AN EXPLORATORY SURVEY

OF

THE NORTH-END OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

by

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Directed by

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PREFACE

This survey was undertaken under the directorship of Professor
W. E. Chalmers to explore some of the outstanding attitudes of the black
population in North-End Champaign-Urbana. Several areas of interests, as
listed out in the contents, were proved. I have to point out that I do not
claim that this survey is highly scientific nor do the assumptions or
generalizations reached here pertain to all the black population in the
United States of America. North-End Champaign-Urbana is an infinitesimal
speck as compared to the other areas inhabited by the American blacks in the
United States. So most of the generalizations may be peculiar to the North-
End of Champaign-Urbana.

Nevertheless, as a sort of control and validation, the results
of the survey are compared critically to the general view of the civil rights
framework outlined by Christopher Lasch in an article on the New York Times
Review of February 29, 1968--"The Trouble With Black Power," and another
article in the New York Times of July 21--"Civil Rights Movement Facing
Revolution Within a Revolution."[1] Some of the civil rights leaders' views
and solutions to the different outstanding attitudes have also been analyzed
in the light of the survey findings to note the extent of deviation and
agreement.

As a whole, therefore, the findings are typical of the black masses
in the North-End of Champaign-Urbana. Nonetheless, it could also be possible

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1. By Thomas A. Johnson.

that if the other ghetto communities were given the same environmental influences (i.e., black/white friendship, job opportunities, open housing and a minimal racism or discrimination and also interest in improving the ghetto life conditions), similar results could be obtained. This is, however, a good area of research.

The Categories, Black, Negro, Colored, and The Types--
Characteristics of the Different Types

The survey reveals that a good proportion of the black, say about 70%, population of the North-End of Champaign-Urbana prefer to be referred to as "Negro." A significant number in this category, i.e., the Negro group, tend to equate the word Negro with race. They assert positively that they belong to the Negro race. Some of the responses of the interview testify this assumption.

"I prefer Negro; I feel I am Negro. It is my race. White men are white--it is their race. So Negro rather than black is preferable because Negro is my race. Can you call a white man pink?--No! Because his race is white." One tends to get this type of responses from most of the respondents.

However, those in the age range of 60 and above stress the traditional aspect of the word. They point out that they have been called Negro right from the beginning. An interviewee of age 71, born in Mississippi, put it thus: "I prefer Negro because I have always been called that. Black can be accepted now, but Negro is ideal. Colored is more accepted to me than black." Those below 60 age range lay more emphasis on the "race" aspect of the word.

It seemed that most of the youngsters who preferred to be called Negro were influenced by their parents' responses. They almost reproduced verbatim answers of their parents as reasons for the choice of their preference--Negro. But youngsters who lived away from their parents were more independent in their responses and these preferred the work "black."

A respondent of age 15 living with her parents who preferred the word "Negro" replied thus: "I prefer 'Negro' because that is my race and moreover, my dad and mom want to be called 'Negro'." A 16 year-old youngster whose parents preferred the black category put his response in this way: "I prefer black; colored means nothing." (The parents have previously given this answer.)

Another striking aspect of the survey was that those in the 60 and over age range remarked that the word "colored" could be tolerated, but not "black." To them black connotes something derogatory. Often one hears such responses-- "I prefer Negro; it sounds better; we know we are black. I hate to watch TV because the white newscasters continue to refer to us as blacks. Even in your driving license or birth certificate 'Negro' is the word used"--from this age range.

A significant proportion of the middle age with secured jobs and most of those who completed high school or at the university for the time being preferred the word "black." Their objection to the word "Negro" is that it is a white man's word coined for the black man. They asserted vehemently that their color was black and that they should be called thus. "Call me black woman. We are black, not colored or Negro. These words are white man's concepts"--remarked a woman secretary. A black university undergraduate put his own views thus: "I am black not Negro or any other jazz. A white man does not call himself any other name but white. Why should he invent a name for the black man? That word 'Negro' tantamounts to 'Nigger.' It is when they want to call you Nigger but in a mild form that they refer to you as Negro." Indeed, they expressed the fact that it could be necessary to use violence to change the white man's attitude.

