satisfied, to create unrest at every level in the prison. It is running from place to place, tearing down the curtains that cover the barred windows, and screaming. "Look, this is a prison. We are being fooled and used and destroyed!" Breaking out means refusing to accept the rewards and bribes offered for complacent acceptance of racist systems.

It means organizing ourselves to fight against the institutions and culture which conspire to use us in the oppression of others. It means being aware with all of one's being that each person's freedom, and the freedom of all our white sisters and brothers, as well as the freedom of minority peoples, depends on the destruction of our corporate prison walls. In the next two chapters, we shall take a closer look at these walls.

The formidable restraints of racism's prison are not grounded in individuals, but in corporate structures. The walls which surround us, confining us within and oppressing those without, are the institutions and the cultural heritage of our white society. These are the forces which make us individually into racists. Once the conditioning and anesthetizing have been completed, our individual beliefs and attitudes are transformed and unified into corporate actions. Our imprisonment in racism then results in the systematic subordination and exploitation of America's minority population. Like impressed seamen, we are used to oppress others. Our hands are shaped by the corporate powers into fists to pummel poor and disenfranchised people.

In this chapter we will be concerned specifically with our corporate imprisonment in institutional racism. The next chapter will analyze our imprisonment in the racism of our style of life. The major goal in describing
the racism of these corporate structures is not simply to produce intellectual stimulation and understanding, but to continue the process of de-anesthetization, and, hopefully, to release your frustration and anger. Only as we repersonalize the corporate actions of our society, becoming keenly aware of their racist results and of our participation in their activities, will we be able to properly assess our imprisonment and determine how it can be overcome.

White Racist Institutions

In the oppression of our nation’s minority people, it is not personal bigotry and prejudice that causes real damage. It is the racism that has been institutionalized and administered in impersonal ways. We could understand this better if we could feel what it is like to be a minority person on the receiving end of the institutions of education, housing, welfare, police, unions, politics, and economics. The problem is not simply individual actions of the teacher, real estate agent, social worker, policeman, personnel manager, or ward leader. It is the structure, organization, policies, and practices of the institutions that these people represent which is racist. Consciously and unconsciously our institutions have been designed to benefit the majority of Americans to the detriment, oppression, and exploitation of the minority.

But it is not simply that institutions hurt minority people; the point is that they do it in our name! They do it for us, whether we want them to or not. We participate in their actions whether we choose to or not. We live by a myth that our institutions are impersonal, and we have no responsibility for their actions. If we disagree with their actions, we simply disassociate ourselves from them, and believe that by just disclaiming responsibility we no longer have any part in them. When we do this we are not only deceiving ourselves, but we are also voluntarily decreasing our power to bring about change.

It is theoretically impossible for our society to function on any level unless it has, as an absolute minimal essential, the acceptance and agreement of the majority of the people. When a new law is enacted by a representative body such as a city council or the United States Congress, when a section of town is rezoned for industrial use, when automobile manufacturers change their models and raise their prices annually, when social security or welfare benefits are raised, or when any other of a thousand decisions are made daily, our silent and passive acceptance is interpreted as agreement to these actions taken in our names.

When real estate and housing development industries conspire to continue building in patterns of residential segregation; when business and industry and the unions persist in discriminating in employment and in promotions either by outright rejection of minority people or by playing games and tricks with such matters as standards and qualifications; when schools continue to be unbalanced racially with quality education withheld from minority students; when the vast majority of our social clubs and recreational agencies remain unchanged and unchallenged in their blatant segregationist policies — remember, it is assumed by these institutions and agencies, by our silence or by the very mildness of our protests, that we condone these actions which are taken in our name and for our benefit.
Unfortunately, it is difficult to question the validity of these institutional assumptions. The result of the conditioning and brainwashing described in the previous chapter is that from within our anesthetized and comfortable prison the vast majority of us not only passively condone these actions, but give our active support and participation in one or more of the institutions and structures which are responsible for them. As teachers, lawyers, doctors, policemen, clergymen, business executives, real estate agents, bankers, or in whatever way we are involved in institutional life, we share directly in the administration of institutional racism. And when it is required of us, we often advocate and defend the institutional actions which intentionally or unintentionally result in minority oppression.

