma mater. As late as 1940, we are told, there were no tenured Black classroom teachers on the faculties of any northern white universities or colleges. With the institutions of higher learning thus exercising pre-judgments on Black scholarship scholarly discussion concerning the problems of race within higher education was precluded. The task of presenting evaluative statements of those Black scholars' work and their activities was handed to the members of the law enforcement agencies which was to have disastrous results. The most glaring of the results was that the most important right given to the academy was violated - the right to academic freedom. We see the consequences of that abrogation of the right to academic freedom most dramatically when we turn attention to the activity which surrounded Du Bois during the last two decades of his life.

CHAPTER XII

*It should be our task to pass on the
legacy of thought and action he so
brilliantly fashioned."*

William Branch

Effects of the Racist Faith

America in 1945 was preparing itself to face the "Negro problem". The works which justified the attention which this problem would demand have been discussed. Johnson, Myrdal, Frazier, Cox, Cayton, Drake, et al. were harbingers of the research, discussion, organization, and consideration which would be directed at the color line and its meaning with the return of the Black soldier. At a time when the wealth of information and insight into the Negro problem could be drawn from Du Bois, he was ignored and gradually pushed off into a corner.

Resignation here is not meant to direct attention to that resignation from the NAACP which occurred in 1935. Rather resignation as is presented in this final discussion is in the sense of an emotional and intellectual resignation to the forces which rule over men who at times seem powerless before the onward sweep of events. Thus it was with Du Bois and with the forces which moved him. He found himself only peripherally involved with the academic and formal discussion of racism. As we saw earlier, Du Bois' work Dusk of Dawn suggests the mental toll paid by Du Bois after his struggles against the forces of the color-bar,

color line, race prejudice, race hatred, i.e., in a word racism. So insidious had racism become in Du Bois' understanding that he signalled his resignation to it and its consequences by claiming that the nature of racism could be changed only if the social institutions were changed. He said --

. . . in the minds of the most dogmatic supporters of race theories and believers in the inferiority of colored folk to white, there was a conscious or unconscious determination to increase their incomes by taking full advantage of the belief. And then gradually this thought was metamorphosed into a realization that the income-bearing value of race prejudice was the cause and not the result of theories of race inferiority; that particularly in the United States the income of the Cotton Kingdom based on black slavery caused the passionate belief in Negro inferiority and the determination to enforce it even by arms. (Du Bois, "The Concept of Race", Dusk of Dawn, pp 129-130)

Du Bois resignation¹⁰¹ to the forces which worked about him and outside of his control is witnessed in the attempted establishment of the "Black Land-Grant Colleges Conference". This idea was an outgrowth of thoughts presented by Du Bois in Chicago in 1941. The first conference was held in 1943 but with his forced retirement from Atlanta University in

¹⁰¹ Rayford W. Logan hints at this sense of resignation experienced by Du Bois in his W.E.B. Du Bois: A Profile. In the "Introduction" Logan writes, "I was Du Bois' colleague at Atlanta University in 1938 when I tried in vain to have him call a Fifth Pan-African Congress. Had he become a "realist," disillusioned about the prospects for self-government in Black Africa?"

1944, at the age of seventy-six, the land-grant college proposal also came to an end. Instead of his proposed idea that "the center of gravity as well as the truth of investigation of the study of the Negro condition should be brought back to the control of an association of Negro colleges," another one of Du Bois' programs met disaster.

I felt the world tottering beneath my feet and I fought back despair. Finally the trustees gave me a year's full salary in lieu of my never having been given notice of retirement. Also after offering me a pension of \$100 a month, they finally granted me \$1,800 a year for five years and \$1,200 a year thereafter.

A word from the poet Sara Teasdale expressed my mood:

When I can look life in the eyes,
Grown calm and very coldly wise,
Life will have given me the truth
And taken in exchange--my youth.

My youth? I laughed grimly. It was not my youth that I was losing; it was my old age; and old age was worthless in the United States. (Autobiography, pp 323-324)

After the forced retirement an unexpected invitation came to Du Bois to return to the NAACP. In 1944 he moved to New York, but he found that the understandings which he believed had been arranged were not to come to pass. Du Bois was to be cornered away from active involvement except at the request of the then Executive Secretary Walter White. Thus Du Bois became resigned to what was to be a four year protracted struggle demanding the respect which he was due but which he would not receive. One of the tasks which Du

Bois and White faced was preparation for their attendance at the United Nations Planning Conference to be held in San Francisco. With Mary McLeod Bethune and Walter White, Du Bois represented the NAACP, distinguished by titles of consultants to the United States Government delegation.

It was Du Bois' goal to have the Conference establish an office which would oversee the colonial territories. To such an office the colonized people could direct their concerns and problems. Du Bois met resistance for it was argued that the colonial power would have a voice in the United Nations and, by that voice, concerns of which he spoke would be brought to the discussion table. Du Bois resigned himself to the fact that the United Nations would not attempt to protect those who most needed its protection. In 1946 he organized an appeal to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on behalf of Black Americans. He titled the pamphlet "Appeal to the World," which was accepted in October 1947 but not with Du Bois in attendance. In fact Du Bois claims that it was his actions following the usurpation of his responsibilities by White (it was White who travelled to Paris to present the Appeal) that led to termination of his association with the NAACP in 1948.

