Alternate Discussion and Action Guide
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Where Do We go from Here: Chaos or Community?

By Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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A note on language. Writing in 1967 King uses the term “Negro” throughout his text. In keeping with modern usage, we have changed this to African American wherever it occurs in our study materials.

This alternate study and action guide was prepared by Barbara H. Chasin, Kim Fontana, Richard W. Franke, Jake Isenberg, Karl Madeo, Elan Shapiro. The alternate guide is intended for use by community members and facilitators who want to take the next step after reading the book to look for supplementary learning activities and further community work that they feel might result from studying King’s ideas.
Welcome to the 2010 Ithaca Martin Luther King Community Build! You are about to read and discuss one of the most important writings of one of American’s most original thinkers. Many know Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a great civil rights leader, but fewer know him as a brilliant intellectual and keen observer of American society. While reading *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* or reading the chapter summaries presented in this booklet and engaging in the study questions or additional activities, you will be exposing yourself to ideas from 43 years ago presented with such clarity and elegance that they continue to have great relevance to our society today. Ask yourself: how can Ithaca become a better place for people of all backgrounds? King’s book is a wonderful starting point in the search for answers to that important question.
How to Use this Guide

- Use the chapter summaries to get an idea of the book and of King’s thinking if you don’t have time to read the book.

- Use the chapter summaries as review notes or an outline if you read the book.

- Use the chapter summaries to decide which chapters to read if you can’t read the entire book.

- Use the summaries and the study questions to start or participate in a discussion.

- As a discussion facilitator, use the summaries to decide which points or chapters might be most interesting and useful for your discussion group to focus on.

- Use the additional activities and the resource materials to go beyond the M. L. King book.

- Use the section on “What Can We Do to Support Social Justice in Our Community?” to consider ways you can work in Ithaca or elsewhere to advance racial, social and economic justice.

Our website offers link to many more resources, videos, articles and discussion questions related to the book and link.

https://sites.google.com/site/mlkcommunitybuild2/educational-resources
Suggestions for Discussions

Here are a few ideas for discussion leaders – and participants! – to help you get good discussions going. These ideas can be used for any of the chapters. Modify them as needed.

**Save the last word for me**

Roles: timekeeper/facilitator who both participates and keeps the process moving and participants
Time: each round should last approximately 7 minutes; total time 30 minutes

Activities:

1. Create a group of 4 participants. Choose a timekeeper who has a watch.
2. Each participant silently identifies what s/he considers to be the most significant idea addressed in the chapter and highlights that passage.
3. When the group is ready, a volunteer member identifies the sentence or paragraph that s/he found to be most significant and reads it out loud to the group. The presenter says nothing about why s/he chose that particular quote.
4. The group pauses for a moment to think.
5. The other 3 participants each have 1 minute to respond to the passage – saying what it makes them think about, what questions it raises for them, etc.
6. The first participant then has 3 minutes to state why s/he chose that passage and to respond to what s/he heard from the other participants.
7. The same pattern is followed until all 4 members of the group had a chance to have “the last word.”

**Three levels of text**

Roles: facilitator/timekeeper who has a watch and 3 or more participants
Time: each round takes up to 5 minutes

Activities:

1. Sit in a circle and identify a facilitator/timekeeper.
2. Ask participants to identify a passage that they feel has important implications for building a more socially just community in Ithaca.
3. Next phase takes up to 3 minutes.

The [Everyperson’s one-page guide to racism](http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/Onepageracism.pdf) consists of 14 short statements that cover much of what we know about the subject at this time. See how many you agree with. Which ones speak most directly to your own life? What got left out?
4. One person reads aloud a passage s/he has selected
5. This person says what s/he thinks about the passage in terms of her/his past experiences in Ithaca
6. Group responds for up to 2 minutes total
7. Do another round with the next person to volunteer.

**Draw a picture**

Roles: groups of 3 or 4  
Time: 10 to 15 minutes

Supplies: large easel paper and markers or crayons

Activities:

1. The group works together to make a drawing of what they feel is/are the most important idea(s) in a particular chapter or section of a chapter.
2. Each group reports to all the combined groups, showing and explaining their drawing.
3. Other groups ask questions or make comments.

**Want more ideas about having good discussions?**

These ideas above and more are available on the National School Reform Faculty website at [http://www.nsrfharmony.org/resources.html](http://www.nsrfharmony.org/resources.html)

[Thanks to Barry Derfel of the Ithaca City School District for providing examples of these discussion ideas.]

**Link to an internet document or watch an online video**

This study guide provides links to online videos for most of the chapters. Others have links to documents or slideshows online. If your discussion group members have access to the internet, watch a video together and talk about how it does or does not connect well with what Dr. King wrote in that chapter. Or go through one of the online documents and discuss the same issues.

[https://sites.google.com/site/mlkcommunitybuild2/](https://sites.google.com/site/mlkcommunitybuild2/)
Chapter Summaries – Discussion Questions – Optional Additional Activities

Chapter 1: Where Are We?

**Big Idea:** By 1967, white Americans were ready to stop outright cruelty, but were not committed to full equality and dignity for African Americans.

**Summary of Chapter 1: Where Are We?**

In this chapter King surveys the landscape of the civil rights movement, its achievements, and current [1967] challenges.

**In Section I** King notes that by 1967 African-Americans and their white allies had been able to desegregate public facilities and pass a significant Voting Rights Act (1965); yet, true equality in jobs, education, housing and health remains as elusive as ever. Much of white America was sympathetic when African Americans were being beaten, yet whites were never “truly committed to helping him out of poverty, exploitation or all forms of discrimination.” Desegregating public facilities and even winning the right to vote were fairly “cheap” accomplishments for white society to absorb. As the movement expanded its demands from desegregation to meaningful equality, white allies began to disappear. [The white backlash is examined in more detail in chapter 3]

**Section II** is addressed primarily to whites. King takes a look at a “curious formula” that declares a black person is “50 percent of a person.” He states that, “Of the good things in life he has approximately one-half those of whites; of the bad he has twice those of whites.” “Half of all Negroes live in sub-standard housing,” and “have half the income of whites.” When looking at the negative experiences, blacks had a double share. Blacks were unemployed at twice the rate of whites; and were dying in combat in Vietnam at the same double rate.