About three-quarters of the sample thought the word "colored" meaningless. To them it did not portray anything specific. "It could mean red, black, green, brown," they remarked.

The Negro category, on the other hand, looks on the word "black" with derision. They voiced out their dislike for the word plainly that it referred to those who thought violence was the best means to achieving peace and equality in society. If asked, "Suppose a white man refers to you as black; what does that mean to you?" one got almost a spontaneous answer-- "It means he looks down on you as his inferior." To them the word "Negro" means equality. The reverse of this attitude is the case with the black category who abhor the word "Negro" as derogatory and abusive word to use on the black man.

A minute proportion preferred any of the terms, i.e., "black," "Negro," or "colored." They pointed out that it did not really matter the term used on them provided it was not "Nigger" that was used. "The vital issue," one remarked, "is to be regarded as a human being. Whatever you are referred to should not matter, but the question is--are you regarded as a human being?"

Characteristics

The Negro category is the working class living averagely--more or less at subsistent level. Their families are large and the children do not get adequate attention. Most of those in this category have been married for about two or more times. The children are either half-brothers or half-sisters. Some of the women live with their children without a father. They are always very proud to name the father of each child to you. Women of this kind dread work for they want to be a liability to public aid. One of them said, "The more kids you get, the more money you get from the Public Aid." Their houses are in dilapidating conditions.

Worse than this class is what Oscar Lewis called the "Lumpen proletariat," i.e., the unemployable, incorrigible masses. This class is

few in the North-End of Champaign-Urbana. Their usual habitat is by the corners of crumbling night clubs, or near-decayed houses. They are always in gangs or groups.

The "black" group is the middle class with secured jobs and regular earnings. They live a semi-bourgeois life with average families. Some have no children at all. Those in this category are either high school graduates, skilled workers, or have spent some time at university or are still going to college. They are more communicable than others and seem to be very critical of the system. Their criticisms vacillate between constructive and destructive types.

The colored category is composed of pensioners, most of whom were born in the South. These are tradition-directed for they feel they have been the underdogs for quite some while and see nothing wrong with the system now. All feel that they are living better lives now. They tend to resist the new concept--"Black or Afro-American." "Colored is what we have been known to be," one remarked; "if a white man refers to you as colored, he wants to be nice with you," another asserted.

As there tends to be discord in the word to be used when referring to the American Negroes, we have to find an adequate word to use when reference is made to them. This survey may help us to decide on what to do or which word to use. As a matter of fact, it depends on the audience one is addressing. If it is a crowd of university students or educated blacks, the term "black" is preferable. If one is talking to the working class Negroes, the word "Negro" should be the term to use. On the other hand, if one is not sure of the sort of audience one is addressing, it would be safer to use "black" and "Negro" interchangeably with apologies here and there for the switch from one term to another. This technique, I hope, will satisfy all sections of a mixed audience.

"A new era of black consciousness has a strong hold on Negro communities especially in the urban North."[2] The categories above show that this black consciousness is more pronounced among the middle class Negroes, the university graduates and undergraduates as well as the high school students. This is based on an idea of creating an identity so as to be integrated into the society. They realize that their lack of integration may have been due partly to their want of identification.

Attitudes to Whites

As individuals:

A lot of the respondents said "I don't hate the white man for there are many good ones among them. We the blacks too have a lot of bad people among us. So we are not justified to hate white men." As individuals, they claim, there are more generous-hearted white men than black men. They stress the point that most of the whites have awakened to the problem and are fast changing their attitude. To them it is senseless to hate the whites with whom they seek to integrate. Often respondents ask, "Why should we hate the whites. We want to live together with them; hatred will only jeopardize the chances of integration." This attitude ranks with that of Harold Cruse shown in the "Crisis of the Negro Intellectual"--"All race hate is self-defeating in the long run because it distorts the critical faculties."