Dismissed from the NAACP but still intellectually interested and physically able to be active in international affairs, Du Bois was sought out by the Council on African Affairs. On behalf of the Council on African Affairs Paul

Robeson extended an offer to Du Bois to become CAA's honorary Vice Chairman. With this new alliance with the Council Du Bois directed his attention to the world political arena, viz. the Peace Movement. First and foremost in Du Bois' thoughts from this point on are the issues which revolve about the threat to world peace presented by the militarism of the West. This was expressly seen in the development of nuclear arms, the war in Korea, and the continued military incursions of the French with American support in Southeast Asia. There has been considerable interest in the details of the personal meetings and travels of Du Bois beginning with his participation in and speech delivered before the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York's Madison Square Garden (March 1949).¹⁰² However, the task which is faced here is to direct this discussion to Du Bois' place as it concerns the discussion of racism.

By the time Du Bois became Chair of the Peace Information Center in 1950, events begin to unfold rapidly. In fact these events began to unfold so rapidly that it is impossible to explain them in regard to the events which subsequently or concurrently happened in Du Bois' life. I will leave that discussion for those who have examined his

¹⁰² See Du Bois, In the Battle for Peace; Graham, His Day Is Marching On; Broderick, "The Eclipse of Race"; DeMarco, "Socialism, Peace and Africa"; Lester, "The Fourth Period- 1948-1963"; Rampersad, "The Age of Wisdom".

life and actions so well in biography; here I turn to events rarely discussed. Lester has come closest to pointing out an element which has drawn this writer's attention. It is a subject which has long been suspected but, from the sources now available, it has not been discussed in detail. Lester writes that "shortly after Du Bois joined the Council of (sic) African Affairs, it was placed on the Attorney General's list of 'subversive' organizations, an act which succeeded in seriously hampering its work." (The Seventh Son, Vol.II, pp 120-121) As has been pointed out, the use of "subversive" had already been applied to Du Bois - FBI reports cited above dated 5/1/42 and 11/12/42. In fact, when the report forms are read closely, we find that "Internal Security" code "C" which marked subversive organizations and groups, was the code to be found on the 5/1/42 FBI Investigation report form on Du Bois. Furthermore, the evidence which was presented in fact did not support the alleged designation.

The Council on African Affairs indeed was a watched group and the material which is found in files gathered by surveillance and investigation carried on by agencies of the Justice Department are voluminous. What this last discussion will turn to is the government's action directed at the Peace Information Center. For it is against the Peace Information Center that the government received an

indictment and brought the officers of that organization to trial.

The government attempted to establish that the Peace Information Center was an "agent of a foreign principal."¹⁰³ This attempt to bring to trial and convict the officers of this organization was based upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation's intelligence gathered from secured documents and testimony. What was intended by the FBI's actions was annihilation, in the strongest sense, of individuals indicted in this case. What is central to the support of this claim of "intended annihilation" is the fact that the Peace Information Center, as an organization and as that group which was indicted in February 1951, was formally disbanded on October 12, 1950. The indictment which was returned by a Federal Grand Jury on February 8, 1951, was based on the reports provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

¹⁰³ The alleged "foreign principal" according to the testimony of the prosecution's witness, O. John Rogge, was the Soviet Union; according to the government's indictment the "foreign principal" would have been the World Council of the Defenders of Peace based in France. Defense Attorney Vito Marcantonio argued that as defined by law in 1938 the "agency" the government would have to establish was 1) that the Peace Information Center was subject to control of the Paris Defenders of Peace; 2) that the Defenders of Peace had consented to the fact that the Peace Information Center should act in its behalf; 3) that the Peace Information Center consented to act for the Defenders of Peace; and 4) that there was a consent on the part of the Peace Information Center to be subject to the control of the Defenders of Peace. All these are musts; if any one fails, the case fails.

Before presenting the contents of those FBI intelligence reports, their possible connection to the topic at hand must be made clear. The man who asked to be remembered as a "Drum Major for Justice" gave the keynote speech at the Centennial Celebration of Du Bois' birth, February 23, 1968. In his remarks, titled "Honoring Dr. Du Bois" Dr. Martin Luther King said:

. . . it would be well to remind white America of its debt to Dr. Du Bois. When they corrupted Negro history they distorted American history, because Negroes are too big a part of the building of this nation to be written out of it without destroying scientific history. White America, drenched with its lies about Negroes, has lived too long in a fog of ignorance. Dr Du Bois gave them a gift of truth for which they should be eternally indebted to him.¹⁰⁴

The purpose of Dr. King's presence is clear. It was to demonstrate and show his respect for the struggle against man's inhumanity toward man waged by Dr. Du Bois. The two of them had known one another. For example, Du Bois had written King after the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott congratulating him while also offering a warning to beware of the danger he had placed himself in by his challenge of racist attitudes. Additionally, both Drs. King and Du Bois

¹⁰⁴ We have been told that Dr. King lived the last year of his life knowing that death might be momentarily away from him. Thus no one could have known that this speech was to be Dr. King's last formal public address before his assassination on April 4th.

accepted that one might have to struggle to the death against racism.

Dr. King had come to an understanding of racism through his own genius and experiences, it is true. However, Dr. King also had assistance. In King's Where Do We Go From Here, he makes reference to his former religion and philosophy instructor at Morehouse College, Dr. George Kelsey. He uses the notion and definition that Dr. Kelsey offers of racism in his work, Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man.

. . . racism is a form of idolatry, for it elevates a human factor to the level of the ultimate. The god of racism is the race, the ultimate center of value. For the racist, race is the final point of reference for decision and action, the foundation upon which he organizes his private life, public institutions and public policy, and even his religious institutions. When men elevate any human or historical factor to so great a height that it has the power to give substance and direction to all cultural institutions, no matter what the 'raison d'etre', that human historical factor has become a god. (King, p 59)

As quoted here by Dr. King and elsewhere, we find that Dr. Kelsey's statements addressing racism and the racist search for the self are accurate descriptions of the agents and the Director of the Federal Bureau who were central to the surveillance of Du Bois. The result is that when an academician examines the case of Du Bois occupying a place in the discussion of racism the attacks from outside are

considered. The attacks of racism which were directed at Du Bois were institutional racism delivered by individual actions, i.e., the agent's physical presence, and individual understandings, i.e., the interpretation which this law enforcement agent pronounced to be an accurate interpretation. The analogy of Du Bois to a lightning rod in these circumstances is not inappropriate.