Our institutions are designed primarily to benefit those of us who are white and middle class. This is one of the ways we are anesthetized to their effects on others. Their service to us provides the curtains which cover the bars in our prisons; they are a reward to us for accepting things as they are and not demanding that conditions change. So long as we accept these favors, we will be happy inside our prison and will not rebel against our enslavement, nor object to being used to corporately hurt others.

Deliberate and Traceable Origins

Just as the process of recall was important to describing and understanding our individual enslavement in racism so also with our enslavement in institutional racism. Every practice of institutional racism derives from conscious, intentional, and public decisions of the past. Each of these conscious decisions can be traced historically, and their continued controlling effects on the present day life of institutions can be identified.

This concept that every act of institutional racism is consciously derived and historically traceable is important for at least two reasons.

First, there is a belief among people that the major difference between the racial problems of the South and the North is that institutions of the South consciously and intentionally developed their racist system, while the racial problems of the North came about accidentally and unintentionally. For example, we usually refer to the residential and educational segregation in the South as *de jure*, meaning existing by law, and in the North as *de facto*, meaning existing without legal basis. But just because there were no formal laws to bring about racial separation in the North, this does not mean it was not consciously decided and intentionally carried out. It is important, therefore, to understand, and to demonstrate, that every act of institutional racism—in the North, South, East and West—has its derivation in a public, conscious, and intentional decision to be racist, and in addition, that each of these decisions can be traced historically and their deliberate intent proved.

Second, institutional racism is seldom practiced openly any longer. Rather than eliminate it, we prefer to conceal it. Because it is usually illegal and no longer as popular as it once was, it must be practiced in more subtle and hidden forms. Of course the results are no less subtle or harmful. The actions of institutions which result in discrimination and exploitation of minority people are performed in less obvious ways, described below.
as "correlate racism." These new forms of institutional racism often seem innocent and innocuous unless they are recognized as the disguised successors of the public and deliberate institutional racism of the past.

The third reason it is important to understand the conscious derivation and historical traceability of institutional racism is that many institutional leaders are struggling not to be racist, but do not understand their enslavement to these practices of the past. Their inability to achieve significant success in efforts to help solve racial problems must be attributed largely to the fact that most of them deny the existence of racist practices in their institutions. They do not know what causes racial problems; they honestly are not conscious or intentional in their racism; and they would deny any personal or institutional responsibility for the anguish of minority people. It is of great importance, therefore, that such persons become aware of their institution's racism and their own personal imprisonment and servitude — no matter how unwilling — in corporate forms of racism. To do so, it is first of all necessary to understand the history of their own institution's public and conscious racist practices and the resulting human destruction which profoundly affects their institution's life today.

**Intentional Segregation**

An illustration of consciously derived, historically traceable institutional racism can be found in the housing industry. In nearly every town and city in America there is a black ghetto, the section where black people have been permitted to purchase or rent housing. And there may also be an Oriental, Mexican-American, Puer-

to Rican, or Indian ghetto. These ghettos did not get there by accident. And our communities have not remained lily white because "those people are just more comfortable living with their own kind." They got that way as a result of institutional decisions that were consciously made and publicly recorded.

Such decisions were made by those institutions holding power in that city, county, or town — probably the city council, the board of supervisors, or a powerful semi-public or private group such as the real estate board. These decisions can probably be traced in the public records. If you discover the approximate year that black or other minority people began to arrive and reside in your town or city, you will probably be able to find somewhere in the public records (at the city hall or in the library, or in the records of the real estate board) a decision as to where black people would be permitted to live. If you gain access to the records of the real estate board, you may even discover the penalty that was promised to any real estate agent who violated these decisions.

Trace further down through the years and discover how and by whom the decisions were made to expand the ghetto, section by section, block by block. You will also find that most of the areas abandoned by whites and left to the minorities were already at the edge of deterioration and decay. How easy it was for the white population to believe the lie that it was the "invasion" of minority people which made the neighborhood go to pieces. Instead it was the result of conscious actions by white institutions.