**Section III** is addressed primarily to African Americans. King warns against falling into pessimism. He argues that “Black Power” represents a move backwards from the optimism needed to carry the movement forward. [He elaborates this theme in Chapter 2 of the book.] Despite powerful opposition, much progress was made in the South, and – more importantly – African Americans learned the power of organization and transformed themselves psychologically from passivity and deference to self respect and dignity.

**In Section IV** King reminds the reader that the battles won so far are small compared to what is required for genuine equality and the achievements so far were done by a small percent of the population. “No great victories are won in a war for the transformation of a whole people without total participation.” He directs his attention to the North, which had provided allies in the struggles against segregation in the South but notes that the next phase of the struggle must target northern cities where African Americans still live “in the basement of the Great Society.” King
ends this chapter: “African Americans hold only one key to the double lock of peaceful change. The other is in the hands of the white community.”

**Chapter 1 Discussion Questions**

1. King sees the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the desegregation of public facilities as the end of one struggle but the beginning of another, more difficult phase of insuring equal opportunity for blacks and all poor people. Why do you think this second stage has proven to be so difficult?

2. Of the indicators of racial inequality that King points to in Chapter 1, what progress have we made in our community and/or nationally and what work do we have left to do? For additional information, see the paper prepared for this community read at: [http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/MLKingbytheNumbers.pdf](http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/MLKingbytheNumbers.pdf)

3. King criticize whites – even those who supported the struggle up to the Voting Rights Act for not being willing to accept full equality for African Americans. Do you think his criticisms are valid?

4. **Ithaca Connection:** Other than outright cruelty, what kinds of inequalities or indignities do you notice that African Americans or other minorities are experiencing in the present in Ithaca?

**Chapter 1 Optional Additional Activities**

**Online Videos**

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Barack Obama are sometimes compared. Both are recognized as brilliant intellectuals and as charismatic speakers. Both offered history-making statements about race in American life. Watch Barack Obama’s 2008 presidential candidate’s speech about race at:


How are Obama’s comments about the state of race relations in the U.S. similar to those of King in his Chapter 1? How are they different? Do you think King would have made the speech Obama gave had King lived up to today?
Learn more about the three historic Selma-to-Montgomery Alabama freedom marches that King describes at the beginning of this chapter:


**Research Opportunity:** How true or not is King’s “half-a-person” metaphor in 2010 America? Do African Americans still have about half of the good things and about double the bad when compared to whites? Take a look at the special paper written for the M L King community read: http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/MLKingbytheNumbers.pdf

What do these indicators tell you? What other indicators do you think would be needed to measure progress in racial equality?

**Selected Features: Ithaca City - 2000 U. S. Census**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>African American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>21,663</td>
<td>1,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Population</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Own Homes</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income (1999 dollars)</td>
<td>$47,853</td>
<td>$26,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Home Value</td>
<td>$98,300</td>
<td>$72,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If over 25 years of age % High School Graduates</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ithaca Connection:** To the left are the statistics from slide number 60 on the MLKing in 2010 slideshow mentioned just above.

From among these statistics, which would you identify as the most significant types of inequality? How would you explain them?

What other facts or actions do you think are necessary to understand – or maybe change – these data?
Chapter 2: Black Power

**Big Idea:** How can we reconcile the need for finding common ground across organizations and race and class lines with the need of oppressed people to experience their own empowerment and self-determination?

**Summary of Chapter 2**

In this chapter King presents his perspective on the origins, meanings, and implications of the Black Power movement, and he eloquently explains his rejection of violence as ineffective, counter-productive, and morally indefensible.

**Section I** begins by taking us back to the June 1966 shooting of James Meredith on his Freedom March through Mississippi. Meredith survived but was unable to continue his march, so Dr. King and leaders from various organizations (Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress on Racial Equality, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) agree to jointly sponsor a coordinated continuation of Meredith’s march. The march becomes the scene for “the birth of the Black Power slogan in the civil rights movement.” Dr. King is immediately troubled by the slogan, and meets with Floyd McKissick (CORE), Stokely Carmichael (SNCC) and others to discuss his concerns. King summarizes their debate and presents the compromise they agree upon for the remainder of the march.

**Section II** presents Dr. King’s analysis of the origins of the Black Power movement. “First, it is necessary to understand that Black Power is a cry of disappointment.” He looks at the positive elements of the call for Black Power, and examines the psychological and historical factors that lead the African-American to “a deep feeling of racial pride and to an audacious appreciation of his heritage.”

**In Section III** Dr. King argues that the negative implications of the call for Black Power vastly outweigh the positive aspects as he presents an explanation of his core belief in an integrated, non-violent civil rights and human justice movement. King contends that racial separation is not the answer, as black and white are “bound together in a single garment of destiny.” He offers a broad understanding of the condition of blacks in America within a larger picture of worldwide poverty and injustice. “The hard cold facts today indicate that the hope of the people of color in the world may well rest on the [African] American…and his ability to reform the structure of racist imperialism from within and thereby turn the technology and wealth of the West to the task of liberating the world from want.” Dr. King closes the section with a passionate argument for the rejection of retaliatory violence. “The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy….Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness: only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate: only love can do that.”

**Section IV** is a call for a movement that does not blindly imitate the patterns of the past, but one that forges new ground, defines a new kind of power, and takes humankind in a new direction.
Chapter 2 Discussion Questions

1. King titles this chapter “Black Power” and spends a lot of time talking about that phrase. What’s King’s view? Why does he spend so much time on this point?

2. What aspects of King’s concerns about black power seem dated or distorted to you and which ones have relevance and value for our time? Explain why.

3. King quotes Cicero in saying that “freedom is participation in power.” What does freedom mean to you?

4. King says, “non-violence is power.” What does he mean by that? Do you agree? Why or why not?

Chapter 2 Optional Additional Activities

Online Videos

Watch short videos of the actual speeches of Malcolm X, one of the foremost advocates of Black Power  http://www.malcolmnxonline.com/malcolm-x-videos.html

Watch a video of Stanford University Professor Clayborne Carson’s lecture on Stokely Carmichael and the meaning of Black Power

http://academicearth.org/lectures/stokely-carmichael-black-power

Based on the videos, what do you think Black Power spokespersons have in common and where do they have different points of view?