In his work Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man, Kelsey establishes these points:

1. Racism has developed (beyond its being a particular constellation of political and economic events) into a phenomenon by which it is a faith, i.e. that which directs the search for meaning.
2. Racism, the racist faith, establishes self-identity by means of acts of self-exaltation and self-deifying pronouncements.
3. The racist faith nullifies the selfhood, the shared humanity, of members of out-races by acts of deprivation and words of vilification.
4. As a result, racism is human alienation purely and simply. (pp 19-25)

The American cultural institution represented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation at this time is an example of the racism described by Kelsey. The Bureau operated from a basis that the "in-race" group could do no wrong and it and its action were pure. On the other hand the members of the "out-race" were defective and depraved. To this point Kelsey writes:

. . . Any statement the racist makes concerning the cultural and political achievement, or potential of the

in-race or the out-races is based upon prior judgment concerning human being.

The claim of the racist that he studies the facts of history and arrives inductively at his generalizations is contradicted by his consistently negative response to contrary situations.(p 24)

For an example, let us turn this discussion back to Du Bois using the Kelseyan terminology.

If we were to consider the civil rights movement of the 1960's, the racist voiced a claim like the following when examining the violence: The Negro leaders who demanded equality were malcontents and/or outside agitators. Next evidence is presented which demonstrates that equality is not extended to all and that the agitation is a personal choice not pressured from outside influences. But this does not disturb the racist's confidence in the truth as he or she sees it. Those who are demanding their civil rights are immoral in their actions. The facts upon which the racist establishes his faith are only facts of a racist faith, idolatry.

The grand jury returned criminal indictments against the officers of the Peace Information Center because they believed what the Federal Bureau of Investigation told them. What the grand jury was told, for example, was that W.E.B.Du Bois had joined and become a member of the Communist party

in 1944¹⁰⁵. Thus what would the grand jury believe if every statement made by Du Bois up to the date of arraignment in February 1951 was a denial of this allegation? In point of fact Du Bois was not at the time a member of the Communist Party. But by extension, the racism which drove the investigation identified anyone associated with beliefs contrary to their own as members of the "out-race" - guilt by association.¹⁰⁶

Earlier in these remarks I describe the intention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's action as those aimed at annihilation. The target of this action was to be badgered until death. Statements have been made which suggest the government's conclusions were wrong. Attention has been given to the government's orchestration of the law suit against the officers of the Peace Information Center which was claimed to hold dangerous beliefs as established by their investigation. Now the record must be read to find reasons for the FBI actions directed against the targeted individuals was not to cease. Interpretation of what the

¹⁰⁵ As found in reports gathered from the Department of Justice via the Freedom of Information Act by the University of Massachusetts Library Archives - W.E.B. Du Bois Papers Collection Box #377, Folder #34:

advised in June, 1950, that Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, although on friendly terms with the Communist Party (CP) for a number of years, actually joined the CP about 1944.

¹⁰⁶ See Gilbert Ware's work, William Hastie: Grace Under Pressure, where he writes, "Hastie said the FBI had not denied the charge that it rendered unfavorable reports on whites solely because they had black friends." p 237.

agents of the Bureau reported or actions which they were ordered to carry out will not do. The record must speak for itself:

FROM: Washington and New York Field 11-20-51
TO: Director and SAC URGENT

PEACE INFORMATION CENTER DASH IS DASH C. REGISTRATION ACT. ALL DEFENDANTS ACQUITTED NOVEMBER TWENTY, FIFTYONE.

GAB:MOO
100-22507

HOOD

cos: Mr. Belmont

Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-369492) 2/19/52
FROM: SAC, New York (100-98640)
SUBJECT: PEACE INFORMATION CENTER IS-C
Reurlet Jan. 30, 1952.

Inasmuch as no further investigation appears to be indicated in this matter, this case is being placed in a Closed status by this office.

Office Memorandum - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: Director, FBI (100-369492) March 20, 1952
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-22507)
SUBJECT: PEACE INFORMATION CENTER
REGISTRATION ACT
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re report of Special Agent _____ at New York, dated October 17, 1950.

Review of the files of this case in this office indicate that the Bureau and New York were advised by teletype dated November 20, 1951, that all defendants in above captioned case were acquitted on November 20, 1951. Inasmuch as this was the only outstanding lead in the Washington Field Office and there has been no

activity on part of this organization in Washington, D.C., this case is considered RUC.

cc: New York (100-98640)

TO: SAC, New York (100-98640)

October 19, 1953

FROM: Director, FBI (100-369492)

RE: PEACE INFORMATION CENTER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

For your information and the completion of your files, the Attorney General has cited the captioned organization pursuant to Executive Order 10450 as set forth in Volume 18, Number 195 of the October 6, 1953, edition of the Federal Register, page 6365.

Future documentation of this organization should be in accord with the above.

For your additional information, our investigation of any organization designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 must be continued until the organization ceases to exist.

The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation ordered in October 1953 that the investigation of the Peace Information Center be continued until the organization had ceased to exist. The organization had been formally disbanded in October of 1950. In two field office memoranda, because of the acquittal and the lack of any activity on the part of the organization, the case of the Peace Information Center was reported closed. What, other than individuals who had once been associated with the organization, was left? What, other than the annihilation of individuals' livelihoods, and family, was there to be marked and followed until a non-functioning organization "ceased to exist"?