One illustration of these traceable corporate decisions
to create and maintain residential ghettos is the city of Miami, Florida. There is an eight foot stone wall running through the entire district of Coconut Grove, separating the black and white residential areas. The only access through the wall is on two streets. The construction of this wall is based on a resolution adopted at the Miami City Planning Board meeting of July 21, 1941: "Resolution 745: A resolution recommending that the establishment of a permanent dividing line between the white and colored occupancy in the area north of Grand Avenue and east of Douglas Road."

There are also later resolutions which describe the placement, size, access roads, and responsibility for maintenance of the wall. The wall still stands, but the citizens of Coconut Grove have no memory of the original intent and the historical decision which created it.

Cooperation with such ghetto-creating decisions was usually received from title companies and from the banking and savings and loan corporations. Money, for example, would not be loaned to minority people for mortgages or repair unless the housing they wished to purchase or repair was in the designated ghetto areas.

Another practice which has been especially used by the developers of large suburban tracts is that of placing restrictive covenants in the deeds, forbidding any home in a given tract or development to be sold to minorities and requiring more than ninety percent of the original owners to consent before the restrictive covenant could be changed. Following is an illustration of this used in the development of a tract in a California suburb: "CLAUSE XI. Limitation of Use and Occupancy. No part of said property or any buildings erected, con-

structed or maintained thereon shall be occupied or resided upon by any person not wholly of the white or Caucasian race. Domestic servants who are members other than the white or Caucasian race may live in or occupy the premises where their employer resides."

These covenants did not get into the deeds by accident. They were consciously decided upon by the tract developers and they were for a long time upheld by the courts, e.g., the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court (Shelly vs. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1, 1948) which reversed the ruling of the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan. The latter originally held restrictive covenants unenforceable by state courts. The higher court held that such agreements were enforceable.

Finally in 1953 the U.S. Supreme Court (Barrow vs. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249, 1953) ruled that it is a violation of equal protection and due process clauses of the 14th Amendment for a state court to award damages for the violation of a restrictive covenant. By that time, however, the nature of the American suburb had already been determined, and despite the great efforts of many fair housing groups it has been impossible to change the white exclusiveness of residential communities.

Although they are no longer legal, restrictive covenants still remain written in the deeds, and they are frequently used by real estate agents, title companies, and home owners to frighten away potential minority home purchasers. For example, a title company in Northern California in 1967, still typed in the following notations in their title insurance policies: "Restrictions, racial restrictions included, continuing until January 1, 1979, and for additional periods of 25 years, unless changed."
Discrimination in housing is no longer legal. All these consciously made decisions have been invalidated. But the mold has been cast; the prison door has already been locked, and no one has yet been able to find a key that will open it. We still remain in residentially segregated communities with few changes taking place. Not only are we controlled by the decisions and lies of the past, but as we shall shortly see, the institutions of the present are still practicing discrimination, but in more subtle ways. The point is that the present predicament in which whites and minority people are forcibly segregated is not the result of accident. Our ghettos were intentionally constructed, block by block, by our own white institutions. There is no way of comprehending our present situation or of determining alternatives for the future unless our imprisonment by the past is clearly understood.

Unveiling Other Disguises

Similar illustrations of consciously derived, historically traceable institutional racism could be drawn from almost every area of public and private institutional life. The segregation, de jure and de facto, and poor quality of minority schools is the result of conscious decisions to make it that way — you can trace them in the history of your board of education. The double unemployment rate of minority over white and the absence of minority personnel in high paying, desirable, and powerful positions in business and industry are no accident. You can check out your own company to discover the corporate decisions which were made to design it that way. The white exclusiveness of most labor unions, the high crime rates in minority communities, the high percentage of minority people in our prisons, the conflicts between the police and minority communities, and the thousands of other expressions of institutional racism can not be understood without first becoming aware that the problems of the present are the result of public and deliberate institutional decisions of the past. The painful reality of our present racial conflicts, which is destroying future possibilities for white and minority alike, is rooted firmly in our history.

The conscious decisions of every institution to be racist can and should be historically traced and recalled. The events, the times, the people, and the decisions can be discovered and described in detail. With this knowledge in hand it is possible not only to better understand the predicament which institutions face when they seek to deal with problems of minorities. It is also possible to see through the disguises and recognize the continuity of their harmful practices today in the form of "correlate racism," which we shall now examine more closely.

New Style, Same Result

Correlate racism takes place when discrimination or other forms of minority exploitation occur as a byproduct of policies or practices which in themselves are not racist. Correlate racism may take the form of a deliberate disguise to continue the oppression of minorities; or it may be a totally unintentional practice within an institution which is honestly seeking to be nondiscriminatory. As long as only the practices themselves come under scrutiny, and not their results, they may seem to be, or even actually be, completely innocent of intentional racism. The results, however, are what counts. If there are no significant changes in the dis-
crimination, exclusion, or exploitation of minority people from the days when conscious and public racism was practiced, then racism is still being practiced, only now in correlate forms.

Correlate racism can be seen in the explanation union leaders, industrial executives, police chiefs, and dozens of other institutional representatives give for not being able to successfully hire and upgrade minority employees. "We want to," they say, "but it is not our fault if we can't find qualified people."

The practice of correlate racism can be clearly seen in that minority people were prevented from becoming qualified because of their race, and now are rejected because of their lack of qualifications. The conditions in minority communities that produce people who are not qualified according to our standards are the result of overt racism. As long as these conditions are perpetuated, we are not excused from the responsibility to reevaluate our standards of qualifications and to create remedial training programs for minorities.

Another illustration can be seen in the insurance industry. Most insurance companies charge different rates depending on where a person lives. Many insurance agents carry maps which show the sections of a city or region where the rates are higher than other sections, sometimes by as much as 30 to 40 percent. The dividing line between higher and lower rates more often than not follows the boundary line between the minority ghetto and the white residential communities. The higher insurance rates in minority communities are a product of correlate racism. Insurance companies do not overtly charge minority people higher rates. In that sense it is purely coincidental. It happens because insurance rates are higher where the risk is higher. And the risk of auto theft, fire, and a hundred other insurance losses is higher in the minority community. Coincidence or racism? It is both. Racism is measured by results, and the results are that minority people pay more. The correlate racism which results from the non-racist practice of charging higher rates where the risk is higher, can only be understood by those who understand the racist reasons for the minority community being a high risk community in the first place.

Correlate racism can be seen in our schools when such practices as "tracking" children according to their I.Q. test scores result in segregation in the classrooms even though the school itself has been integrated. It is correlate racism when we object to bussing because of its inconvenience or by our favoring of "neighborhood schools." When banks will not loan money for mortgages or house repairs in areas which have been declared "unsound neighborhoods," or because of the values of housing in certain communities, the result is discriminatory against minorities just as certainly as it was when they could not have money because of their race.

The discovery of correlate racism in our institutions, especially when it is unintentional and where there have been serious efforts to solve minority problems, can only be frustrating and painful. And so it should be; we need to become aware of how deeply we are imprisoned. It is very important that we be delivered of the belief that racism can be eliminated — either on personal or on institutional levels — by an act of the will or by the simple desire to become non-racist. The prison walls of institutional racism are very thick and high, and the result
of institutional racism, the oppression of minority people, can not be easily eliminated. The reason for this may become even more clear if we look at an institutional cross-section and examine the different levels at which racism is imbedded.

Levels of Institutional Racism

Within any institution there are three general, but distinct levels at which racism may be operating: (1) the level of personnel attitudes and actions, (2) the level of policy and practices, and (3) the level of "foundational assumptions," which give the institution its reason for existing and the philosophical basis for its operations. More often than not the only visible racism that is acknowledged by an institution is on the first level of personnel attitudes and actions, when in fact it is the racism that exists on the other two levels that is far more oppressive and more difficult to deal with.

As we shall see in a closer examination of these three levels, the racism of an institution may exist in different proportions on any one of the levels. The more deeply entrenched on the third level—the level of foundational assumptions—the more difficult its elimination becomes.

Racism in Institutional Personnel

A sergeant in a certain police department was an outright bigot, a conscious and intentional racist. He had never attempted to understand minority people; he had never sought to deal honestly with his fear and hostility. In his actions as a police officer he was arrogant toward minority people, and he evoked negative responses from almost every minority person he met. Minority people learned from this sergeant that the police are racist.

They did not make a distinction between the blue uniform and the man inside it. They did not make a distinction between this policeman and other policemen. This man's racism made the entire police force racist.

A teacher who is a racist in her teaching makes the school system racist. A bigoted court clerk, who calls minority people by their first names, infects the entire legal proceedings with racism. A salesman in a department store who reveals his hostility toward minorities will make the minority person feel the entire store is hostile to him. A social worker who believes all the lies which are taught about minority people and acts accordingly will make the entire welfare system racist in the eyes of his clients. In a sense, when "persons" becomes "personnel," they personify the institution. That is the reason why a person who has not dealt with his or her individual enslavement in racism can make an institution racist.

Of the three levels, racism in personnel is the least difficult to discover and to combat. It is possible to test and evaluate the attitudes and understandings of a person prior to hiring; it is possible to provide programs of training and self-understanding to help existing personnel change their attitudes and actions; it is possible to fire a person who refuses to understand or act differently. For example, many schools, police departments, industries, and other institutions have required training programs to bring about understanding of minority people, their community, their history and culture, their problems, and to open communication between white and minority personnel, and between white personnel and minority clients. All these things are necessary for white people whose conditioning and isolation have
made them inadequate or incapable in these areas. In some institutions—as in the case of more and more police departments—the psychological examination prior to hiring investigates the racial attitudes of a person. This information is used either to help determine the advisability of accepting the candidate or to identify areas of special need in the training program for new personnel. There have also been a few reports of policemen losing their jobs because of blatant racism and brutality toward minority people.

In all of these illustrations of attempts to deal with racism in personnel there are serious drawbacks. First of all, most programs aimed toward changing the attitudes and actions of personnel are designed primarily to increase understanding of minority people, and not of white people, nor of white racism, nor the racist feelings of the personnel themselves who are having difficulties in relating to minority people. The amount of change which can be accomplished by concentrating on the problems of minority people is limited. Only when institutional personnel are assisted in understanding their own problems and their own imprisonment in racism will they be able to effect the changes in themselves which are necessary for working with minorities.

Second, the only time institutions become concerned about the racial attitudes of their personnel is when they come in contact with minority people. Yet, if racism is to be dealt with, it is more a question of how white people relate to the racism of fellow whites. For example, teachers, clergymen, policemen, and salesmen meet white people every day whose racial attitudes are either reinforced or eroded by what these institutional representatives say and do. When a white parishioner makes a racist slur in front of his pastor, when a white client makes a degrading remark about black people to a white saleslady, when a pupil repeats to his teacher a racist remark which he heard from his parents, how do these institutional representatives respond? The real responsibility in working for the elimination of racism in institutional personnel is not simply to have them learn the proper and polite things to say and do to avoid antagonizing minority people. The deepest need is to set our fellow white personnel and clients free of their racism.

The third drawback in assisting white personnel to change their racial attitudes is that most attempts are made without any recognition of or change in the racism that exists on the other two institutional levels. It should not be surprising, therefore, that these attempts are very often limited in their success and sometimes even backfire, leaving the situation worse than before. For example, when a corporation or public agency begins to integrate its staff by hiring minority personnel, there is usually a period of smooth relations, during which everything seems to be working out without much conflict. Except for the brief training given to the white supervisors who will be responsible for the work of the minority people, no other changes or adjustments are ordinarily made in the way the institution operates. So long as the number of minority personnel remains small, they relate to the institution and to the white personnel in an apparently friendly manner, accepting with apparent unconcern the racism and paternalism which they find in many areas of the institution’s life. However, as time goes by and the number of minority personnel reaches a point at which there is a security in numbers, they begin to talk together, discover each
other's frustrations, sense the potentiality of their power, and begin to organize against the very institution that thought it was being so good by hiring them. And the white executives feel mutinied against by the people they had thought to help, because the corporate leaders didn't see racism built into the policies and practices of the corporation.