What criticisms do the Black Power spokespersons in these videos make of Martin Luther King and his strategy of nonviolence? After seeing these videos, did you change your view of King’s analysis of Black Power in chapter 2? Why or why not?

Chapter 2 Research Opportunity — Learn about Afrocentricity

Chapter 3: Racism and the White Backlash

**Big Idea:** “Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.” *Frederick Douglass, 1857*

**Summary of Chapter 3**

Chapter 3 is about racism. “White America must assume the guilt for the black man’s inferior status.”

In **Section I** King says that there has never been a sustained commitment to justice for African Americans and asserts that at the time of the writing, a backward thrust, “a backlash” is at work. That backlash not only interrupts forward movement for African Americans, but actually pushes the status of African Americans backward. This backlash has recurred many times. King describes racism as “a philosophy based on a contempt for life. It is the arrogant assertion that one race is the center of value and object of devotion, before which other races must kneel in submission….Racism is total estrangement.”

**Section II** argues that various systems – economic, religious, political, intellectual, and academic – have participated in creating codes of belief, law, and practices that promote and support white supremacy against African Americans and Native Americans as well. The backlash operates when steps forward, e.g. the Emancipation Proclamation, the Fifteenth Amendment, the Voting Rights Act, the War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Bill, etc., are invariably accompanied by active and successful attempts to undermine and limit the impact of these forward steps.

A lack of urgency is a potent characteristic of the backlash. King quotes President Johnson as saying that if the country starts to plan for equality then African Americans can begin to enjoy it in the next century. He ends this section with, “The virtue of patience will become a vice if it accepts so leisurely an approach to social change.”

**Section III** is devoted to the white liberal. King elaborates a theme stated in the first chapter. King quotes Edmund Burke, “‘When evil men plot, good men must plan.’ Nothing can be more detrimental to the health of America at this time than for liberals to sink into a state of apathy and indifference.” Apathy and indifference toward the lack of full equality for African Americans is a critically effective part of the white backlash.

In calling for white liberals to speak up, act up, and keep pressure on for full equality and justice for African Americans, King identifies a number of roadblocks:

- White liberals expect justice for African Americans to come without a struggle or a fight
- White liberals are offended by examples of Anti-Semitism in the black community
- White liberals have to give place to African Americans to be in the front of their own movement for equality.
Section IV argues that the churches and other faith communities have a role in ending or sustaining racism because they have special and moral obligation to teach and promote equality and justice for all. “A vigorous enforcement of civil rights will bring an end to segregated public facilities, but it cannot bring an end to fears, prejudice, pride and irrationality, which are the barriers to a truly integrated society. These dark and demonic responses will be removed only as men are possessed by the invisible inner law which etches on their hearts the conviction that all men are brothers and that love is mankind’s most potent weapon for personal and social transformation.”

Chapter 3 Discussion Questions

1. What are examples of the backlash today? Or, has the backlash disappeared?
2. Do we suffer from a lack of urgency about justice today in 2010? Why or why not?
3. King says that “the virtue of patience will become a vice if it accepts so leisurely an approach to social change.” What is he saying here? Have you ever been too patient about social change? Give an example. Why were you patient? What could you have done instead of being too patient?
4. What is the role of reparations in creating a just society?

Chapter 3 Optional Additional Activities

Online Videos

Black Power – White Backlash – 1966

Watch the special one hour CBS video called “Black Power, White Backlash.” This news show was aired on September 27, 1966. It presents direct statements by whites opposing King’s work as well as by black power advocates who challenge King’s idea of cooperating with whites wherever possible:

http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=2906180n

How much in this video do you see reflected in King’s book, including chapters 1, 2 and 3? What reasons do whites give for their “backlash” views? How did the civil rights movement

respond as shown in the video? What kinds of feelings do you experience as you listen to these opposing voices?

**Black President – White Backlash – 2010**

Watch this 35 minute video in which Amy Goodman interviews Chip Berlet, a long-time observer of white racist organizations in the U.S. Hear quotes from teabag spokespersons and other essentially all-white groups about how they fear “their” America has been taken away from them.

[http://www.democracynow.org/2010/1/11/white_power_usa_the_rise_of](http://www.democracynow.org/2010/1/11/white_power_usa_the_rise_of)

**Other Optional Activities for Chapter 3**

**Powerpoint Show:** Watch a short illustrated powerpoint show in pdf format prepared for this community read that explains what racism is and what are the major scientific reasons to oppose it.

[http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/whatisracism.pdf](http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/whatisracism.pdf)


**Research Opportunity – Myths about Affirmative Action?** Read an article posted online debunking myths about affirmative action and its effects on women of color from the *Fordham University Law Review* in December 1997:

[http://academic.udayton.edu/race/04needs/affirm15.htm](http://academic.udayton.edu/race/04needs/affirm15.htm)

What are the main myths about affirmative action? How does the author argue that they are myths? What do you think sustains these myths? Would you agree that myths about affirmative action make up a form of “backlash?” Why or why not? What other affirmative action myths are you aware of?
Chapter 4: The Dilemma of African [orig. Negro] Americans

Big Idea: This is the African-American person’s dilemma. Those who start behind in a race must forever remain behind or must run faster than those in front.

Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter examines the problems of African Americans from slavery to the present and discusses how the problems can be overcome. The dilemma is how to succeed while being so disadvantaged. White Americans are the oppressors and African Americans are the oppressed. White Americans can never know the pain of racism.

Section II asks what have been the lasting effects of slavery. How can these effects be overcome? African Americans have been scarred by the history of slavery. Family life was weakened although the slaves did their best to maintain family ties. Because of slavery a matriarchy developed persisting into the post-slavery period when women could more easily find jobs than could men. The struggle for civil rights can restore the family. Economic gains will strengthen African-American men and the family. When African-American men can find decent jobs there will be less crime.

Section II asks what are the consequences of housing segregation for African Americans and whites. African-American children suffer from “color shock” learning that black skin is stigmatizing. African Americans live in a cave-like situation, ignored, invisible in ghettos out of sight from white society. But the ghetto dwellers know all about the society that excludes them. The contrast between their life of exclusion and that of the rest of society leads to anger and riots. Experiencing life in the Chicago slum of Lawndale caused his own children to act differently, to be angrier and even infantile. Life is hard in the ghetto but it is not cheap, there is essentially a “color tax.” Being poor makes it harder for ghetto residents to be politically effective. They do not have the funds to compete with the business community’s access to political machines and the media. Whites fear African Americans coming into their neighborhoods and realtors benefit as whites leave and African Americans pay more for housing. African Americans have to live with all the pain that racism inflicts and with the demand to do better even though they start from far behind.

