

Notes

1. Lorraine Hansberry, "Les Blancs," in Les Blancs: The Collected Last Plays of Lorraine Hansberry, ed. Robert Nemiroff (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), p. 122. The book contains an introduction by Julius Lester.
2. James Baldwin, "Down at the Cross," in The Fire Next Time (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1963), p. 35.
3. On the anti-sexist men's movement, see Joe Interrante, "Dancing Along the Precipice: The Men's Movement in the 80s," in Radical America, vol. 15, no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1981), pp. 53-71. Although written several years ago, Interrante's article outlines a number of issues still relevant today. See also the journal Changing Men (formerly Mi: Gently Men for Gender Justice).
4. Malcolm X, Interview, January 18, 1965, in Malcolm X talks to Young People. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1982).
5. Debbie Louis, And We are Not Saved: A History of the Movement as People (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 179f.
- 6.6
6. On the anti-racist struggles of the 1960s, and the tensions within them, see Louis, And We Are Not Saved; Manning Marable, Race, Reform and Rebellion (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984); Pat Watters, Down to Now (New York: Random House, Inc., 1971); and Sara Evans, Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left (New York: Random House, Inc., 1980).
7. On Black Power, see for example, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967); Harold Cruse, "Beyond the Black Power Slogan," in Rebellion or Revolution? (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1968); and Julius Lester, "The Angry Children of Malcolm X," in Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (2nd Edition), ed. Meier, Rudwick, and Broderick (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1971).
8. Institutional Racism in America, pp. 127f.
9. Robert W. Terry, For Whites Only (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975). See also Judy H. Katz, White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).
10. The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in This Bridge Called My Back, ed. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua (Watertown, Mass: Persephone Press, 1981), p. 212.
11. On writings by women of color, see for example Moraga and Anzaldua, ed. This Bridge Called My Back. On black feminism, see for example E. Frances White, "Listening to the Voices of Black Feminism," Radical America, vol. 18, no. 2-3 (1984), pp. 7-25; and Barbara Smith,

ed. Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology (Kitchen Table Press, 1983). On Jewish feminism, see for example Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz and Irena Klepfisz, The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Women's Anthology (Montpelier, VT: Sinister Wisdom Books, 1986).

12. Elly Bulkin, "Hard Ground: Jewish Identity, Racism, and Anti-Semitism," in Yours in Struggle, ed. Bulkin, Minnie Bruce Pratt, and Barbara Smith (Brooklyn: Long Haul Press, 1984), p. 99. See also Bernice Mennis' review of Yours in Struggle in The Tribe of Dina (see Note 11).

13. Leslie Dunbar, Minority Report: What ha happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians and other minorities in the Eighties (New York: Random House, Inc., 1984), p. 128.

14. New York Times, 10/27/80.

15. Minority Report, p. 135.

16. "Alcoholism and Alcohol-Related Problems Among Women," published by the National Council on Alcoholism, Inc., 12 W 21st St, New York, NY 10010.

17. "Position Paper on Women," Puerto Rico: Showcase of Oppression, distributed by Latin American Publications Service, Box 12056 Mid City Station, Washington, DC 20005.

18. Minority Report, p. 128.

19. Indian Affairs, May 1984.

20. Jews are an oppressed group within US society, subjected to systematic cultural invalidation, isolation and, periodically, overt discrimination or violence. But Jewish oppression cannot neatly be labeled a form of racism -- it cuts across racial divisions. In the US, unlike many other parts of the world, most Jews hold white-skinned privilege, a fact which has often hidden the reality of Jewish oppression.

As I state in the section on white identity, racism operates differently in different places. As a light-skinned Jew in the US, I identify myself and am identified as white. But as a dark-haired foreigner living in West Berlin a few years ago, I was marginalized in ways sometimes racially ambiguous. For the most part, people did not consciously label me as "Jew," but often mistook me for a Spaniard, an Italian, or an Iranian.

Some US Jews claim flatly that "Jews are not white." In my view this is a historical oversimplification reflecting several factors: a reluctance to acknowledge one's own privilege, a (justifiable) fear that Jewish oppression will be ignored, and -- possibly -- a conflation of European and North American experiences.

(Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, for example, makes this assertion in her otherwise fine essay, "To Be a Radical Jew in the Late 20th Century," in The Tribe of Dina. On the interconnections between racism and Jewish oppression, see Bulkin, Pratt and Smith, Yours in Struggle.)