Racism in Policy and Practice

Imagine an institution or agency that serves the public—such as the police, the schools, or a restaurant—that has a staff of people who have already dealt with their personal racism. They are sensitive, aware persons who work at eliminating the racism in their individual attitudes and actions. On the level of personnel, the institution has achieved a record of near excellence. Now imagine also that the same institution has correlate racist policies and practices in such areas as hiring, advancement, and delegating authority—although these are neither overtly nor intentionally done. When the administration of that institution unwittingly carries out these correlate practices, even though they work at eliminating racism in their personal lives, they become racist and they perform the corporate racism of that institution.

Just changing the racism of personnel is not enough. As a matter of fact it is barely a beginning. Discovering and eliminating racism that is built into policies and practices is far more difficult, especially since so much of it exists as correlate racism rather than the more easily discernible direct forms of racism.

There are many illustrations of racism in policy and practices and of efforts being made to change and correct the racist effects. For example, there usually are policies and practices to support the racism in personnel discussed above. It is an important step forward when institutions make policy decisions to establish training programs to eliminate racism and racial misunderstanding in their white personnel.

Another illustration can be seen in the use of guns by policemen. It is both a policy and a practice in most police departments for policemen to shoot their guns with only a minimum of official restrictions, using only their own judgment at the time of need. This is a correlate racist practice which has resulted in a great number of injuries and deaths among unarmed and non-threatening minority people in confrontation with the police. It has even had more serious results. Many racial disturbances in our cities have been triggered by the misuse of a gun by a policeman. In the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, several riots have begun in recent years when teenage "joyriders," while running away to avoid arrest, were shot by policemen. Police departments such as in Oakland, California, which have established specific policies defining when a policeman may or may not use his gun have gone a long way toward improving police relations with the minority community.

The distinction between policy and practice is often important in identifying racism in an institution. Racism, in either its direct or its correlate form, may be practiced because of institutional policy. Or it may be a practice which exists contrary to official policy, or in the absence of any policy at all. Examples of racism in official policy can be seen in the de jure segregation of
schools, in the “tracking system” which results in segregated class rooms, or in a company’s policy to locate housing for minority personnel in the minority community. Examples of racism being practiced contrary to, or in the absence of policy can be seen in the de facto segregation of schools, in the declaration of certain bars and nightclubs as off limits to minority servicemen, and in the location of public housing in already existing minority ghettos.

In almost every area of institutional life in America there are organizations of minority personnel, whose purposes are to change racist policies and practices. There are black and Chicano teachers’ organizations, black police associations, black and brown student unions, a black congressional caucus, and hundreds of other professional and occupational groups. Whether or not the institutions of which these organizations are a part are able to look beyond their defensiveness to discover it, this organizing process is the best possible move they could have hoped for in acquiring minority personnel. Finally, and for the first time, the policies, practices, and structures of these institutions are being challenged for their racism, and not by the organizations and power groups from without, not by “outside agitators,” but by organized power from within, by personnel who have as much at stake in the institution as do the leaders whom they are organizing against.

Much of the racism in policies and practices of an institution can be dealt with and eliminated. Racist results can be identified, policies changed, practices altered, without coming into serious conflict with the underlying structure of the institution. However, it is not so easy to deal with racist policies and practices when they are expressions of racism at its deepest institutional level—in its foundational assumptions.

Racism in Foundational Assumptions

A line must be drawn between the first two levels and this third level of institutional racism. When the racism in an institution lies predominantly within the first two levels, it is possible to work for change, to reform the institution from within. However, when the racism is mainly on the third level—in the foundational assumptions of the institution—there is little hope for reform. Whenever a building has basic faults in its foundation, the change usually called for is to tear down and rebuild the structure from the foundation up. Likewise in the structure of the institution. If it is racist in its basic definitions and in the reason for its existence, little can be done except to rebuild it from its foundations.

“Foundational assumptions” cover a wide area. They refer to the philosophical undergirding of an institution, to its ideological definitions, and to its stated purposes and goals. While the question of whether the racism of an institution is mainly within its foundational assumptions is to some degree a matter of objective measurement, it is also to some degree dependent on subjective judgment.