Section III asks what is the way out of these problems. There are self-destructive solutions. But there are positive ways out of the dilemma. One is to develop a sense of one’s own personhood and to be proud of being black. Another is to strengthen the whole group to unite the many groups within the African-American community in a common cause. This will create hope instead of despair as the Black Muslim movement shows. African Americans need to be aware of the achievements of many African Americans. A third way is “to aspire to excellence.” A fourth way is through political activism, the use of “constructive coercive power.” Economic rights are as important as the rights listed in the Constitution but very hard to achieve. African Americans must also learn the importance of action, nonviolent protest and electoral politics. The latter needs to be strengthened by permanent organizations that include all the poor: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Appalachian whites and American Indians. The goal is to restructure American society.
Chapter 4 Discussion Questions

1. How do the experiences of African Americans, in their efforts to achieve equality, differ from those of immigrant groups in the past and today?

2. Why is it so hard for whites to grasp the problems of African-Americans? Why should whites care about racism?

3. What does racism look like in the experiences of young people today? How do you think young people’s experiences regarding racism might be different from that of their parents, their grandparents?

4. According to King who is benefiting from racism? Why is this important to know?

5. Ithaca Connection: King speaks about “units of power” such as grassroots organizations. What units of power could help end social injustice today? What units exist in Ithaca at present?

Chapter 4 Optional Additional Activities

Online videos

Blue-eyes-brown-eyes – A class divided. Watch this 46 minute video online as an Iowa schoolteacher introduces a “game” for white children to experience racism directly:

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/view.html

This is one of the most requested programs in (PBS) FRONTLINE's history. It is about an Iowa schoolteacher who, the day after Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered in 1968, gave her third-grade students a first-hand experience in the meaning of discrimination. This is the story of what she taught the children, and the impact that lesson had on their lives.

Race: The Power of an Illusion. California Newsreel broadcast by PBS – 3 episodes. Episode 3 explains clearly why African Americans could not copy the European ethnic groups’ experience of joining the middle class. The video is not available online; the online resources include discussion questions and much more.

http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm

Ithaca Connection: Read Roberta Wallitt’s article on “What It’s Like to Be White in Ithaca.” Her brief essay is included in this study guide in a later section. Also available online at

http://www.villageatithaca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=177&Itemid=58

What kinds of changes does her essay cause you to think might be good for our community?
Educational Equity Monitoring in Ithaca: “The Equity Report Card is a collaborative effort between the Village at Ithaca and the Ithaca City School District. Subtitled “Holding Ourselves Accountable,” the Report Card is an attempt to establish baseline data for sixteen indicators that, when seen together as a group, measure the current degree of equity in our school district. By comparing this data to that of subsequent years, we will be able to measure changes in the degree of equity in our school system. Our definition of equity as it relates to education, extends beyond the ‘level playing field’ analogy that is commonly evoked. Equity is a measure of educational outcomes. Equity is a measure of results, not of efforts. We will have achieved equity when all measures indicate an absence of disproportionality in participation and achievement in terms of race, class and disability.” Read the full report at:

http://www.villageatithaca.org/media/ERC3-4.pdf

Do you agree with the definition of equity as given by the Village at Ithaca and the Ithaca City School District? After reading the (online) report, what do you see as the most important actions the School District and the rest of the Ithaca community could take to move more rapidly towards true equity? Are there aspects of equity that the schools can’t take on? What are they?

Chapter 4 Research Opportunity — Is There an Ethnic Myth?


Source for the button: National Organization of Women website:
http://www.now.org/issues/diverse/
Chapter 5: Where Are We Going?

**Big Idea:** The way to end racism is through collaborative action that depends on mutual gain among diverse groups. The interests of multiple parties must be served. When they are served by ending racism, racism will end.

**Summary of Chapter 5**

This chapter focuses on ending racism and poverty by building people power - through economic boycotts, strengthening the labor movement, building strong grass roots organizations and elected leaders, and also through alliances of mutual benefit between economically disadvantaged groups.

**Section I** argues that the key task ahead is not proposing more programs to the government but organizing “our strength into compelling power so that government cannot elude our demands.” In addition to the ongoing need for nonviolent direct action, African–Americans need to study the “levers of power” and organize more systematically in the economic & political areas.

**Section II** focuses on the great potential for organizing in the economic arena. In the labor movement, millions of African-Americans have found common cause with whites and relatively less discrimination. Energizing this movement with more African-American participants and leaders could help create significant economic gains. Furthermore, “the coalition of an energized section of labor, African Americans, unemployed and welfare recipients may well be the source of power that reshapes economic relationships and ushers in a breakthrough to a new level of social reform”

King shows how consumer boycotts of companies that discriminated in *serving* blacks were an important part of the Southern campaigns, and have become a powerful tool to combat discrimination in *hiring* nationwide. Operation Breadbasket, initiated by clergymen, successfully negotiates with businesses that it finds are discriminating, and when necessary, calls for massive economic boycotts of those companies.

**Section III** focuses on political empowerment, asserting that although African-American voting has increased, blacks have little influence in the major political parties. Many black leaders are handpicked by whites and are more accountable to them than to their own people. So it’s vital to develop “genuinely independent and representative political leaders…whose unity with their people is unshakable.” A key roadblock to political empowerment among blacks is their entrenched cynicism about political engagement. Therefore, “we must involve everyone we can reach, even those with inadequate education, and together acquire political sophistication by discussion, practice and reading.”

Dr. King also focuses on the *political* power of alliances. The future of the changes needed to eliminate poverty and racism “lie in new alliances of African Americans, Puerto Ricans, labor, liberals, and certain church and middle class elements.” These alliances must be based on clear mutual benefits and agreements.
Section IV Here Dr. King emphasizes why it’s important to shift from the spontaneous and highly effective organizations of the civil rights crusade in the South to more ongoing, responsible and widespread organizations that will ensure that the laws are implemented and the unrealized ideals are advanced. These organizations “must be permeated with mutual trust, incorruptibility and militancy.”