21. On the media's depiction of Arabs, see Edmund Ghareeb, ed. Split Vision: The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media (Washington, DC: American-Arab Affairs Council, 1983). On Asian Americans, see for example "Asian Americans," Editorial Research Reports, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jan. 24, 1986), published by Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

22. Judy Katz, White Awareness, p. 10.

23. I am paraphrasing a statement by Harry Brod: "To give up male privilege is impossible, to overthrow it is not." ("Work Clothes and Leisure Suits," M: Gentle Men for Gender Justice, #11 Winter 1983-84.) This issue of "giving up" privilege is often particularly confusing for white people from middle or upper class backgrounds. I think of economically-privileged whites who pride themselves on "dressing poor" or on seeking jobs "below their status" in the illusion that this helps to absolve them of responsibility and bring them closer to the oppressed. This is not political action -- it is simply playing out guilt. If it has any material effect on people of color or working class whites, it is probably only to cut into their job opportunities.

24. Moraga and Anzaldua, in This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, p. 62.

25. Minnie Bruce Pratt, "Identity: Skin Blood Heart," Yours in Struggle, pp. 17f.

26. Ibid., p. 18.

27. I have borrowed many of the items in this section from "Building Bridges/Breaking Barriers: Overcoming Oppression in the Group," a pamphlet of the Student Center for Educational Research and Advocacy; and from an untitled paper by Bill Blum on development of a white anti-racist perspective.

28. Bernice Johnson Reagon, "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century," in Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology, ed. Barbara Smith, p. 359. On coalition politics, see also "The Myths of Coalition" in Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power; and Cherie R. Brown, The Art of Coalition Building: A Guide for Community Leaders (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1984).

POLICY STATEMENT OF
WHITES AGAINST RACISM

P.O. Box 20621
Tompkins Square Station
New York, New York 10009
(212) 969-0759

NAME

This body shall be known as "Whites Against Racism."

MEMBERSHIP

This group shall consist of individual white people who have associated themselves together to speak out and act against all expressions and practices of oppression, violence, or discrimination against people of color.

We welcome other whites from all walks of life to join our group, to add themselves to our forces and to participate in whatever we do. We encourage other whites to form their own groups dedicated to the elimination of racism.

GOALS

Our goal is to end all forms of discrimination, prejudice, oppression, slander and violence against people of color in all social, political, and economic realms.

PURPOSE - RATIONALE

We seek to empower whites to take action against racism and to become confident allies of people of color.

Why a group of white people? First, because racism is first and foremost our problem. To list just a few examples: It is whites that rule and create apartheid in South Africa. It is whites who benefit politically and economically from racism in the United States. It is whites who have destroyed Native American cultures throughout the Americas. It is whites who enslaved millions of Africans. And it is whites who dropped nuclear weapons on the Pacific Islands and on Japan. We create the problem. In addition, because of our access to white institutions we are in a vital position to influence other whites and white institutions. We can do anti-racist work in situations that people of color may not be able to.

Racism hurts our struggles for liberation. In our struggle against oppression as workers, as young people, as women, as lesbian and gay people, as elders, as Jews, racism cuts us off from a large part of our group. Only with the elimination of racism will we be able to proclaim the unity so necessary in our liberation work.

We are also injured in our relationships to people of color. Racism makes everyone less than fully human -- including whites because it places us in the role of oppressor against people of color. Racism makes it difficult for whites to develop close personal relationships with people of color. This is done in a variety of ways; some logistical as in segregation and others psychological as in the fear of people of color that white people learn in a racist society. Until we eliminate racism, a large part of humanity will be effectively cut off from us. Once a model of oppression of one group is tolerated, then it can easily be applied to all other groups that can be differentiated within the population and marked out for persecution.

A Reading List on Racism

This list has been put out by Whites Against Racism. If you have any suggestions or notice any errors, please contact us at (212) 969-0759 or write to us at P.O. Box 20621, Tompkins Square Station, New York, New York 10009.

- Akwesasne Notes, ed. Basic Call to Consciousness. Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, New York: Akwesasne Notes, 1982.
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- Almquist, E. M., "Race and ethnicity in the lives of minority women," in Women: A Feminist Perspective. Freeman, J., ed. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing, 1984.
- Baldwin, James, Notes of a Native Son, Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.
- Beam, Joseph, In the Life: A Black Gay Anthology, Boston: Alyson Publications, 1986.
- Bennet, Lerone Jr., "The 10 Biggest Myth About Black History," Ebony, February, 1984.
- Braden, Anne, "A View from the Fringes," Southern Exposure, Vol. IX, No. 1, (Spring, 1981), p. 71.
- , The Wall Between, New York, Montly Review Press, 1958, Account by a Southern white anti-racist activist of desegregation struggles in Louisville in the 1950s anti-Communist repression.
- Brown, Dee. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. New York: Washington Square Press, 1984. One of the best sources of information on 19th Century expropriation and genocide against Native Americans in the West.
- Burghardt, S. Organizing for Community Action, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982.
- Carmichael, Stokely, Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America, NY: Random House, Inc., 1967. See in particular the chapter on "The Myths of Coalition."
- Cooper, Paulette, Growing Up Puerto Rican. New York: Arbor House, 1972.
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- Farber, A. & Rogler, L.H., Unitas: Hispanic and Black Children in a Healing Community, Bronx, NY: Hispanic Research Center, 1981.
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- Hull, Gloria T., Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., All the Women are White, All the Blacks are Men, But Some of Us are Brave: Black Women's Studies. Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1982.
- Ismaelillo and Robin Wright, eds. Native People in Struggle. Bombay, NY: E.R.I.N. Publications, 1982. Articles on oppression and resistance in South, Central and North America.
- James, C.L.R., Spheres of Existence, Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1981.
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- Katz, Judy H., White Awareness: Handbook for Anti-Racism Training, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.
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- Lopez y Rivas, Gilberto, The Chicanos. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.
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- Meier, Rudwick and Broderick, eds., Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Second Edition), NY: Bobbs Merrill, 1971. An anthology of writings arranged semi-chronologically. See for example, Julius Lester, "The Angry Children of Malcolm X."
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- 100 Amazing Facts About the Negro: With Complete Proof
c/o Helga M. Rogers 3806 48th Avenue South, St. Petersburg, FL
33711.
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- Widerstand in der US-Armee GI-Bewegung in den siebziger Jahren, Harald
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70s. Dieter Brün has the largest collection of information about GI
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German, is a translation of important articles that originally
appeared in English. For further bibliography (in English) on this ,
write to Dieter Brün.]
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- Zavala, Iris M. and Rafael Rodriguez, The Intellectual Roots of
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- Zogby, James, ed., Taking Roots, Bearing Fruit: The Arab American
Experience. Washington: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee.

An Incomplete List of Groups Doing Anti-Racism Work

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
1731 Connecticut Avenue N.W. Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 797-7662

Anti-Racism Literature Project
Box 2902
Brooklyn, New York 11205

Anti-Repression Resource Team
P.O. Box 122
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund
99 Hudson Street
New York, New York 10013 (212) 966-5932

Asian Media Coalition
c/o Forrest Gok
1765 Pacific Avenue, #1
San Francisco, California 94109 (415) 776-4087

Between Ourselves
Women of Color Newspaper
P.O. Box 1939
Washington, D.C. 20013

Big Mountain Legal Defense/ Organizing Committee
124 N. San Francisco Street
Flagstaff, Arizona 86001

Black Scholar
P.O. Box 7106
San Francisco, CA 94120

Catalyst: A Socialist Journal of the Social Services
P.O. Box 1144
NY, NY 10025

Catholic Interracial Council of New York
16 W. 36th Street
New York, New York 10018 (212) 239-4460
[Commitment - a quarterly publication]
John J. Garra

Center for Puerto Rican Studies
Hunter College Library
68th Street and Lexington Avenue, 7th Floor
NY, NY 10021

Center for Democratic Renewal
P.O. Box 10500
Atlanta, GA 30310
(404) 221-0025
[Anti-Klan Newsletter]

Center on International Race Relations
University of Denver
Denver, CO 80210

Coalition Against Anti-Asian Violence
c/o Asian American Legal Defense & Education Fund
99 Hudson Street
NY, NY 10013
Monona Yin (212) 966-5932

Congressional Black Caucus Foundation
1004 Pennsylvania Avenue SE
Washington D.C., 20003

Commission for Racial Justice
105 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Council on Interracial Books for Children
1841 Broadway
Room 500
New York, New York 10023

Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific
200 W. 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Friends of Haitian Refugees
32 54th St NE
Miami, FL 33137

International Committee Against Racism
PO Box 904 GPO
Brooklyn, New York 11202

International Council of African Women
PO Box 8676
Washington, D.C. 20011

John Brown Anti-Klan Committee
(718) 499-2380

Kitchen Table
Women of Color Press
P.O. Box 2753
NY, NY 10185

Klanwatch
P.O. Box 548
Montgomery, Alabama
(205) 264-0286
[Klanwatch Intelligence Report]

Latino Coalition for Racial Justice
c/o Puerto Rican Legal Defense & Education Fund
99 Hudson Street
New York, NY 10013
(212) 757-5339

Liberation Books
421 Lenox Avenue
New York, NY 10037
(212) 281-4615

Lollipop Power
P.O. Box 1171
Chapel, NC 27514
["Women united to publish nonsexist, nonracist children's books."]

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
1701 18th Street N.W.
Washington D.C., 20009

NAACP
186 Remsen Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201
(212) 858-0800

National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
126 W. 119th Street Suite 101
New York, New York 10026 (212) 866-8600

National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights
160 Lippencott Street
Philly, PA 19133
(215) 634-4443

National Council for Japanese American Redress
925 W. Diversey Prkwy
Chicago, IL 60614

National Council of La Raza
20 F Street N.W.
Washington D.C., 20001

National Puerto Rican Coalition
701 N. Fairfax Street
Suite 310
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 684-00020

New Jewish Agenda
149 Church Street #2N
New York, New York 10007
(212) 227-5885

New York Anti-Racist Activists Network
c/o Education Center for Community Organizing
129 E. 79th Street
New York, NY
(212) 927-2924

Panel of Americans, Inc.
424 W. 33rd Street
New York, NY 10001
(212) 947-6313

Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 319 Cooper Station
New York, New York 10003

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, GA 30312 (404) 522-1420

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice
P.O. Box 811
Birmingham, Alabama 35201
[Anne Braden]

Southern Poverty Law Center
P.O. Box 2087
Montgomery, AL 36102
[Klanwatch Law Report]

Southern Regional Council
161 Spring Street 8th Floor
Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 522-8764

Third World Resource Directory
A Guide to Organizations and Publications
Orbis Books
Maryknoll, New York 10545

Timothy Lee Coalition
c/o Valencia Hall
523A Valencia Street
San Francisco, California 94110

United Nations Committee on the Elimination
of Racial Discrimination
Room 53660
United Nations
New York, New York 10017
(212) 754-5930

Unlearning Racism Workshops
Ricky Sherover-Marcuse, Ph.D.
6501 Dana
Oakland, California 94609
(415) 428-0696

Whites Against Racism
P.O. Box 20621
Tompkins Square Station
New York, New York 10009

International

SOS Racism
19, rue Martel
F-75010 Paris, France
[Harlem Desir]

Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Between Peoples
89, rue Oberkampf
F - 75011, Paris, France
[Publishes, Differences]

International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
Agriculture House
Knightsbridge
London, England
SW1X 7NJ

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
c/o United Nations Centre for Human Rights
Palais de Nations
CH-1211 Geneva 10
Switzerland

International Committee for Palestinian Human Rights
5, rue Dupont des Loges
F-75007 Paris, France

Institute of Race Relations
2-6 Leeke Street
London, England WC1X 9HS
[Race and Class Quarterly]

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
Fiolstraede 10
DK-11712
Copenhagen, Denmark

Survival International
29 Craven Street
London, England
WC2N 5NT

World Council of Indigenous Peoples
555 King Edward Avenue, 2nd Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1N6N5
Canada

Center for Multiracial Studies
University of the West Indies
P.O. Box 64
Bridgetown, Barbados

Standing Commission for the Struggle
Against, Anti-Semitism and Apartheid
c/o GEW
Unterlinan 58
D-6000 Frankfurt-Main
Federal Republic of Germany

International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism
J. Pierre Bloch
40 rue de Paradis
F-75010 Paris, France

World Council of Churches
Program to Combat Racism
Route de Ferney 150
P.O. Box 66
CH 1211 Geneve 20
Switzerland

(June 9, 1987) This list is incomplete. We welcome additions. Please send any corrections or new information to **Whites Against Racism**, P.O. Box 20621, Tompkins Square Station, New York, New York 10009 (212) 969-0759.