It is here that this discussion comes to an end; and it is here that there are found the efforts which are expended by a racist in search for meaning. Everything that the racist is aware of is through this racist-consciousness. In that search for meaning the racist creates a self-exalted and deified self-identity. Furthermore, the racist in the process of self-exaltation nullifies the humanness/selfhood of that which it has marked as the "out-race". The actions which are engaged and practiced by nullifying the humanity of the other are the racist's discrimination and vilification. It is these very acts which were experienced by Du Bois, and it is our having the ability to now point to those acts, in addition to Du Bois' statements reporting a life-time of activity, which distinguish Du Bois' place in the discussion of racism.

In Chapter I of this dissertation I presented my working definition of racism. It read:

Racism is a belief that, since race is determined by stable inherited characteristics, man's behavior is determined by race and by behavior races stand to one another in positions of superiority or inferiority. Furthermore, racism, as the belief of racial difference, justifies unequal rewards being distributed to individuals or groups distinguished by race. By such justification of unequal rewards individuals and groups are maintained in positions of superiority or inferiority.

Racism as a belief that one race stands to another in a position of inferiority or superiority is the idolatry which

fueled the FBI's attacks upon Du Bois and his associates. Moreover, racism, as I defined it, can be seen in the FBI's actions of justifying unequal rewards being distributed to individuals who have been distinguished by race. The rewards in this case were based upon the agency allowing the legacy of Du Bois to be memorialized by those who had come to revere his work and life by dedicating his boyhood homesite in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, as a memorial park in 1969. Concerning that dedication a 1977 Berkshire Eagle news article reported:

. . . the FBI claims it surreptitiously planted a story in The Berkshire Eagle, and other documents describe the FBI's role in encouraging residents and groups in the county (Berkshire) to oppose a plan to dedicate a five-acre tract of land to the memory of Du Bois . . . (Fay, "FBI Takes Credit for Opposition to Du Bois Barrington Memorial", The Berkshire Eagle, November 30, 1977)

What of this report? How is this an example of racist justification for unequal rewards? It is an example of the justification of unequal rewards for it underscores the history of the Black American being a history of strife. The strife has ignited opposition to the forces of racism, i.e., the belief of racial inferiority which allows and perpetuates the continued usury of talents, skill and labor for the benefit of the privileged. The struggle of the oppressed is necessary so that the doors of opportunity will not always be closed to the Black American. But the doors

remained closed when oppressed individuals cannot escape death and isolation which are the results of racism. The doors of opportunity remain closed when the members of the oppressed group cannot marshal their best powers and latent genius. The doors of opportunity remain closed when through history "the powers of single Black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness." (Du Bois, "Of Our Spiritual Strivings", The Souls of Black Folk, p 46) Thus have actions and circumstance attempted to hide from view the brightness of Du Bois and his place in the discussion of racism.

CONCLUSIONS

There are several conclusions which may be drawn from this study of W.E.B. Du Bois and his place in the discussion of racism. The first conclusion is that Dr. Du Bois was actively engaged in the discussion of racism in three areas:

1. the cause of racism;
2. the effects of racism; and,
3. the alternative methods of ending racism.

Of these three areas of attention, the first is the most important. It is in searching for the causes of racism that the individual is forced to identify the phenomenon. In the identification of racism we meet the biggest problem which is defining it. The most concise and direct definition which Du Bois offers is found in The Negro. There he writes of a "widespread assumption through the dominant world that color is a mark of inferiority." Racism is the assumption which he mentions; and Western society is the dominant world to which he alludes. It is upon that stated assumption, i.e., that color is a mark of inferiority, from which all subsequent actions which oppress, suppress and reward similar actions unequally spring. I have shown that we may mark the beginnings of Du Bois' efforts to counteract the destructive effects of racism in his 1887 Fisk Herald editorial. For it is there that he clearly points to racism (recall his term "blind prejudice") in its two most recognizable and commonly

discussed forms -- individual racism and institutional racism.

The second conclusion to be drawn from this study is that there is an absence of extended discussions addressing racism in the work which is written about Du Bois. To support this claim I offer these findings for consideration. In Dan S. Green's "Bibliography of Writings About W.E.B. Du Bois" there are found 216 titles. Additionally, the University of Massachusetts Library Archives has another 35 titles, including books and/or dissertations and theses, not counted in the Green Bibliography. Add to these the recent publications of works which are listed in various indexes and publisher lists which are now available. Consequently a conservative estimate may be put forward which states that there are 250 works available in English which in some way address the life and work of W.E.B. Du Bois. Of these 250 works in no title is the term "racism" used. However, there are ten titles in which there is a suggested discussion of issues related to racism with the use of such terms as "veil transcended"; "the problem"; "color-line"; "race and public policy"; "problems of racial democracy"; and, "social theory". Additionally, of the approximately 250 titles, the number of works written within a given decade is as follows:

1901-1910 . . .	3
1911-1920 . . .	0
1921-1930 . . .	3
1931-1940 . . .	11

1941-1950 . . .	15
1951-1960 . . .	24
1961-1970 . . .	85
1971-1980 . . .	89
1980-present .	9

Fully sixty percent of the works available about Du Bois were written during the years 1961-1980. The civil and social and student movements of the time were greatly responsible for the appeal to the work of this freedom fighter. That there may be a small resurgence in the interest directed to Du Bois will be the case only if there is fresh material to be read and discussed and/or in the review of the material already available there are fresh discussions directed to it.