The hypothesis of whether if "a dialogue goes on in black communities over the intent of white America and whether it will deal justly with black aspirations or seek to oppress them" also reflects in the survey findings. The findings tend to show that the white man has realized his

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2. Lasch, "Trouble With Black Power," New York Times Review, February 29, 1968.

fault and that whatever agitation of affrontation put up by the black Americans have some justification. In reaction, therefore, the whites are now bent on correcting the system and their attitudes of the blacks. An interviewee commented on this situation, drew a parallel of the TV program, "Of Black America" and the pictures about blacks shown twenty years ago. "I think the TV program, 'Of Black America,' is a classic for it purports to reveal the injustices caused to the black man and the gross erroneous ideas about him"--remarked a respondent. Nevertheless, they still want to see more improvement in the race relations, open housing, equal opportunity and the like.

The North-End Survey also revealed what I might call the "Uncle-Tom" dilemma--the idea that the radical blacks refer to the other blacks who desire integration as Uncle Toms. This has become a source of worry to many blacks in the North-End. Some claim that they cannot associate with their white friends freely for fear they would be branded as "Uncle Tom." Often they become hostile to the white to prove that they are not "Uncle Toms" after all.

Carmichael's and Hamilton's "urge to black people not to enter coalitions with groups not similarly committed to sweeping changes" tends to be the policy of the minute percentage group of young militants in the North-End. Most of the members in the Negro category complained of the militant activities of this small per cent to prevent enthusiastic associationship with the whites. "These are guys who help to spoil things for us"--most of the respondents snapped back angrily. Others called for action from the community to arrest this catastrophic thrust by the young North-End militants. This friendly attitude on the part of a majority of the black population in the North-End tends to nullify the usual question of "get this man (white man) off our backs" as far as the North-End is concerned.

As responsible for system:

A small per cent of them feel that the white man owes them nothing--
for they themselves must be prepared to help to better their situations.
"This is a free country, not like Russia where people are forced against
their wishes. Here one is free to work anywhere he wants." The people
with this view stress the fact that the blacks must be prepared to rescue
their situation by doing more for themselves.

Three-quarters of the sample believe that there has been
remarkable progress and that they want to see more of these issues--equal
opportunities, open housing, and full employment for those who want to work.
They constantly stressed one point, the fact that they did not want any favor,
but the chance to improve their lot, to be creative and furthermore, to
explore their talents. A civil rights militant leader speaking to an audience
on the "Plight of the North-End" declared--"I just want you to give me what
is mine. I want the wealth that freedom in this country gives, not because
you owe it to me but because it is mine too. I don't want you to give me
a damn thing. Just give me what is mine, no more, no less. But first give
me what is mine." This kind of attitude was also expressed by nearly every
respondent in the sample. They asserted that all they wanted was the chance
and not the favor. All were harping on this issue--a black man with skill
and valid qualifications should be given free hand to compete with others
of his kind. There should be no need to give him special privileges. Here
they seemed ambivalent. "Anybody who depends on special privileges can hardly
call himself a man"--a common response among the interviewees. "Where a
system cheats a part of its population, then the question of special
privileges arises"--some respondents narrated. Viewing the system from this
aspect they tended to express regret for its existence rather than laying

the blame solely on the whites. "It is difficult to blame those people (whites) sometimes knowing the fact that we came here as slaves"--regretted a respondent.

The truth is that the black population realize the odds and the hurdles on their part to full integration. So the North-End Negro population feel they can alter their abjected plight by being friendly with all people, black, white and otherwise. The odds are against them and any other attitude on their side would tend to cloud their cause rather than promote it. Since they understand this situation, they utterly disavow violence and instead proclaim and desire peaceful negotiation for all their wants and a symbiotic way of living or co-existence with all their fellow Americans.

Attitudes to Other Blacks

Though most of them refer to themselves as "soul sisters and soul brothers," yet there is a lot of mistrust and disunity among them, both on the lower level (i.e., the masses) and the upper level, i.e., the leaders. A respondent told me, "I can give you whatever information you want because I know you are African. If you were American, I would not because you may exploit the information to your advantage." This is a general attitude among them. Nevertheless, they get on well with themselves on interpersonal relationship.

They have great regard for religion and a deep belief in God. This attitude is, however, common among prejudiced people for they tend to find consolation by relying on supernatural powers. This attitude also has its corollary for it gives high status and role to the pastor. The masses have great respect for the church ministers because they feel they are disciples of God and because they always pour soothing libations on the troubled

minds of the black. This may also help to explain why most of the civil rights leaders assume the role of church minister.