Section V asserts that to undo the racial oppression in this country it’s essential to eliminate poverty. Most proposals deal with aspects of poverty – housing, education and family assistance - in an uncoordinated way. The most effective approach, however, is to eliminate it directly through a guaranteed income that is pegged to the median income, not the lowest levels. “The course of poverty has no justification in our age. It is socially as cruel and blind as cannibalism at the dawn of civilization”

Chapter 5 Discussion Questions

1. “If the federal government had been consumed with fervor to strike an effective blow for civil rights, it need only have begun implementing all the existing laws that are a nullity from one end of the country to the other?” How does this quotation apply to institutions today?

2. King states that “the key task ahead is not proposing more programs to the government but organizing “our strength into compelling power so that government cannot elude our demands.” What are examples from recent history or from your own life in which a grassroots movement, or people power, has forced the government to address long-neglected needs?

3. Ithaca Connection. King talks about levers of power. For any of the following local Ithaca groups listed below, what specific experiences do you have with whether they have actively promoted equality among all people in Ithaca in recent years? Why do you think they succeeded or failed?

   trade unions
   Democratic Party
   organizations of faith
   leaders of the African-American community
   white liberals
   Ithaca City School District
   ...other groups possibly not mentioned by King

4. What alliances does King imagine between African Americans and the white poor? To what extent have these alliances occurred? What could be done to strengthen these alliances?

5. Ithaca Connection. King says that racism can’t be undone without also eliminating poverty and that poverty can’t be addressed through uncoordinated, piecemeal efforts. He proposes a
guaranteed income pegged to median income. What do you think of this idea? What systematic efforts to eliminate poverty might make sense in our time and in our community?

Chapter 5 Additional Optional Activities:

Watch Videos about Environmental Racism

View this one minute youtube video called “What Is Environmental Racism?” with Northwestern University sociology professor Daniel Faber: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7DUv7AGAco](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z7DUv7AGAco)


Ithaca Connection and Research opportunity:

Up until recently the environmental movement has been criticized by many people of color for its apparent indifference to their needs. The recognition of environmental racism creates a link where civil rights and environmental movements could find common ground. Can this happen in Ithaca? Learn more about the ways the two movements have been gradually finding each other nationally. Start with Bullard, Robert D. 1994. Editor. *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books; and Smith, Kimberly. 2007. *African-American Environmental Thought: Foundations*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. See also the research opportunity for chapter 6 and the citation to Van Jones.

Ableism and Gay Rights. Shortly after King’s death, the United States was swept by civil rights movements of women, lesbians-gays-bisexuals-transgendered people (LGBT) and people with disabilities. The symbol to the right represents the movement of people with disabilities. In 1990 the federal government passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) which bans discrimination in most instances against people with disabilities.

- How does the movement of people with disabilities resemble the civil rights struggle of African Americans?
- How is it different?
- [http://www.ada.gov/](http://www.ada.gov/) is the official government site for studying the ADA
- Think about these same questions with regard to LGBT Americans; which civil rights have they achieved and which are still denied them?
Chapter 6: The World House

**Big Idea:** The civil rights movement is part of a world struggle against racism, poverty, and militarism. To achieve genuine liberation, the U. S. movement and its allies must build a coalition that can cross borders and achieve international peace and prosperity.

The challenge is whether Americans will see their self-interest in supporting this world movement leading to community — a great “world house” — or oppose it leading to a world of chaos.

Read Chapter 6 in Spanish at: [http://www.theworldhouse.org/casadelmundo.html](http://www.theworldhouse.org/casadelmundo.html)

Read Chapter 6 in French at: [http://www.theworldhouse.org/maisondumonde.html](http://www.theworldhouse.org/maisondumonde.html)

**Summary of Chapter 6**

**Section I places** the civil rights struggle in the US within the worldwide freedom struggle. We have inherited from world history a great “world house” in which we now have to learn to live together. If African-Americans gain equality with whites but within a world of poverty and war, they will not ultimately benefit. The scientific and technological revolutions have made it possible to end poverty but also to destroy the earth with super powerful weapons. The worldwide freedom struggle is demanding that we end poverty and oppression. When will the rich and powerful Western nations see that everyone would benefit from finding the will to do this?

**Section II** contrasts the misguided policies of the U.S. government with the alternative of a just a peaceful world that the U.S. could lead in creating. The U.S. in particular is everywhere aligned with racism, neo-colonialism, and exploitation. We have lost our own revolutionary tradition. Yet, if the rich nations – led by the U.S. – would devote a mere 2% of GNP annually for 20 years to poverty alleviation, most world poverty could be overcome. Instead, at present we see the U.S. at war with the tiny nation of Vietnam, bombing rice fields and bringing home veterans physically and mentally mutilated. We should expand the study and practice of nonviolence as a means to build a just society. The UN is a start. Foreign aid should be based on genuine empathy recognizing our interdependence.

**Section III** concludes the book with an appeal to the reader to see that idealism and pragmatism actually work together. Racism, colonialism and exploitation are a treacherous foundation for a “world house” and could lead to the fall of Western civilization: civilizations in the past collapsed because they failed to see the mistake of selfishness. “A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.” (about 2 pages before the end)

We need to go beyond both capitalism and communism and instead build a “socially conscious democracy,” a “person-oriented society.” A key feature would be an adequate wage for all productive workers and a minimum livable income for every American family.

Time is short: We must abolish war. “Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic
words: ‘too late’…This may well be mankind’s last chance to choose between chaos and community.” (last sentence of the book)

**Chapter 6 Discussion Questions**

1. **Ithaca Connection.** King writes,

   “In a real sense, all life is interrelated. The agony of the poor impoverishes the rich; the betterment of the poor enriches the rich. We are inevitably our brother’s keeper because we are our brother’s brother. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.”

   How would you apply this quotation to our community in Ithaca, New York?

2. King ends this chapter by writing that “tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now” (last page). What two or three problems in Ithaca, the United States, or the world do you think are the most urgently in need of fast action? Why?

3. King states: Our hope for creative living in this world house that we have inherited lies in our ability to reestablish the moral ends of our lives in personal character and social justice.”

   How can people find their way back to their own moral and spiritual center?

4. King argues that we need to go beyond both capitalism and communism and instead build a “socially conscious democracy,” a “person-oriented society.” What do you think should be some of the features of such a society?