A third conclusion reached in this study concerns the general literature available on the topic of racism. It is the exception rather than the rule that when Du Bois is referred to, it is without an understanding of his history and background. A short example is presented here to highlight the point. In "The Miseducation of White Children" the authors write the following about Du Bois:

A founding father of the NAACP, who came much closer to demanding full human rights for Black people, Du Bois' demands were unacceptable to the whites in power. His forthright attack on American racism is as repugnant to the whites in control of textbooks today (late 1960's) as it was during his lifetime. (found in Knowles, Institutional Racism, p 46)

There is an interesting confusion found in this statement. The confusion revolves about the essence of the topic

miseducation of white children. The research for the text was done during the two years preceding the 1969 publication. Taking 1968 as the year for writing the words, ". . . his forthright attack on American racism is as repugnant to the whites today as it was during his lifetime", Du Bois at the time had just been five years dead. The confusion is that there are not two separate time periods of consideration; Du Bois' lifetime (for the writers) was during and a part of their own lifetimes. There should be no confusion about that.

For those who do have an insight onto the work and life of Du Bois too often is the understanding left to what others have written about him. Examples oof those works which are relied on are those which have been cited in this dissertation. The reasons for those who are for the first time meeting Du Bois allowing the words of others to form their ideas and direct their impressions may be that 1) those works cited by this writer have been the ones most often mentioned and included in the bibliographic and source material for further reading and the writers have been unable to seek out any titles anew, or, 2) the writers have solely relied upon work previously done, thus accounting for the snowball effect. However, with the microfilm of the Du Bois papers available, Aptheker's edited volumes of the Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois and his edited work Against Racism, and with the materials which have been added to the

University of Massachusetts/Amherst Library Archives Du Bois Papers Collection including the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) folders, the repetition which has been witnessed in the past need not be the practice in the future.

The fourth conclusion which this study offers is that there is a wealth of material and information to be gleaned from the FOIA material. The information is not what may be found there which recorded Du Bois' statements. rather the material there will support or defeat his statements and charges directed against the federal agencies. I cited a 1898 statement by Du Bois that the "most baneful cause of uncritical study of the Negro is the manifest and far-reaching bias of writers." In this statement we find one of those examples of the prophetic quality of Du Bois. A reader of the intelligence material to which I have directed some attention, e.g., concerning the Peace Information Center, cannot but appreciate how far-reaching that material came to be. The reports did not just affect Du Bois' life adversely, but the reports influenced other American citizens who were to pass judgment on Du Bois on their own in their own private retreats or were physically a part of the Grand Jury.

A fifth conclusion to be drawn from this study is that, in reference to the life of Du Bois, the expressions of racism are uniquely drawn from the racist by him. This is 1) because of his long life; and, 2) because of the national

and international attention which was directed toward him during the majority of those years (beginning with his Harvard commencement address of 1890). In 1910 Du Bois wrote:

In the argument of the prejudiced there is a certain usual ending: "But this is inevitable." For instance, a crime is committed by you. I am lynched. "It is inevitable," cries the bystander, "they were both Negroes." A brown man is admitted to a theatre, misbehaves and is ejected. I apply for a ticket and am refused. "It is inevitable," sighs the manager, "you are brown." . . .

What is the real argument in these cases? It is this: "People who resemble each other in one important respect ought to resemble each other in all important respects and therefore should be treated alike. If by chance they do not so resemble each other, this is unfortunate, for the same treatment must be meted out. This is inevitable."

Is it? It is not inevitable. It is criminal injustice. It is based upon the unscientific assumption that human beings who resemble each other in one important particular, like color of skin, resemble each other in all particulars. This is patently false. . . . To allow the mistreatment of innocent men -- to condone it or defend it, is not inevitable; it is a crime. (Du Bois, "The Inevitable", Crisis, December 1910)

What is inevitable is the uncovering and identification of racism. Racism of which Du Bois was victim placed itself above the law. The acquittal from charges presented in a court of law was disregarded by those who had become so firm in their racist belief that racism had become for them a

faith, an idolatry. Racism as this faith had raised itself above law both man-made laws and the laws of God. Du Bois' place in the discussion of racism is that he draws the racists' attitudes out into the open; he bares the racists' faith in word and deed for all who are rationally minded to see and defend themselves against; by his own example Du Bois warns of the evils of racism by pointing to the costs which must be paid in material and spiritual terms.

The final conclusion to be drawn from this study is that there is much left to be done. Much needs to be done in discussing racism from specific perspectives of the social science disciplines with an eye on the writings and life of Du Bois. I say with an eye on the writings and life of Du Bois because we will not find that Du Bois wrote and commented on every topic under the sun though at times it seems that he did. Rather it is because of the richness of his work, the provocative quality of his thoughts, the lessons learned in the passage of his life that we can gather a comprehensive yet particular view of the expression and practice of racism in the United States of America.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF RACISM GATHERED FROM READINGS

- Racism is held by an individual, group, culture, etc. as a conscious belief, i.e., an ideology.
- Racism is a belief that, since race is determined by stable inherited characteristics, man's behavior is determined by race and by behavior races stand to one another in positions of superiority or inferiority.
- Racism is a belief that human behavior is determined by inherited characteristics.
- Racism is a form of racial prejudice, a form of mental illness - negromania.
- Racism is the doctrine that a man's behavior is determined by stable inherited characteristics derived from separate racial stocks and usually considered to stand to one another in relations of superiority and inferiority.
- Racism is an ancient notion providing an appropriate and descriptive concept for the way in which each group affirms its physical and cultural superiority.
- Racism is an "ideology" which refers to race-thinking which rationalizes, sanctions, and affirms a social system by propounding the physical and/or cultural superiority of the dominant 'race' and the inferiority of the oppressed 'race'.
- Racism is a philosophy of aristocracy and nobility concerning the peasantry and 'common' people.
- Racism is a philosophy which also affects views of men toward women and views of dominant nationalities towards those held in subjection.
- Racism is the ideology of expansionistic capitalism.
- Racism is an expression of the will to believe that an in-race is glorious and pure as to its being, and out-races are defective and depraved as to their being.
- Racism is a faith, an idolatry which elevates a human factor to the level of the ultimate.