For example, in the case of the police, experts agree that many policies and practices are racist and result in the oppression of minority people. There is much debate, however, as to whether the source of such racism is in the first two levels where reforms are possible, or in the non-reformable level of foundational assumptions. Why is it, for example, that at any given moment as
much as 70 to 80 percent of a city's police force is concentrated in the minority ghettos? Are they protecting minority people from each other, or are they protecting us from minority people? If it is the former, then whatever racism is involved is probably rooted on the levels of personnel, policies, and practices. If it is the latter, however, then the problem is that of racism in a foundational assumption, which gives the police the racist purpose of guarding people as though they were prisoners.

Why is it that the police are primarily given the responsibility of preventing street crime, while organized crime, "white collar" crime, and official corruption are to a far greater extent ignored? Is it an accident that white middle class crime usually goes undetected? Is it right that most institutions, including the police themselves, have their own private police forces and systems of justice, so that institutional crime is seldom publicly exposed, let alone publicly brought to trial? Do not such practices, at best result in correlate racism, and at worst find their source in foundational assumptions?

It is my conviction that in the case of police departments and their relation to minority communities, we are faced with racism on the level of foundational assumptions which determine the basic purpose and goals of the police. This means that despite efforts to reform attitudes and actions of individual policemen and departmental policies and practices, there can be no substantial change in the police and their relation to minority communities without complete rebuilding and restructuring from the foundational assumptions up.

For the following reasons I believe this to be true. The underlying purpose of the police in the minority community—as it is in every community—is to keep law and order. The difference between the minority community and any other community is that there is no reason why it should be lawful and orderly in its relation to the majority white community. In terms of the freedoms guaranteed by the United States Constitution, the enforced establishment and continuation of a racially segregated community in America is unlawful. The control and maintenance of that community by white power structures is unlawful. There is no legal or moral reason to justify the continuance of segregated communities one more day. The Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Christian concept of justice give minority people the right, the responsibility, and the duty to rebel against the forces which have placed them in their condition.

The purpose of the police is to keep law and order in a community which ought to rebel. The purpose of the police—a white institution, defined and controlled by white people—is to protect white people from the rebellion of minority people against the harm done to them by the white community. Only the end of segregated communities or the creation of separately controlled police forces for racially segregated communities could possibly alter the racist foundational assumptions under which the police now operate.

In every institution in America, the foundational assumptions must be examined and the judgment made whether or not reform is possible. Besides the police, there is the entire system of criminal justice, of which the police are just a small part. The elementary and
secondary education systems, our universities, business, and industry, governmental agencies, and even the basic political and economic systems of our country must face searching questions. It must be determined whether their racism is located primarily in the reformable levels of personnel, policies, and practices, or in the non-reformable level of foundational assumptions.

How strong are the chains that hold us corporately in our prison of racism? As strong as the racism in the foundational assumptions of our institutions. The prisoners themselves can effect the necessary reforms to correct the racism on the first two levels. But the end of the racism on this third level requires the elimination of imprisoning structures entirely, and rebuilding institutions from the ground up. How this can be accomplished is the subject of Chapter 5. Before going on with that subject, however, we must take a closer look at the second area of corporate racism—that which is found in our residential and cultural style of life.

The White Ghetto

It is not the least bit difficult for minority persons to point out the areas of their lives that racism has affected. The list includes almost every subject imaginable: vocational, education, religion, sexual life, social life, language, music, food, clothing. Everything that is a part of life in the minority ghetto has been in one way or another determined or influenced by white racism. Whether we are conscious of it or not, the list is just as long for white people.

How many problems can we possibly categorize under the heading of racism without stretching the concept so far that it loses all meaning? And how often can we be told that one or another aspect of our lives which we had thought to be good and natural is in reality racist and destructive? Almost every aspect of life in the white community, and almost every issue and problem we have as a nation as well as throughout the world, is in one way or another affected by white racism.

It would be different if our definition of racism were limited to the harm done to minority people as a result