5. How do you think the attack of September 11, 2001 might have influenced King’s thinking? What alternative would he offer to stop terrorism? Do you think it would work?

6. The final word in King’s book is “community.” What kind of community do you envision? What steps are you taking to create it? Who are people or groups you can work with to get there?

**Chapter 6 Optional Additional Activities**

**Online videos**

One of King’s most famous speeches was his “Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam,” given at Riverside Church in New York City on April 4, 1967, in the year in which *Where Do We Go from Here…* was published and just a year before he was murdered. You can listen to the speech and also download the printed text at:

[http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm](http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm)

King gave a similar speech that you can see on video on April 30, 1967 at the Ebeneezer Baptist Church: [http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1772990834810290128#](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1772990834810290128#)
Why do you think King felt it so important to make a speech on foreign policy, even though some of his colleagues felt he should remain limited to civil rights? Do you see some passages in the speech that also appear in the book?

**Ithaca Connection: Nontext activity:**

Walk around your neighborhood alone or with a friend or two – look for unsustainable or anti-people features and make a list of them: for example, broken sidewalks, clogged sewers, poorly lighted areas, inadequate pedestrian crossing sites…for each harmful item, write out a brief statement about why it should be fixed or changed.

**Ithaca Connection and Research opportunity:**

Read Van Jones: *The Green Collar Economy: How One Solution Can Fix Our Two Biggest Problems*. New York: HarperCollins 2008. Follow up on 4 or 5 of his website footnotes describing environmental initiatives that he feels are particularly valuable for lifting African Americans towards equality with whites. How successful do you think these programs are? Could some of these programs work in Ithaca? Why or why not? What other kinds of information would you want?

**Read More from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**


King, Martin Luther, Jr. America’s leading apostle of human dignity— “Loving Your Enemies”; “Letter from a Birmingham Jail”; “Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam” New York: AJ Muste Memorial Institute Essay Series #1. This booklet contains three of King’s most famous and most influential writings in an inexpensive format. The essay on “Loving Your Enemies” dates from 1957 and includes an exposition of King’s concept of community. Also available on this site in Spanish. See next item below for a link to a free downloadable copy of the “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.”

[http://www.ajmuste.org/litlist.htm](http://www.ajmuste.org/litlist.htm)

King, Martin Luther, Jr. 1963. Letter from a Birmingham Jail. Download this famous essay free from the African Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania. [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html)

**A selected bibliography of further readings listed by relevance to each chapter of King’s book is posted on the King Build Website at:**

Many of us who have been examining the unearned privilege that comes with being White have read a classic article by Peggy McIntosh called “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” (1988). As I heard community conversations about racism, I was moved to adapt her article to Ithaca. Here are some of the ways my unearned privilege affects me in my daily life:

1. I have the privilege to go through my day never thinking about being White.
2. I can feel good about working on liberal causes because I don’t have to worry about survival.
3. I don’t have to worry about my children being targeted by police or shop owners because of their race.
4. I can see reflections of my race in the public officials with whom I meet, in the meetings I attend, in the stores in which I shop and in the street names on which I drive.
5. I can wait for an extended time to be served at restaurants or stores without wondering if the lengthy wait is due to my race.
6. I can send my children to school knowing their curriculum will represent my race and most of their teachers will teach in ways that are culturally comfortable for my children.
7. I can speak out in public without fear that my words will be dismissed because of my race or that someone might take offense when I state a simple fact.
8. I can ignore the concerns of people who don’t look like me, because I can believe they don’t impact my life.
9. I can limit my interactions to people who are White like me.
10. If I have a complaint about my children’s experiences in school or the operations of local government, I can be fairly sure that the officials I must deal with are White like me.

This list could go on for many pages. White people can use our unearned privilege to live our lives in a comfort zone that allows our community to continue its history of racism – or we can counter the pervasive racism that hurts not only people of color, but those of us who are White as well. Here are some ways White people are hurt by racism:

1. We may be fearful and uncomfortable with people of color and so may be less likely to be real.
2. We may have limited life experiences and perspectives that could be enriched if we had close friends of color.
3. We may live with guilt about our unacknowledged privilege.
4. We may be afraid that our racism will be made visible.
5. We may be afraid to speak our minds for fear it will be seen as ‘racist’.
6. We may be dehumanized by dehumanizing others.
6. We may be in denial about our privilege and the web of policies of privilege woven into our institutions, so are out of touch with how it affects us and others.
7. We may be unable to be the kind of person we think we are.
8. We may be confused.
9. Our children may be confused.

This list, too, is endless. Racism is deeply intertwined with White privilege. We all have the choice to undo racism by allowing ourselves the discomfort of examining our own privilege and relinquishing it. Otherwise, we will continue to be hurt individually and as a community and racism will continue in Ithaca. Here are some ideas about what White people can do to confront racism and unearned privilege.

1. Follow the lead of people of color who are working to transform the institutional racism that negatively impacts them.
2. Stand up and speak out whenever we hear other white people asserting their privilege.
3. Refuse to participate in racist behaviors.
4. Develop relationships with people of color.
5. Put ourselves in positions that ordinarily might make us uncomfortable (e.g. going to events where we are in the minority; engaging in discussions about racism).
6. Volunteer to work with the Village at Ithaca in its many initiatives to eliminate racism and its effects on our youth.
7. Read books and articles on White privilege.
8. Work on our own racist assumptions and belief systems.
9. When someone says “I pulled myself up by my bootstraps and they should too” remind them about White privilege.
10. List the ways we and our families have benefited from White privilege.

Unpacking this invisible knapsack in Ithaca requires intention and effort but will bring richness to our lives and the lives of so many around us.

* * * * *

Dr. Roberta Wallitt, a retired teacher, is on the Board of Directors of the Village at Ithaca, and is also a member of ACTION (Activists Committed To Interrupting Oppression Now).

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Wallitt’s piece on Being White in Ithaca is an adaptation of the now-classic essay by Peggy McIntosh called White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack. Click on the title to access the original essay. How does it compare with Wallitt’s Ithaca-oriented version? Are there white privileges you think Wallitt should have included? Do you think whites can talk about and develop an understanding of the power of white privilege? Why or why not? Why might it be hard for whites to acknowledge this privilege?
What Can We Do to Support Social Justice
In Our Community?