Racism is the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by Nature to hereditary inferiority and another group is destined to hereditary superiority.

Racism is the dogma that the hope of civilization depends upon eliminating some races and keeping others pure.

Racism is the dogma that one race has carried progress throughout human history and can alone ensure future progress.

Racism is a catch term for the notion of racial superiority even though racial traits have no known bearing on intelligence, morality, fitness for survival or socio-political organization. Most racial traits are subject to change or modification depending upon environment.

Racism is a euphemism of man's basic insecurity related to impermanence.

Racism is a euphemism of man's basic insecurity related to impermanence - scapegoating is a primitive technique for coping with impermanence. Scapegoating is a primitive ego defense of externalization and/or displacement for the moment. Thus aspirants for political office (scapegoat artists) too often are exploiters of group fear (insecurity) of impermanence and thus are perpetuators of vectors of racism. Racist slips are everyday occurrences betraying racism's dynamic presence. The history of racism suggests mutational virulent strains. The American strain has been mutationally unique and virulent since slavery. Blacks, the victims, have developed an exquisite sensitivity and perceptivity of this protean and virulent strain of racism.

Racism is a low-level defense and adjustment mechanism utilized by groups to deal with psychological and social insecurities.

Racism is an attitude that uses these real or presumed somatic characteristics as rationalizations for antagonisms and oppression of the "others".

Racism is an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. Racism as in this notion is victim of the logical fallacy of hasty generalization. It follows then that the racist has problems of a logical, psychological, ethical and ontological nature. Thus racism is the behavioral phenomenon manifested by racists.

Racism develops a system of exploitation which provides the evidence to continue the irrational repression and exploitation of a people.

Racism is the institutionalization of barriers that serve to reduce a racial minority people's access to meaningful participation as equals in all aspects of a group or community's functioning.

Racism is the projection of negative impulses to maintain a societal standard of subservience one to another by the individual becoming involved in creating a double standard.

Racism is the behavioral phenomenon manifested by racists.

Racism is a race relation-situation in which

- 1) there should be a situation of abnormally harsh exploitation;
- 2) that this relationship should be between groups so that an individual could not simply choose to move himself or children from one group to another;
- 3) that the system should be justified in terms of some sort of deterministic theory usually a biological sort.

Racism is the predication of decisions and policies on the consideration of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group. It originates in the operation of established and respected forces in society and relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices. With it is a sense of superior group position which typifies and prevails in American society.

Racism is the way in which a group affirms its physical and cultural superiority over another group.

Racism the doctrine articulated by a group to justify their oppressing another group.

Racism a doctrine of congenital inferiority by virtue of skin color as well as linguistic differences.

Racism is a form of class-derived elitism.

Racism in addition to its being a symbolic product of a set of fantasies - a form of knowing based upon wish and desire - is generated by the history of race relations and sustained by the rest of an organically related culture.

Racism is the name for the resistance which is met by those who have struggled for progress and betterment of the Negro condition.

Racism is not just a state of mind but also an elaborate structural system of exploitation.

Racism is the institutionalization of barriers that serve to reduce black people's access to meaningful participation as equals in all aspects of a group's function. Such structuralization leads to a relative diminution of the status of black members as well as a depreciation of the black community, circularly providing renewed force and justification for the original barriers. Psychiatry has such a structuralized pattern of racism.

Institutional racism is that structure by which there is a relative diminution of the status of Black Americans, and a diminution of the status of the Black communities while at the same time the institutional racist structure will appeal to the effects of diminution of the individual and/or groups as evidence for the justification of the very same barriers which need to be reconsidered.

White institutionalized racism, as exemplified within American institutions for the study of issues and areas of psychology, is the contention that white middle class psychoanalytic values and biases significantly affect residency training programs by influencing resident and faculty selection, supervision and content of didactic courses, patient selection, assessment and treatment of individuals, and attention to community mental health needs. The institutional policies, values, and biases lead to an absence or scarcity of blacks at every level and in most roles.

American racism is a process which constructs a cultural system which will note and act on arbitrary distinctions found among its societal members.

Urban racism is a particular form of institutional racism which has created networks at all levels of institutional activity, i.e., political, medical, educational, legal, health services, social services, housing, labor market and urban planning.

Visceral racism is a set of unacknowledged beliefs that afflict so-called 'unprejudiced' whites, especially middle-class liberals who have a tendency to regard

themselves as doing just about as well as can be expected with the race problem.

Visceral racism is the term identifying the belief held by an individual who makes judgments about other yet does not take into consideration the account of the issue made by the victim.

Visceral racism is the holding of beliefs which are predisposed to perceive and describe social events in which Black people figure to:

- 1) structure and report such events in a manner that screens out social inequalities which are "obvious" to Black observers; and,
- 2) represent Blacks as dependent upon the white majority.

Ideological racism is a doctrine that asserts the genetic and/or cultural inferiority of an oppressed people in order to justify their social condition (i.e., how and why they have been subjugated).

Ideological racism is a body of thought which in principle affirms the existing pattern of social arrangements.

Ideological racism is the formal doctrine of inherited biological inferiority.

Explicit racism is ideological racism based upon the doctrine that the Negro is inferior, developed directly out of the need to defend slavery against nineteenth century humanitarianism which would upset the status quo.

Societal racism is the treatment of blacks as if they were inherently inferior for reasons based on race distinction.

Societal racism is inferred from the actual social relationships in which one groups acts as if another were inherently inferior for reasons of race.

Racial prejudice is associated with the disposition on the part of virtually every human group to think of itself as superior to outsiders.

Race theorizing is the white culture's means of justifying its denial of a share of the nation's wealth to the Black man.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL DEFINITIONS OF RACISM MADE BY DU BOIS

I would define racial antipathy, popularly spoken of as "race prejudice", as a natural contrariety, repugnancy of qualities, or incompatibility between individuals or groups which are sufficiently differentiated to constitute what, for want of a more exact term, we call races.

Du Bois, "Race Friction Between Black and White", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 13 1907-1908, p 667.

America has tried ever since to keep these black men and their descendants at the bottom of the scale on the theory that they were not thoroughly men, that they cannot be self-respecting members of and contributors to modern culture -- an assumption purely modern and undreamed of in ancient or medieval days.

Du Bois, "The Negro's Fatherland", Survey, Vol. 39 Nov. 1917, p 141.

White labor is bribed by giving it public badges of superiority. The Jim Crow legislation was not to brand the Negro as inferior and to separate the races, but rather to flatter white labor to accept public testimony of its superiority instead of higher wages and social legislation. This fiction of superiority invaded public affairs.

Du Bois, "Georgia: Invisible Empire State", The Nation, January 21, 1925, p 65.

I think most Americans private belief was that the exact and intensive habit of mind, the rigorous mathematical logic demanded of those who would be scientists is not natural to the Negro race.

Du Bois, "The Negro Scientist", The American Scholar, Vol. 8 1939, p 310.

Labor was degraded, humanity was despised, the theory of "race" arose. There came a new doctrine of universal labor: mankind were of two sorts -- the superior and the inferior; the latter toiled for the former and the former were real men, the latter half men or less. No equality was possible or desirable for the "darkies".

Du Bois, "Colonies and Moral Responsibility", Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 15 1946, pp 311-12.

Many friends of American Negroes would say that we tend to emphasize our problem of race above that of the more basic problems of labor, poverty and ignorance. . . . a few of us must recall that in 1776, when three million whites

Americans proclaimed the equality of all men, they were at that very moment holding five hundred thousand black folk in slavery and classifying them not even as animals but as real estate. Their prosperity had been built on two centuries of this slavery and the independence which they demanded was mainly freedom to pursue this exploitation of men in raw material and in trade.

. . . We cannot tonight for a moment forget that there are millions of Americans of wealth, education and power who believe that the necessity of keeping black men from ever becoming free citizens is more important than the triumph of democracy in the world.

Du Bois, "Bound by the Color Line", New Masses, Vol. 58-59 1946, p 8.

Slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

Du Bois, "Three Centuries of Discrimination", The Crisis, December 1947, p 363.

Negroes must face the insistent problem of the assumption of the white peoples of Europe that they have a right to dominate the world especially so to organize it politically and industrially as to make most men their slaves and servants.

Du Bois, "India", Freedomways, Winter 1965, p 116.

In the past the ignorance of the white South and the suffering has been led foolishly to look upon you as the cause of most of its distress. You must remember that this attitude is hereditary from slavery and that it has been deliberately cultivated ever since emancipation.

Du Bois, "Behold the Land!", New Masses, January 14, 1947, p 18.

APPENDIX C

W.E.B. Du Bois: Father of the Modern Civil Rights Movement

(Article written by Homer L. Meade for centennial issue of the Berkshire Courier - Great Barrington, MA - July 1981)

It is not surprising that one of Berkshire County's most influential and controversial figures is also a member of one of the county's oldest families. The "father of the modern civil rights movement," William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, is a direct descendant of a freedom fighter in the American Revolution.

Du Bois' great-great-grandfather, Tom Burghardt, "appears with the rank of private on the muster and payroll of Captain John Spoors' Company, Colonel John Ashley's Berkshire County Regiment" when the Revolutionary War began. Tom Burghardt's war service and appeal to the 1780 Massachusetts Bill of Rights freed him and his family from slavery. Tom's son, Jack, Du Bois' great-grandfather, took part in Shay's Rebellion and is reported to have taken "Mum Bett" as his first wife.

It is by this line of ancestry that it is rightly claimed that the "family, known as the "Black Burghardts" lived on the South Egremont Plain for more than 100 years. From this family, and the line of ancestors which marks its beginning early in the 17th century when two French Huguenots, sons of Chrétien Du Bois, migrated to America and

settled in Ulster County, New York, was born W.E.B. Du Bois in 1868.

When one considers and studies the life and work of W.E.B. Du Bois, one must recognize that he or she is face to face with genius. When genius is met there are three aspects which must be considered. The first is perseverance, i.e., to withstand the toil and pressure of working with and developing concepts either never before considered or concepts molded and recast in a manner unique to the experiences of the time.

Perseverance is a quality which must withstand the attacks of criticisms presented by the defenders of the current concepts and/or ideologies which are being challenged or modified. Perseverance is the ability to spend long hours alone developing thought. Du Bois, born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, February 23, 1868, and died on August 27, 1963, persevered through the most traumatic time of United States history. It was a time when being a Negro was to quietly acquiesce to the conditions of being a "second class citizen" with few legal or civil rights which were bound to be recognized.

At the beginning of Du Bois' life, being a Negro was to be the object of physical and psychological beatings if one were to try and attain a position of equality within the socio-economic and socio-political system and institutions of the United States of America.

A second aspect of genius which must be addressed is the capacity for work. Du Bois developed professionally within the following career areas: educator, author, organizer, sociologist, historian, editor, novelist, activist, and playwright. During his lifetime Du Bois wrote twenty-one major books, had published more than 2,300 essays, editorials, statements, articles, etc. in more than one hundred different magazines among them Harpers, The New York Times Magazine, Foreign Affairs, Colliers, New Republic, American Mercury, and, of course, The Crisis. In addition there are more than 150,000 items of personal correspondence and papers which are housed in the University of Massachusetts/Amherst Library Archives W.E.B. Du Bois Papers Collection.

The third criterion of measuring genius is longevity. Longevity as concerns his or her own life or work but more important is that longevity is the measure of the work passing the test of time. At the age of fifteen the high school student, to help support himself and his family, became a paid reporter for the New York Globe and Springfield Republican carrying the title Western Massachusetts Correspondence. The young Du Bois' major themes in his articles were based upon the New England ethic of work and self-support. Any who relinquished this, the most cherished of principles for the young reporter, was subject to criticism whether Black or white. But it was at

this time that the young Du Bois began the serious work of investigating the problem of being a Black American in the fabric of American society.

From these early articles beginning in 1885 to July 1963, Du Bois worked unceasingly, thus satisfying one criterion of longevity -- long life. But most strikingly, he satisfied the second criterion of longevity in his works having passed the test of time. The problems which he investigated and spoke out against so openly are as true in their criticism today as they were when he, perhaps the first to view them within the field of sociology, announced them, for example, the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.

A Brief Biography: In 1885, Du Bois was graduated from Great Barrington High School as valedictorian of his class. He then traveled to Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, entering as a sophomore. He spent his summers teaching in the remote hamlets of the Tennessee countryside. He was graduated by Fisk in 1888. Fisk was one of the elite Negro schools determined to produce leaders of the race and the impression that this Southern school, modeled after Harvard, and staffed by Northern white graduates of those elite institutions, was one which is difficult to readily appreciate today.

The experience of a young New England Negro moving to the South after being an integral member of the

Congregational New England community was an experience of witnessing the late 19th century Southern cruelty to an extreme unmatched in our American experience. Though leaving Fisk in 1888 to travel to Harvard, which he was to enter as an undergraduate Junior and from which he was to receive a second Bachelor's degree in 1890, he determined his area of identification and stated that, "for henceforth I am a Negro."

The pride which he took in studying at Harvard and receiving a master's degree in 1892, the pride he took in receiving a Slater Fund Fellowship and studying in the University of Berlin from 1892-94, the pride which he took in teaching Greek, Latin, German, and the romance languages at Wilberforce University, the pride he took in receiving a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1896 (after studying two years at the University of Berlin), the pride he took in completing the first sociological study of the Negro in the United States (in the work entitled The Philadelphia Negro), these honors, all received before he was 30 years of age, never diminished his identification with his people. His people were not just those of African descent, but people of color who were anywhere victimized by imperialism and colonialism.

By 1910, when Du Bois had moved the organization of his creation, the Niagara Movement, into the founding of the NAACP, he had become the most knowledgeable person in the world of the conditions, history and problems faced by the

Afro-American. There was not a study done by a United States government agency nor privately funded group during the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century which did not base itself upon the work of Dr. Du Bois if the study addressed the concerns of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere.

Du Bois' Harvard Ph.D. dissertation is Volume 1 of the Harvard Historical Series: The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870. The 80 years of research completed by Du Bois was research of the socio-political climates of the time which were casual to the Black man in the United States, being paid the least, fired first, hired last, most poorly housed, least educated, most often ill. most often jailed and the youngest to die. Within all Du Bois moved upon one principle. He states it time and time again as found in his 1935 unequalled text investigating the Reconstruction period in the South, Black Reconstruction. He states: "What is the object of History? Is it to wipe out the disgrace of a people which fought to make slaves of Negroes? Is it to show that the North had higher motives than freeing Black men? Is it to prove that Negroes were black angels? NO! It is simply to establish The Truth, on which the Right in the future may be built." In a letter dated 1956 he restates this by saying, "Be the Truth what it may, I will seek it on the assumption that it is worth seeking."

What is the importance of W.E.B. Du Bois? What are the lessons which can be learned from this man who is the father of the modern civil rights movement; the moving force behind the creation of the NAACP; the founder of Crisis Magazine, one of the most influential magazines published in this country; the inspirational founder and leader of the Modern Pan-African Movement begun in 1900 and from which and by his efforts resulted in the raising of the first free modern African nation -- Ghana; this man who at his death had received honors from Charles University in Prague, Czechoslovakia, University of Sophia, University of Berlin, Howard University, Fisk University, Wilberforce University, Atlanta University; this man who at his death was an honorary Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Literature, Doctor of Historical Science, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Humanities, Doctor of Economics; who had been appointed a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a special consultant to the formation convention of the United Nations, a Spingarn medalist, United States Envoy Plenipotentiary at the inauguration of President Tubman of Liberia, traveler and lecturer throughout Europe and Asia in 15 different travels abroad, and candidate for the U.S. Senate at the age of 80 in 1950.

What is the importance of W.E.B. Du Bois? Without study of and recognition of this man, the study of and evaluation of the development of our American society as it concerns

its Afro-American members is not only incomplete, but it is greatly distorted.

Du Bois wrote a last message to the world which was to be read at the hour of his death. It reads:

It is much more difficult in theory than actually to say the last good-bye to one's loved ones and friends and to all the familiar things of this life. I am going to take a long, deep and endless sleep. This is a privilege to which I have looked forward for years. I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play, but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life; that what I have done ill or never finished, can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done. And that peace will be my applause. One thing alone I charge you. As you live, believe in life! Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life. The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth simply because the great end comes slowly, because time is long. Good-bye.

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