"But the ethic of endurance (which was common in the South), which is generally found among oppressed peoples in backward societies, cannot survive exposure to modern materialism. It gives way to an ethic of accumulation. Or, if real opportunities for accumulation do not exist, it gives way to hedonism, opportunism, cynicism, violence, and self-hatred-- the characteristics of what Oscar Lewis called the culture of poverty.[3]

"The culture of poverty is a relatively thin culture. . . . It does not provide much support or long-range satisfaction and its encouragement of mistrust tends to magnify helplessness and isolation. Indeed, the poverty of culture is one of the crucial aspects of the culture of poverty."-- Oscar Lewis.

The ideas above seem to rhyme with the characteristics of the North-End Negroes. The black category members who have secured jobs are bent on accumulation because they want to be like their middle class white counterparts. They imagine that their exclusion from the system is based on non-acquisition of property. To neutralize this delusion, there arises what I might call property neurosis--the tendency to acquire as much property as possible. Hence it is not unusual that the middle class black aims at purchasing a Cadillac, Mustang, color television and the like to the neglect of the basic necessities in life. Once in this position they tend to blink their eyes to the dreary plight of the underprivileged masses. Therefore, not quite uncommon, you get the underprivileged making derogatory allusions to the

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3. Lasch Christopher, Article, New York Times Review, February 29, 1968.

privileged. There then grows immense suspic... among them--the one on top
fears that the one below could become a par...te on him or a liability if
close contact is maintained between them w...   the one below views the one
above as a traitor. He feels the middle c...   man may have sold out the
cause of the blacks to the white to be wha... is. Hence, there tends to be
a sort of boycott of the black small entr... ...eur. A respondent bewailed
this attitude thus: "Do you know that ... black people, hate ourselves?
We do not support the few businessmen ... ...e tend to let our miserable
plight take preference over our reason. ... ...s about time we changed this
mad attitude."

The Negro category, i.e., th... ...rking class and the "Lumpen
proletariat" are more concerned with m...mizing pleasure and amusement. The
little they have is ploughed into fund-...king and frivolities. Hence they
form a poor consumptive community. T... ...o not really care what happens to
them or what becomes of their childre... ...ovided they have the wherewithal
to keep them going.

The black category, especiall... ...he university graduates and
undergraduates as well as high school gr...duates, tend to be violent and
great opportunists. This may be becau... they are not sure of what the future
holds for them. They have to safeguard ...emselves and this tends to be
violence because it is the quickest mea... of making one's complaints heard.
To them they over-emphasize the risk-t... philosophy of the American way
of life. A respondent blatantly declar... ...e have to exploit the least
opportunity we have, otherwise we shall ...r exist."

Most of the black power leaders are under this category. A good
number of them, who could, otherwise, have been languishing in isolation for
lack of employment except for their active role in civil rights leadership,

tend to be violent and cynical. But as soon as they find themselves in secured positions, their activities either diminish, their violent philosophy becomes something of old or they begin to use their leadership position as means of accumulating wealth. This maneuver does not ingratiate them with the masses. They are supposed to be representing in the fight for equality and freedom. Quite often, therefore, one gets opinion among the North-End Negroes that their leaders are only after their own aggrandizement.

However, civil rights leaders who have not had the privilege of secured positions which they could manipulate to their own advantage are wont to denounce those who have been so blessed. This attitude has a twofold effect; one the conservative civil rights leaders who have these sacrosanct positions view the unopportuned leaders with hostility because of the unfriendly attacks on their positions and personalities. Secondly it is more of a blessing in disguise to the conservative civil rights leaders because it makes them look good in the eyes of the public and stigmatize the young unprivileged radicals.

This conflict in the leadership creates a gap between its interests and those of the masses which it purports to represent. Their interests and ends may be the same, but the leadership role tends to divorce it from the black masses and also tends to create an elite Negro class in the nature of the civil rights leaders and their associates. So it seems there is a lack of self-sacrifice on the part of most of the leaders as well as wontonness of good communication because of the self-centerness and self-ambition of the different leaders. All this is done to the detriment of the black masses' interests.

Therefore, the chief issue nowadays is "What many black people are liking are new forms to deal with the needs of the black masses rather than the elite Negro--the civil rights aristocracy."[4] The North-End Survey findings bear with this assumption. The "Uncle Tom" dilemma is supposed to be professed by the civil rights aristocracy seekers within the community. The blacks in the North-End want a leader who is one of them and not a phantom of black aristocracy, which, according to them, "have been emancipated and integrated fully into the system." "Are these the people to speak for us, represent us?" "Ain't we true men! We want people who know what our plight is and we want to stand by us at all times"--retorted an angry respondent to a question on the leadership role in the community.

Also it is usually claim that "basically the civil rights activists and the civil rights organizations will try to take their lead from the needs and aspiration of the black masses. It is their individual interpretation of these needs that separate them." "This could be due to their individual difference and individual ambitions," replied an interviewee. The whole civil rights movement seems to be strained because of the divorce of communication between the leaders themselves as well as between the leaders and the black masses. Viewing this on the Parsonian model there is strain at the upper level of the civil rights framework. The occurrence of strain at the upper level hinders effective control on the lower level, i.e., the black masses. In order to effect adequate control on and full representation of the lower level, there has to be a correction of the strain at the top, i.e., the leaders have to resolve their differences by communicating and agreeing on the procedure to follow to achieve their end. The whole civil

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4. Johnson, A. Thomas, New York Times, July 21, 1968.

rights organization could be reviewed on parliamentary basis, i.e., a miniature parliament within a large system. This would accommodate all the dissenting leaders. Since the conservative civil rights leaders come nearer to achieving some good for the black masses, they should form the ruling party and the black militants, the opposition party. These militants will act like catalysts to the whole organization--i.e., they will speed on a lot of the good ideas of the conservatives because their wild dreams have to be forestalled with basic realities of what the masses stand for. To keep their fingers on the pulse of the masses, the leaders should develop a form of public opinion poll to test the attitude of the masses. This will become an established institution fulfilling not only the goals of the civil rights movement, but also providing jobs for those who will be involved in the actual functioning of the institution. With this sort of a system the hiatus between the leaders and the led in the civil rights movement will narrow up.

Self Identity and Its Symbols

Interviewees feel their miserable plight is due to the neglect of the African culture. They express the fact that other ethnic groups have some aspects of their culture incorporated into the American culture, but none of the Negro. Not surprisingly, therefore, prominence is now given to the "Natural-Look" fad in the Negro neighborhoods. "Nowadays you know us by our dress and characteristics," declared a civil rights leader. The idea behind this "Natural-Look" fad is to bring it home to the American people that some sort of "reacculturation" has to take place, i.e., incorporating some aspect of the African or Negro culture into the general framework of the American one. This, they think, will help to alleviate some of the basic differences and prepare the way for integration.

"Moreover, the civil rights movement, in its southern phase, rested on the indigenous Negro subculture which has grown up since the Civil War under the peculiar conditions of southern segregation--a culture separate and unequal but semi-autonomous and therefore capable of giving its own destructive character to the movement for legal and political equality"-- wrote Lasch in his article, "The Trouble With Black Power." This raises the question of "cultural pluralism" or "Ethnic Federation," which some students of the problem maintain that unity can be achieved and preserved amidst cultural diversity, with the various cultural minority groups retaining their heritages, and that this would, moreover, produce a richer American culture. The advocates of cultural pluralism say that it can be equated with cultural democracy--a goal as desirable as political and economic democracy. Moreover, they assert that cultural pluralism is realizable and workable and that it can solve many problems of prejudice. But the survey findings revealed a rather negative attitude to the theory of "cultural pluralism." The North-End respondents, if asked whether the "Natural-Look" tends to integrate one or isolate one from the American society, replied, almost all of them, that it isolates one from the society. "It makes you look different from other Americans. It is needless trying to be ragged and militant looking; look formal and responsible," explained a respondent. Another elderly respondent explained when the natural-look question was put to him thus: "Jesus, it is a return to heathenism. Who will ever tell these rascals that they are spoiling the colored people reputation." At this stage one then begins to wonder whether cultural pluralism could solve the problem of cultural prejudice if practiced. Nevertheless, it does work in Switzerland, where cultural groups retain their ethnic characteristics and at the same time form a strong, unified nation. The American problem may be slightly or

greatly different from that of Switzerland. At this juncture, desirability
of acculturation tends to gain edge over any other form of cultural
integration. Other students of the problem, however, agree that it is
desirable if cultural assimilation takes place naturally and is enforced.
It is essential that a democratic people share the same ideals, and this can
be done only if they understand one another, if they live and think in the
same world, have a common universe of discourse. It is necessary for every
individual to participate as much as possible in the sentiments, ideals,
and aspirations common to the whole nation. But this community of interests
does not mean uniformity or like-mindedness. Park and Burgess stress the fact
that such uniformity is neither possible nor desirable.

E. Franklin Frazier, writing on the problem of Negro cultural
identification, claimed that the "primary struggle in America has been to
acquire a culture--customs, values, and forms of expression which, transmitted
from generation to generation, provide a people with a sense of its own
integrity and collective identity. Under slavery, African forms of social
organization, disintegrated, leaving the slave neither an African nor American
but suspended, as Kenneth Stamp has said, between two cultures," unable to
participate in either, or according to Parker, the idea of "Marginal
Personality." So often respondents express the idea that they have no
country. "I have no country. I can't say America is my country," many
respondents exclaimed.

Anyhow, after the war southern Negroes gradually developed
institutions of their own, derived from American sources, but adapted to
their own needs and, therefore, capable of giving the Negro community the
beginnings at least of cohesiveness and collective self-discipline. But

this at best only helped to keep them together for they were not yet assimilated into the society. The long delay of assimilation or integration, the North-End blacks seem to explain, is, therefore, due to the lack of direct African identification. The result of this is the absence of any aspect of the African culture in the American culture. To them, therefore, the "Natural-Look" fad and the cry for return to African culture are means of demonstrating that they too have something to be proud of as other Americans. They then hope that emphasis on the African culture will help to bring about a sort of reacculturation which will include some aspects of the Negro or African culture.

Nevertheless, opinion is divided among them on how to achieve this "reacculturation" for majority of them claim that the "Natural-Look" tends more to isolate them from rather than integrate them into the society. Could the "Natural-Look" be replaced with some aspects of African literature and history--for these, a majority think, will accelerate the reacculturation they so desire.

So Frazier's hypothesis is to an extent significant with the North-End blacks or Negroes. The respondents feel that their lack of full acceptance into the system is due to a deprivation of identity which leads to disunity among them and the marginality of their personalities in the Society--neither Americans nor Africans.

American - African Identities

"It is not that we want to be called Africans. Our culture has been neglected for not a single aspect of it has been incorporated into the American culture. All we need is a form of acculturation which is a spring board for full assimilation." This is the sort of information one gets if asked their opinion of the "Natural-Look" and their African cultural identification.

A small per cent say that they are not trying to be Africans; all they want is to look like Africans for they (Africans) are more accepted in the system than they. This issue leads them to dislike Africans even though they try to look like them. A follow-up on this attitude reveals that they do not really dislike the Africans rather they are jealous of them. Firstly because they feel that they have a country to return to while they have none. Many respondents plead for sympathy on the part of the Africans rather than a revengeful dislike. "We have a cause to dislike you Africans, but you have no reason to reciprocate that dislike. Our position is insecure and we are sort of lost in the system," explained a university respondent. They assert that the moment they are accepted as full citizens there would be no need for this identification.

If this whole cultural episode is viewed on a psychological plane, it becomes more comprehensible for it is common for a prejudiced minority to revert to their culture when it has been neglected by the majority. The prejudiced would like to prove that their culture is equally as good as that of the majority, if not even better. So the "Natural-Look" fad and a "Return to African Culture" could be viewed as a reaction against strain in the social system.

A small proportion feel that a form of acculturation is underway for many African record hits are also hits here in America. "We want to see more of this type of thing," declared a respondent.

Goals for Blacks and Society
(Separatism, Integration, Assimilation)

Nearly every one of the respondents wanted integration. "We have to live like Americans, brothers, and sisters, regardless of our color, creed, and belief," remarked one respondent. This remark was, however, common

among many others. Desegregation and integration were preferred to separatism. To achieve this racial intermarriage, housing in the same neighborhood was advocated. "Nowadays, a few Negroes marry outside their communities and live in white neighborhoods and vice versa. This is a great change and the surest way towards integration," said a respondent. This opinion was shared by many others. Separatism was disavowed even by the violent university students. "What are we fighting for? Is it not against segregation. Separatism is another form of segregation. Nevertheless, if we advocate separatism, we are only using a psychological defense mechanism to get our way through. It is really a rationalization process trying to say it is good after we have failed to eradicate it. All we need to do is to feign it is what we want. Since it is the white man's way to do the exact opposite of what we want, he would rush to forestall this move and we in turn would get our end, which is integration. So do not be disturbed about these people who preach separatism for it is only a psychological weapon to get the public to act," asserted a number of respondents. A black power leader addressing an Illinois audience put his idea about separatism thus: "I am thinking that separatism is what we want here. I have realized nothing from white people to indicate any willingness to share or any relations that we could have that could overcome the problems of this country or any county in the State of Illinois." This very speaker, who was one of my respondents went on to say "Is violence what we must have? I have given you two forms of revolution[5] . . . . The choice rests with you." On the whole, the speaker, though he preached separatism, was indirectly advocating integration. The

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5. The two forms of revolution: (1) violence, (2) peaceful negotiation-integration.

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5. The two forms of revolution: (1) violence, (2) peaceful negotiation-integration.

separatist doctrine was a technique of driving home his point to his audience. He later on declared "We can love if that is what you want us to do. . . . But we can do it together." So the key social process they want to see accomplished is "integration."

Today the question then arises that "Negro has made more gains in the South than in the North." Why is it so? It may be because the Negro in the South accepted his subservient role and thought the white supremacy was natural and just because of the support it received from tradition, sentiments, and beliefs. These serve to rationalize and to defend the existing order in the South then. Negroes were convinced that their poverty was due to their ignorance, laziness, wickedness, and did not deserve any better lot. On the other hand, the whites, it was believed, were rich because they were intelligent, thrifty, good, and hence deserved their wealth and power. So deeply rooted did these convictions become that the existing scheme of things was regarded as the only proper one. Hence the Negro classes showed the same loyalty to the system which exploited them that the whites showed who derived benefits from that system.

But in the North, the former order has changed. The Negro has come to know what it is to be rich and powerful because of industrial employment and increase of wages and a rise of better working conditions. The tendency is to be restive and assert their claim of the system's wealth. The survey findings reveal that those with secured jobs are less militant and feel more integrated into the system. The very unemployed types are those who advocate separatism and also tend to be violent. One then begins to wonder whether full employment may help to solve the conflict in which the hard core unemployed and the job seekers are placed.

Separatism itself has a twin definition--the one "where earlier nationalist movements, both secular and religion, envisioned physical separation from America and reunion with Islam or with Africa, many of the younger nationalists proposed to fight it out here in America?--an America in which black people can survive as a separate nation? an integrated America?"--Christopher Lasch. The other definition is separate pressure groups within the general system, operating within the separate system. Advocates of this separatist doctrine call for separate schools, universities and so on for the blacks.

As I have already pointed out above, most of the leaders and the members of the black category, though militant in speeches, tend often times to use it as a technique of putting across their views and for attracting audience. It is natural in life that human beings are more interested to listen to hideous things. Some very militant ones always provide an alternative to their militant stand, which is not what a die-hard reactionary would do. It is becoming clearer every day that all black America is asking for is to have the privileges which an Irish American, Italian American, Polish American, etc. has--i.e., the pride of being American, but retaining some ties with one's country of origin, which, indeed, a sort of identity lost to the Negro.

On the whole the North-End respondents tend to view the separatist question in the light of Paul Feldman's views of it. He writes, "A separatist black economy--unless it were to be no more than a carbon copy of the poverty that already prevails--would need black steel, black automobiles, black refrigerators. And for that Negroes would have to take control of General Motors and U. S. Steel: hardly an immediate prospect." To the respondent the idea of separatism is a dream which has not the slightest chance of success. "The American societal values have been so

well established that to think of cracking it down is a dream. We have the same values like every American and have no intention of returning to heathenism" many declared.

The idea of "desegregation" is also being talked about. "Desegregation," Nathan Wright insists, should be distinguished from "integration." Integration, he argues, has come to imply assimilation which undermines Negro self-respect, thwarts the black man's struggle for "responsible selfhood," and perpetuates the dependence on whites. "Desegregation," on the other hand--"the universal goal," according to Wright, of "all other rising ethnic groups" in America--means that the Negroes should have access to the same facilities and the same opportunities like everyone else, withholding their identity as Negroes.

As an abstract proposition, Lasch claims, this distinction is reasonably clear, but it is hard to see how it applies to concrete issues like housing and schools. How can "desegregation" in housing be distinguished from "integration?" If segregated housing means anything, it means absence of neighborhoods (something, incidentally, which has not happened in case of other minorities) and assimilation of Negroes into neighborhoods. Similarly the schools are in any case already "desegregated" in a sense that they try to inculcate black children with white norms and judge them by white standards of achievement. The survey findings tend to coincide with Lasch's view on the question of "desegregation." To them progress means "integration" or "desegregation." They equate "desegregation" with "integration." When they say that there have been considerable changes, they mean the social institutions have been desegregated. "Things are better now," they remarked "but they could still improve." A follow-up on what they consider is improvement shows that they mean integration--the desire to share

neighborhoods with other Americans, equal opportunity and the like. Indeed
they seem to set Wright on his head. To them the only panacea of all ills
is integration and nothing else. The contention that "Racial integration,
once the state goal of most organized civil rights efforts has a very low
over-all priority today. . . ." does not seem to prevail in the North-End
for 90 per cent of the respondents abhorred separatism.

Nevertheless, advocates of separatism may not be utterly wrong.
They may be thinking ahead of their times for Galileo and Luther are great
today because of their ideas. But during their days, they were condemned
as heretics and the like. The truth is that they were thinking ahead of their
times. The history of labor movement in this country and even in Britain
was a sort of ideological distortion which later on came to be accepted.
Organization of unskilled labor in this country met with a lot of difficulties
at the initial, but became accepted with time. So the civil rights leaders
who advocate separatism may be ahead of the masses. Also leadership itself
does not only entail giving voice to existing problems and sentiments, but
also entails building up sentiments, i.e., interpreting things or ideas which
are still cloudy in the minds of people. Woodrow Wilson, U. S. President,
once said: "The President of a people's trust cannot only lead them, but
can conform them to his own views." Maybe, this is another side of the story
of separatist black leaders, looking for ways of conforming the black masses
to their views.

Desirable Routes for Change

Almost everybody abhorred violence--"That won't solve our problems.
It would instead accentuate or aggravate the society against us" said a
respondent. A very small per cent felt that the only way to bring about

changes and progress was to coerce them from the whites. These were mostly the university students. "We are talking about cleaning up Champaign County and making it a model city; we are talking about the government of Champaign County providing better opportunities for the people of Champaign County side by side"--declared one of the black power leaders in the North-End. Note the phrase "side by side" which spells pleading and not violence.

They greatly desire integration, not by violence but peaceful negotiation. "We are trying to make the American people change their opinion of us"--remarked certain interviewees. Some others said "you cannot force somebody to change his opinion of something he does not like. You can only plead with him. Since we make America as it is, we expect that the whites would allow us to share it with them." Others feel they themselves are not doing much to improve their situation. "We soul brothers and sisters need to do more for ourselves. But most of us are very selfish," a few declared. There are those who think that the bourgeois blacks should devote more attention to others by being more friendly and trustworthy without any suspicion that the underprivileged are out only to cheat or that they choose to be what they are.

In conclusion, I have to stress the fact that this survey was not very scientifically carried out. It was just an exploratory survey to open up more interesting areas for further scientific research. Nevertheless, it gives a rather rough picture of the attitudinal pulse of the North-End black population in Champaign-Urbana. The recommendations spelled out in this report are not assumed to be infallible nor do I assume that the generalizations are one hundred per cent accurate.