Prepared by Elan Shapiro. Co-developed with Krishna Ramanujan, Anne Rhodes, Kirby Edmonds, Roberta Wallitt, and Caleb Thomas  2/22/2010

Here are some ways we can challenge the racism and economic injustice that MLK, Jr. dedicated his life to ending.

1. Examine ways in which we each participate in false beliefs around race. Both white people and people of color have been taught lies, misinformation and stereotypes about each other and ourselves – which many of us have believed. It is important to let ourselves feel the discomfort of examining racism, including our assumptions and belief systems and ways we hold on to roles assigned to us by our racialized society.

2. Learn about how deeply rooted racism is within our workplaces, schools, and community organizations. Learn to notice places where people of color may be left out either because they don’t feel welcomed, or because institutions and individuals exclude them (intentionally or unintentionally). Gather support to challenge those patterns and to advocate for the changes that people of color in that institution want to see happen.

3. Racism and classism are closely linked and reinforce each other. Seek to understand: Why people ignore issues of poverty in our community. How we can reverse discrimination against poor people. What it would take to address the inequities that, for example, both poor rural whites and urban blacks face in our community.

4. Join a Talking Circle on Race and Racism, sponsored by the Multicultural Resource Center, and have honest discussions about race with people from different racial backgrounds. The circles can help us see how widespread racism is, build understanding and relationships across racial lines, and explore ideas for positive action.

5. Refuse to accept bigotry or racist practices. Stand up and speak out whenever we hear anyone using racist language, making racist assumptions, or discriminating against others. Oppose these behaviors firmly but with compassion and in ways that point out how racism hurts everyone. We might also tell stories of communities or individuals that have had some successes fighting racism, class inequality or war, or share facts that show the strikingly unfair treatment different groups of people experience.

6. Support leaders of color and local organizations, such as Village at Ithaca, Multicultural Resource Center, GIAC, Southside Community Center, Gardens for Humanity, and Tompkins County Worker Center that are working to eliminate racism and economic injustice.

7. Keep a social justice and antiracism perspective when involved in supporting or creating community events, initiatives, and policies. In community situations, look around and notice who
is not there, and what racial groups are not represented. Continue by asking why they are not present and what needs to be done to include and welcome them in a respectful way.

8. Recognize that it’s important to support community services that meet people’s immediate needs while at the same time uniting to change the systems and policies that perpetuate racism and poverty and make those services necessary.

9. Read books and articles (e.g. by Tim Wise), and watch videos on White privilege (see resource guide following). List the ways we and our families benefit from White privilege. Spend time in situations where we are the minority.

10. Make friends with people who are different from us. Seek out activities where we can naturally develop these connections, such as Talking Circles on Race and Racism; volunteering with multicultural organizations; going to MLK Day, Juneteenth celebrations, salsa dances, the Dragon Boat Festival etc.; and attending equity-oriented public forums and hearings. Be more open to people of different cultures in daily life.

11. Continue to think about how racism affects us each personally and affects our community. Consider how individuals working together within our communities can support each other to take leadership in creating an anti-racist broader community. Find strategies for working effectively in white institutions; and for recognizing and working with white people and other people of color who are willing to act against racism.


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### Average Jail Sentence in 2002, by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Possession</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Trafficking</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All statistics are for males only. Length of sentences are in months.*


Look at the national U.S. data on average jail sentences by race for males in 2002. What conclusions would you draw from this chart?

How could the sentences become more equal?

Organizations in Tompkins County Working for Racial/Social Justice

Please contact organizations directly to find out how you can get involved


CUSLAR (Committee on U.S.-Latin American Relations): Promotes cultural & political awareness of the relationship between Latin America and the U.S. (607) 255-7293; rso.cornell.edu/cuslar

Diversity Consortium of Tompkins County: Networking to improve diversity in the workplace. (607) 255-8305; diversityconsortium.org

GIAC (Greater Ithaca Activities Center): Dedicated to improving the quality of life for underrepresented and disenfranchised populations and fighting against oppression intimidation in our community. (607) 272-3622; giacmain@cityofithaca.org

Ithaca Asian American Association: Promotes, educates, and celebrates Asian and Asian-American heritage and cultures while upholding the rights of all Asian-Americans (13% of Ithaca’s population). (607) 257-3207; ithacaaa.org

Immigrant Rights and Workers’ Center: Standing up with all people treated unfairly at work or faced with critical poverty, racial, housing, health care or other social and economic issues. (607) 269-0409; tcworkerscenter.org

Ithaca Youth Bureau: Provides a wide variety of recreation programs and youth services to promote health, happiness and well-being and is committed to recruiting a diverse workforce and providing a respectful, inclusive environment. (607) 273-8364; iyb@cityofithaca.org.

Latino/a Civic Association: Empowering Latina/o residents and providing a vehicle for social, cultural, educational & civic expression. (607) 277-8699; latinocivicassociationtc.org

Multicultural Resource Center: Provides information, diversity workshops, collaborations, resources, & cultural celebrations to increase awareness of the variety of cultural identities in Ithaca. (607) 272-2292; multicultural-resource.org

O.A.R. (Opportunities, Alternatives, and Resources): Offers bail loans for pre-trial detainees; provides assistance to county jail inmates with their relationships outside the jail. O.A.R. offers ex-inmates resources for the transition out of jail. (607) 272-7885; oartompkins.org

Re-evaluation Counseling (RC): Supports people to free their intelligence from imposed hurts (racism in particular), form deep & diverse relationships, and take & sustain social change leadership. http://rc.org/uer/index.html

Southside Community Center (SSCC): Empowers & develops self-pride among African-Americans. SSCC is a resource for education, recreation and political & social awareness for all. (607) 273-4190; sssc-ithaca.org
STAMP (Southern Tier Advocacy & Mitigation Project): Contradicts criminalization, challenges New York State’s over-reliance on incarceration, & promotes self-respect, empowerment, leadership, & self-determination of youth of color. (607) 277-2121; stamp-cny.org

Tompkins County Human Rights Commission: free support with rights, disputes, alleged violations of anti-discrimination laws. (607) 277-4080; humanrights@tompkins-co.org

Village at Ithaca: Works for equity in the Ithaca City School District. Focusing on eliminating race, class & disability as predictors of student success. (607) 256-0780; villageatithaca.org

Whole Community Project (WCP): Promoting a healthy, socially just, diverse & inclusive community for all of us. Community-driven initiatives include Gardens for Humanity and many others. WCP is a project of CCE Tompkins. Jemila Sequeira, (607) 272-2292; es538@cornell.edu.

Tompkins County Workers’ Center: Standing up with all people treated unfairly at work or faced with critical poverty, racial, housing, health care or other social and economic issues. (607) 269-0409; tcworkerscenter.org

Cornell University’s Student Activities Office (sao.cornell.edu) lists 700 student groups including: Black Students United, ALANA, the Native American Students Assoc. and the Cornell Filipino Association.

Our local high schools have groups too!

· LACS (274-2183): Asian Students Club, Ending Cycles of Oppression Committee, Students & Staff for Equity, and The Diversity Focus Group.

This list was updated in 2009 and is non-exhaustive.

Civil Rights and Women’s Movements

King was assassinated just before the modern American women’s movement arose, but the civil rights movement he led inspired women’s rights activists in the 1970s. In the 19th century, great women leaders like Sojourner Truth (left) had worked tirelessly against slavery and for women’s equality with men. In 1966 feminist author Betty Friedan and 27 other professional women founded NOW, the National Organization of Women. In the 1970s Friedan (right) helped lead the fight for the equal rights amendment to the US Constitution. The ERA was ratified by 35 of the 38 states needed, but did not become law. Gloria Steinem and other equal rights activists founded Ms. Magazine in 1972. Between 1971 and 1976, Our Bodies, Ourselves, a handbook by The Boston Women’s Health Book Collective, sold 850,000 copies. For a one-page history of Friedan and the recent women’s movement:
http://countrystudies.us/united-states/history-131.htm

· In what ways do you consider the women’s movement similar to the Civil Rights movement?
· How was the women’s movement different?
· Some critics have argued that the modern US women’s emancipation movement does not appeal to African-American women. Do you think this is accurate? Why or why not?
Where Do We Go from Here? A Sampling of Resources for Action

Web Sites
All Things Equal  http://whcu870.com/All-Things-Equal-Podcasts/3425883
Podcasts of interviews with Ithaca area leaders about social justice and sustainability issues.

Applied Research Center  www.arc.org  advances racial justice through media, research and activism

Colorlines: Magazine, produced by ARC, with articles concerning race, culture, and organizing
www.colorlines.com  www.racewire.org is the Colorlines blog

http://ColorofChange.org  strengthens Black America’s political voice.

PolicyLink  www.policylink.org/  connects the work of people on the ground to the creation of sustainable communities of opportunity that allow everyone to participate and prosper.

Poverty Initiative  http://povertyinitiative.org/  building a movement to end poverty, led by the poor, linked to MLK’s Poor People’s campaign

Race: the Power of an Illusion- Rich PBS resource on race as an illusion but a very powerful one http://www.pbs.org/race/000_General/000_00-Home.htm

Race Matters  Toolkits for fighting racism, Annie Casey Foundation
www.aecf.org/knowledgecenter/publicationsseries/racematters.aspx

Racial Equity Tools  www.racialequitytools.org  ideas, strategies, tips, resources and links

Tim Wise  Tim Wise’s anti-racism website http://www.timwise.org/

Unnatural Causes  www.unnaturalcauses.org  Extensive resources on race and class injustices in the health sector, including many videos

White Anti-racist Community Action Network  http://www.wacan.org/
White Folks Stepping Up  www.usforallofus.org  Whites challenging the right’s hate campaign

For an extensive list of local organizations and their websites, see “What Can We Do?” in the previous section of this guidebook starting on page 26.

Books
Howard, Gary.  We Can’t Teach What We Don’t Know.  1999. New York: Teachers College Press.
Union Theological Seminary Poverty Initiative.  A New and Unsettling Force: Reigniting Dr. MLK’s Poor People’s Campaign.  New York: Poverty Initiative at UTS [Union Theological Seminary].

Ithaca 2010 MLK Community Build Alternate Discussion and Action Guide – 30

**Articles**

McIntosh, Peggy. Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack, 1989. [http://www.google.com/#hl=en&ei=xX6QSqLJAcvilAfO3uG6DA&sa=X&oi=spell&resnum=0&ct=result&cd=1&q=white+privilege%3A+unpacking+the+invisible+knapsack&spell=1&fp=c9fe100d9e542c1e](http://www.google.com/#hl=en&ei=xX6QSqLJAcvilAfO3uG6DA&sa=X&oi=spell&resnum=0&ct=result&cd=1&q=white+privilege%3A+unpacking+the+invisible+knapsack&spell=1&fp=c9fe100d9e542c1e)
Truthout, Which Dr. King Will We Honor? 2010. [http://www.truthout.org/which-dr-king-will-we-honor56152](http://www.truthout.org/which-dr-king-will-we-honor56152)

**Videos**

Color of Fear. Lee Mun Wah, 90 min. 1994. [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-vAbpJW_xEc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-vAbpJW_xEc)

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**Generations Divided on Interracial Dating**

Percent who agree or disagree that “it’s all right for blacks and whites to date each other” by year born

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All adults</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born 1977 or later</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born 1964-1973</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born 1946-1963</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born 1929-1945</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born 1922 and earlier</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A Pew Research survey from 2002-2003 indicates that each recent generation of Americans has been more tolerant of interracial dating than was its forerunners.

The same report presented data indicating that 22% of Americans have at least one immediate family member or close relative married to someone of a different race.

Do these reports suggest to you that some aspects of racism are declining? Why or why not?

Source: [http://pewsocialtrends.org/2006/03/14/guess-whos-coming-to-dinner/](http://pewsocialtrends.org/2006/03/14/guess-whos-coming-to-dinner/)
Where to Get More Information

**Selected additional resources linked in the Alternate Study Guide:**

The Everyperson’s One-Page Guide to Racism:
http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/Onepageracism.pdf

ML King in 2010 – statistical updates of some of King’s Chapter 1 observations:
http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/MLKingbytheNumbers.pdf

A powerpoint show summarizing the nature of racism and prejudice:
http://msuweb.montclair.edu/~franker/whatisracism.pdf

A supplementary list of suggested readings for each chapter of the book: