

The Official Study Guide

DEEP DENIAL

The Persistence of White Supremacy
in United States History and Life



DAVID BILLINGS

by Mary Pugh Clark

The Official Study Guide

for

DEEP DENIAL

The Persistence of White Supremacy
in United States History and Life
(David Billings)

by Mary Pugh Clark

as reviewed, revised and approved
by David Billings and Margery Freeman



Crandall, Dostie & Douglass Books, Inc.
Roselle, NJ

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

Copyright 2017 by Crandall, Dostie & Douglass Books, Inc.

ISBN: 978-1-934390-05-4

A note about this, and other, study guides to *Deep Denial*.

We, the author of *Deep Denial*, the publisher, the author of this study guide, and the people who have worked closely with us, have felt the need for a study guide and thus have created this work. It is our hope it will be used widely, and be a vehicle for bringing the book itself to a larger audience in these critical times. Accordingly, we are making the study guide available free as an electronic publication, and will keep costs of any hardcopy edition to a minimum.

This is the “official” study guide, but it need not be the only one. Persons and organizations who want to write their own guide, perhaps to tailor it to your own organization, faith community, or personal inclination, are encouraged to do so. We cannot officially endorse other study guides without having seen and reviewed them, but we do endorse a spirit of engagement and learning about white supremacy that such a project would entail.

10/24/17

About *Deep Denial*

Part popular history, part personal memoir, *Deep Denial* documents the 400-year racialization of the U.S. and how people of European descent came to be called “white.” *Deep Denial* won the 2017 Indie Book award in the Current Events/Social Change category; it was a finalist in both Multicultural Nonfiction and Historical Nonfiction categories. For reviews and author interviews, visit www.deepdenialbook.com.

About the author of *Deep Denial*

David Billings has been an anti-racist trainer and organizer with The People’s Institute for Survival and Beyond* (www.pisab.org) since 1983. Billings is an ordained United Methodist minister and an historian.

“No one speaks to racism and its cure better than David Billings, a white Southerner who has seen it all. His is a voice that needs to be heard. It is a voice with perfect pitch.”

– Journalist and civil rights pioneer Charlayne Hunter-Gault

* Proceeds from the sale of *Deep Denial* are donated to The People’s Institute for Survival and Beyond.

REQUEST FOR FEEDBACK

We'd love to hear from you.

Please share your thoughts, feelings and experiences about using this study guide by emailing Margery Freeman. We'll use them to improve future editions of the guide.

Send to margeryfreemanms@gmail.com

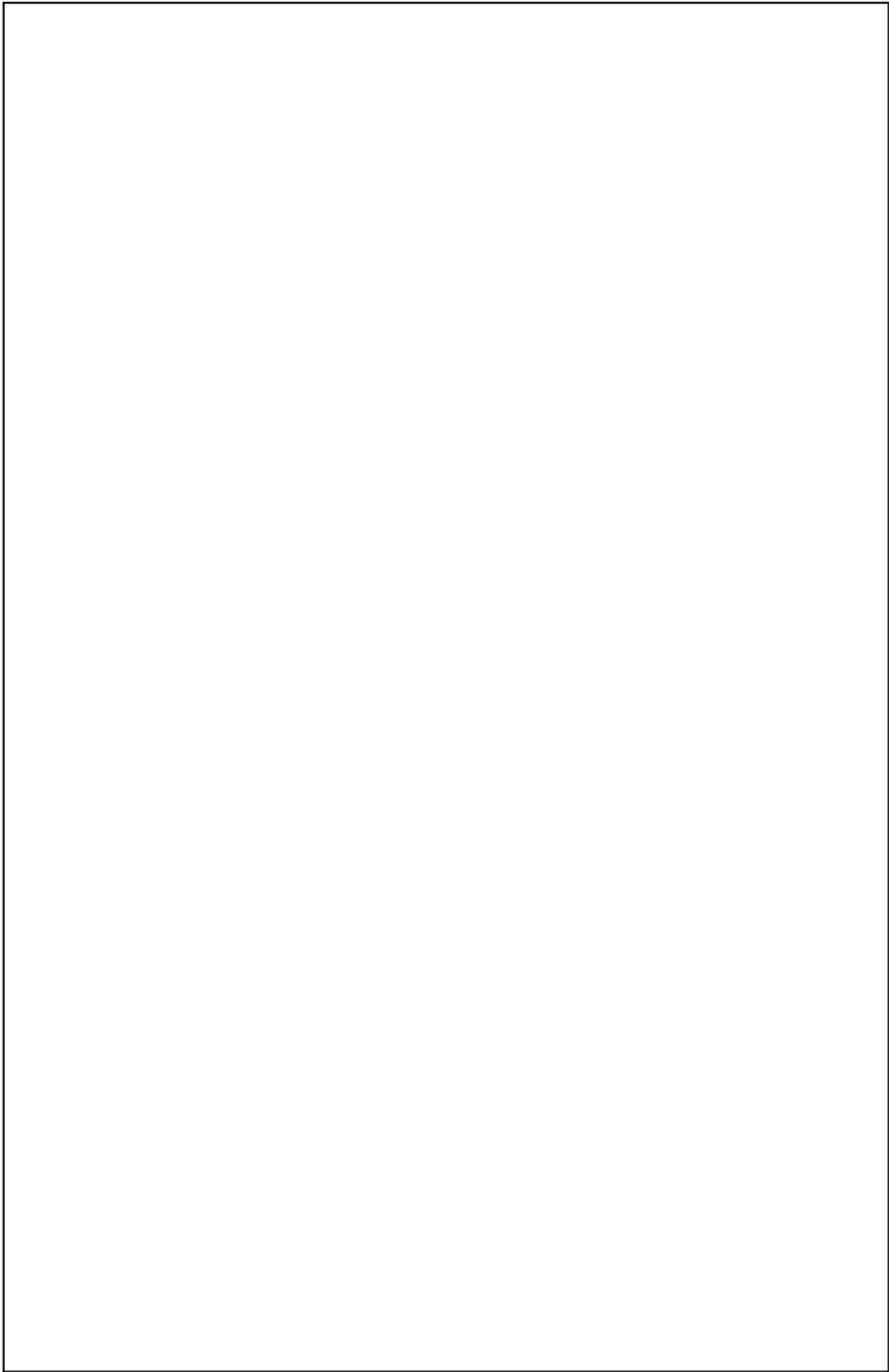
Here are some questions and topics you might consider:

- With whom did you use the study guide? On your own? In a group? If in a group, please describe the group.
- How did you use the study guide? Once? As you/your group read the book?
- What insights did you gain by using the study guide?
- What problems did you encounter while working with the study guide?
- How were you able to deal with them?
- We welcome stories and anecdotes!
- Accounts of the extent to which people changed their outlooks on racism and white supremacy would be especially appreciated.
- Please be sure to include any additional thoughts, feelings, and comments you would like to add.

May we reprint your comments? Using your name? Anonymously?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Section 1: Chapters 1 – 5 Historical context of white supremacy	5
Section 2: Chapters 6 – 10 Strength of white supremacy in the 1950s	13
Section 3: Chapters 11 – 15 Background to the Civil Rights Movement	19
Section 4: Chapters 16 – 21 Successes and limits of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s	25
Section 5: Chapters 22 – 26 Defusing the struggle — reasserting the race construct	32
Conclusion	39
About the Author of the Study Guide	41



INTRODUCTION

In *Deep Denial: The Persistence of White Supremacy in US History and Life*, Billings opens windows for us, his readers, to see how white supremacy has been part of our world. Like the images on the cover of the book, he paints pictures that show how white supremacy has been woven into American society past and present. By sharing stories about himself he lets us see into his mind and heart. We learn how he was born into the white supremacist culture of the south. As he writes of his growing into manhood we find him challenging white supremacy. Still, although he devotes his life to anti-racist organizing, he admits he is never able to completely shed white supremacy's cloak.

The study guide follows *Deep Denial's* chronological organization. For each chapter there are items to assist the reader in following and understanding the content. Included are:

1. *Key terms* that range from “anti-social contract” to “Marcus Garvey Park.”
2. *Facts and Interpretations* that are part of the story about how white supremacy is maintained and how it has been challenged.

The chapters are divided into five sections. At the end of each section questions are posed to encourage analysis, reflection, and action. The questions prod the reader to see how racism and white supremacy have been embedded in the American past, in its present culture and institutions, and in the lives of readers.

This guide can be used by individuals or groups. Individuals can journal or have conversations with others. Groups can share responsibility for discussing material, dividing the work among group members.

As author of the guide I offer you a metaphor for the past that helps me think about how I do history. I find the past to be like a rainforest. Here is why.

A rainforest is steamy and moist. The foliage is dense. Tangled vines encircle thick tree trunks. While some roots are exposed, we know other roots form a maze underground. We feel the large space between us and the tops of the trees but our vision is limited. It is as if we are wearing dark, dark glasses. Beams of light occasionally break through the canopy, but it is still hard to make sense of it all. What's more, the air is heavy. We feel it in our lungs and we sweat.

Immersed, some people choose to tell a “big story” about many people — like the rainforest as a whole perhaps — over hundreds of years. Or they focus on a big piece of the forest like the vines on the trees or the roots underground. The result might be a story about how steam power changed lives or about the role public schools had in helping immigrants assimilate.

Others choose to examine their own lives. Their goal is to uncover hidden thoughts and motives. They may look at a few pebbles or sit still, tasting the air that they breathe. Doing so, they may be able to discern how the atmosphere in the rainforest impacts the choices they make. For example, a child who felt neglected and unappreciated by his parents might see government as disinterested and untrustworthy. Or a woman who had been born into wealth might, upon reflection, discover how she acts out of privileged entitlement and set out to change.

Billings looks at the US rainforest with the objective of explaining how the vines of white supremacy have constricted our democracy over its history. He also lays bare the roots and measures the humidity of the ideas floating around in the air. To make the story personal he begins each chapter by presenting events he experienced himself. This approach becomes an invitation to the reader to explore when and where she/he enters the story.

In his Prologue, Billings tells a story that was life changing for him: one of his uncles was murdered by a black teenager and the family gathered to mourn and to decide how to respond. The

family's choice not to take vindictive action forever stayed with Billings.

In his Introduction, Billings raises questions about race relations in the sweep of US history. These questions provide a map for you the reader as you travel through the rainforest. Like a thoughtful explorer you may want to record your responses to Billings' questions before you begin reading and then keep track of the way your thinking evolves as you journey along.

If you are white, consider:

- What does it mean to be white in a race-constructed society?
- What is internalized racial superiority (IRS)? How does IRS manifest itself among white people in the US?
- What privileges have white people had and still have in the US?
- What is white supremacy? How does it manifest itself as part of the psychology of white people?

If you are a person of color, consider:

- What is internalized racial inferiority (IRI)? How does IRI manifest itself among people of color in the U.S.?
- How does the dominant white culture impact people of color?

For both white people and people of color, consider:

- How integrated and yet still racist is the US? Why do some people want to perpetuate the myth of a post-racial society?
- To what extent has the social services industry tried to mollify oppressed communities?
- How is colorblindness a myth?
- Who actually upholds white supremacy?

Billings is sincere and honest in his story-telling. He admits

his foibles and blind spots as well as clearly describing his accomplishments. It is hoped that you the reader will enjoy following Billings on his path through the rainforest. When you finish *Deep Denial*, may you have increased clarity about your journey and your story.

Mary Pugh Clark
October 2017
Bloomfield, NJ

SECTION 1

Historical context of white supremacy

This section comprises Part I of the book, with the following chapters:

- Ch 1 - Creating a White Social Contract
- Ch 2 - Expanding Whiteness
- Ch 3 - The Contract Proves Binding
- Ch 4 - Defending the Contract
- Ch 5 - Internalizing White Supremacy

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Ch 1 - Creating a White Social Contract

KEY TERMS: MAAFA*; race-constructed society, with both a social contract and an anti-social contract; Doctrine of Discovery

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Creating White People

- From Jamestown to the Civil Rights Era, laws conferred citizenship rights and property rights to white people and limited or denied those rights to others.

* *Kiswabili term for a terrible occurrence or great disaster*

- Immigrant groups had to give up their ethnic heritage to become “white.”
- “Science” confirmed superiority of white people (“Caucasian race”).

Creating a White Nation

- Doctrine of Discovery background to creating an American nation.
- Ben Franklin wanted to increase the number of “...lovely White and Red...”
- Naturalization Act of 1790 authorized only white people to become citizens, affecting immigration and citizenship until the law was overturned in 1952.

Ch 2 - Expanding Whiteness

KEY TERMS: peculiar institution; 3/5 compromise; *Dred Scott* decision; reparations; white supremacy; Manifest Destiny

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Left Out of the Contract

- Article 1 of the Constitution authorized states to count enslaved Africans as 3/5 of a person for purposes of representation in Congress.
- “Peculiar institution” of slavery was God-ordained, permanent, and natural.
- in *Dred Scott* decision (1857) it was ruled an enslaved African had “no rights a white man need respect.”
- Africans in America ruled by white supremacist laws for 346 years before 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Legitimizing Whiteness

- Irish grew from being thrown in “paddy” wagons to being policemen.
- Poor white women had lives of drudgery.
- White men never convicted of rape of black women and rarely of any other women.

Whiteness as Manifest Destiny

- Notion that it was God’s will the US take land from Mexicans and “remove” Native Americans.
- Interracial marriage prohibited in much of US.
- Designation of who was “black” was a state’s right. Definition of “one drop rule” varied from state to state and was not declared unconstitutional until 1977.

Ch 3 - The Contract Proves Binding

KEY TERMS: Black Codes; Jim Crow; sundown towns; “race suicide”; Josiah Strong; Samuel Gompers; Populists; Tom Watson

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Re-constructing Whiteness in the South after the Civil War

- Whiteness captivated poor whites.
- Legal slavery ended in 1865, but many states prohibited black residents (e.g. Oregon’s constitution prohibited blacks from living in the state from 1844 – 1926).
- By end of nineteenth century Jim Crow had become embedded in American culture.

From Almost-white to White American

- Immigrant groups had to “wait their turn” to become white.
- Worry from census bureau (among others) about racial degeneration or “race suicide.”
- Theodore Roosevelt spoke of the “right sort” and “wrong sort” of immigrants and suggested fitness for self-government was “not a God-given, natural right.”

Reform Defaults to White Supremacy

- Labor leaders like Samuel Gompers and Populists like Tom Watson sought reforms but could not overcome the persistence of a deeply-embedded racism.
- Christian theology of the time stressed God and Jesus were white and supported racial arrangement that had been constructed.

Ch 4 - Defending the Contract

KEY TERMS: eugenics; Caucasoid; Negroid; *Buck v Bell* (1927); *Loving v Virginia* (1967); Great Migration; *Birth of a Nation*; Immigration Act of 1924; UAW; Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Bonus Army March (1932); segregation in the New Deal

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Eugenics: The pinnacle of White Supremacy

- “Scientists” suggested the racial superiority of the Nordic race.
- *Buck v Bell* (1927) upheld compulsory sterilization.
- Resistance to interracial marriage lasted past mid-twentieth century.

Violent Defense of Whiteness

- 1915 – 1970 years of the Great Migration of blacks from south to north and west.
- President Wilson had private showing of racist film, *Birth of a Nation*.
- 1924 immigration law used 1890 US population figures to restrict immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and barred anyone else who was not eligible for citizenship (i.e. virtually all Asians, Africans).
- UAW leadership pro civil rights; rank and file whites were resistant.
- STFU and Bonus Army encampment showed success of some cross-racial organizations.

The Color Line as Federal Mandate

- In order to get approved, New Deal legislation needed support of southern white legislators.
- Civilian Conservation Corps projects were segregated.
- Federal Housing Administration set guidelines for segregated housing. Mortgages made available only in “racially homogeneous” neighborhoods. 98% of loans to white people.
- Reform movements (e.g. temperance, women’s suffrage) discriminated against women of color.

Ch 5 - Internalizing White Supremacy

KEY TERMS: internalized racial superiority (IRS); rugged individualism; white privilege; denial strategy; micro-aggression; entitlement; ahistoricism; colorblindness; professionalism; cultural appropriation; post-racial society

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

Individualism: Hallmark of internalized racial superiority

- Internalized racial superiority can be defined as a multi-generational process of racial entitlement and white privilege that gives whites a sense of special place in the US.
- Blacks viewed as a collective and seen as suspect.
- History books teach the myth of meritocracy. White people conclude that they earned everything through their own merit.
- Whites can deny existence of racism, choose not to talk about race, and refuse to take responsibility for what they personally did not do or say.
- Whites commit micro-aggressions like complimenting blacks on being articulate, and absorb messages of white worthiness and racial innocence.
- By saying “I’m just ME!” whites do not see the benefits they get from the racial arrangement.
- Living among whites only, white dominance becomes invisible.
- Entitlement keeps blacks and whites from making common cause for equitable social arrangements.
- A-historicism keeps Americans from understanding how past-systemic racial disparities contribute to disparities in the present.
- Colorblindness has been interpreted as following neutral policies coming from institutions that do not intend to discriminate.
- Whiteness acts as currency in obtaining material things and is coded into language, like the notion of white flight.

Mobility: another hallmark

- Like colonizers, professionals go into the neighborhoods of the poor in order to bring the people services “for their own good.”

- Threads of IRS from explorer, conquistador, invader, missionary, overseer, scout, trader, etc.
- White America's "innocence" and "good intentions" create confusion when US experiences attacks like 9/11. The response: "What did we do to them?"

SECTION 1 - STUDY QUESTIONS

Social-political questions

- How did laws from pre-Revolutionary times up to the era of Civil Rights preference whites?
- What laws and practices replaced slavery after the Civil War and continued to keep blacks outside the social contract?
- How were Christian doctrines used to support white supremacy?
- How were New Deal reforms affected by white supremacist thinking?
- How does viewing blacks as a collective and whites as individuals contribute to internalized white supremacy?
- What is the significance of whites being ahistorical in the furthering of internalized racial superiority?
- What have been threads connecting the identities of those with internalized racial superiority from explorer to conquistador, to invader, missionary...?

Personal questions

- What were the norms around race in your growing up? How does your experience compare to that of David Billings? To your parents? Did you experience any disruptions like whites rioting at "Ole Miss" in the early '60s?

- What do you think of white privilege being like carrying the American Express card? Have you ever been the outsider like David Billings was when he preached on MAAFA?
- Why do you think it is difficult for whites to do anti-racist work among whites when there are no people of color present? Have you participated in caucus groups organized around racial identity?
- What is your response to the white post apartheid South African David Billings met who said he had never had it so good but that he slept with a gun under his pillow?
- What small habits of racial superiority (like expecting people to come to your back door) or other more respecting habits (like addressing all with titles—Mr, Mrs, Dr, etc) do you have?

Action step questions

- What is one racial attitude or behavior you have kept from childhood that you want to change? How might you move forward?
- Who in your social circles might you talk with about racism? What might be fruitful ways you could organize with them?

SECTION 2

Strength of white supremacy in the 1950s

This section includes the following chapters from Part II of the book:

- Ch 6 - Post World War II and the Challenge to White Supremacy
- Ch 7 - Racialized “Communist Threat” Post WWII
- Ch 8 - The 1950s: GI Bill, White Flight, and Resistance to Integration
- Ch 9 - White Fear/White Violence
- Ch 10 - Mississippi: Model for White Resistance

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Ch 6 - Post World War II and the Challenge to White Supremacy

KEY TERMS: segregated armed services; Ford Foundation report; perceived threat of Communism

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Contradiction between fighting Nazis and treatment of peoples of color within the US evident after men and women of color had fought in WWII.
- Ford Foundation report was concerned with Communism’s appeal to disaffected citizens.

Ch 7 - Racialized “Communist Threat” Post WWII

KEY TERMS: “Who lost China?”; Joseph McCarthy; Eugene V. Debs; Paul Robeson; Lillian Smith; Thurgood Marshall

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Given concern with problems like “Who Lost China?” efforts to deal with racism and white supremacy were all painted “RED.”
- Communist organizers post WWII pointed to flaws in society as earlier socialist leaders such as Eugene V. Debs had.
- Cries damning capitalism and racism were successfully characterized as attacks on “the American Way of Life.”
- People like Paul Robeson and Lillian Smith were sidelined for their views and are rarely mentioned in history books.
- Thurgood Marshall noted how the “Hollywood Ten,” identified by House UnAmerican Activities (HUAC) as subversive, were the most “friendly to Negroes.”

Ch 8 - The 1950s: GI Bill, White Flight, and Resistance to Integration

KEY TERMS: Whitehaven, TN; 1935 Resettlement Administration; Federal Housing Administration “rules regarding race”; “Free Labor for Free Men”; Levittowns; “redlining”; restrictive covenants; GI Bill aid for education; racial and ethnic wealth gaps

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- The ‘50s were “advertised” as an innocent time of two parent intact families which was true for millions of white Americans who had big advantages in accumulating wealth at the time.

- Economic benefits for whites had roots in nineteenth century notion of “Free Labor for Free Men”
- “Colored” Americans were consistently at a racial disadvantage as implied by the phrase “reverse discrimination” as if discrimination against black people was “normal.”
- Whites then and now are typically ignorant of the privileges whites get in family-run retail stores, small construction and building companies not subject to anti-discrimination laws.
- Blacks faced discrimination in start-up loans, bonding and licensing requirements.
- Towns like the Levittowns were allowed by the FHA to bar blacks and Jews.
- Redlining was not illegal and banks were able to deny mortgages to those seeking to buy in “whites only” areas.
- *Shelley v Kramer* (1948) outlawed restrictive covenants but whites on their own did not sell to blacks, and real estate speculators fanned fears of neighborhoods “going black.”
- Unofficial 30% (people of color) rule was point at which whites usually took steps to move from changing neighborhoods.
- Black GIs could get veterans’ benefits toward education if they could find schools that would accept them (for example in Mississippi only historically black schools would enroll blacks).
- Advantages meant whites got played into their feelings of entitlement and legitimacy, while the wealth gap between blacks and whites grew in the ‘50s.

Ch 9 White Fear/White Violence

KEY TERMS: “Must have had it coming”; Colfax Riot (1873); Red Summer (1919); lynching of Emmet Till (1954); “reckless eyeballing;” destruction of Tulsa Wall Street (1923)

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- White supremacy was not a concept spoken of but there was fear among whites after WWII that their cultural dominance was under attack.
- Pattern of whites wreaking violence on black individuals and communities has long-standing roots. Many instances occurred after WWII though the white violence was not described on TV.
- Examples of white violence on blacks include the Red Summer of 1919 and the destruction of “Black Wall Street” in Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921.
- Throughout the twentieth century there were frequent incidents, often violent, of white resistance to blacks moving into white neighborhoods.
- Blacks were accused of instigating situations that led to violence. For example, whistling at white women or “reckless eye-ballin” were offenses that dated back to nineteenth century Black Codes.
- At the trial of the killers of Emmet Till (in 1954) the all-white jury was directed to find the accused not guilty. The killers sold their story (with an admission of guilt) to *Look* magazine after their acquittal.
- Mis-education about white riots and violence is dangerously ahistorical. Leaving out coverage of white violence leads to black children turning their anger inward and whites absolving themselves of responsibility for racism.
- When reports of violence do make it to the mainstream press, headlines show bias and stories blame outside or communist agitators.

Ch 10 - Mississippi: Model for White Resistance

KEY TERMS: Ross Barnett; “mongrelization”; “local option”; *Plessy v Ferguson* (1896); *Gong Lum v Rice* (1927); *Brown* decision (1954); Battle of Little Rock (1957); Cuban Missile Crisis (1962); James Meredith; “Battle of Oxford”

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Fear of “mongrelization” was wide-spread in ‘50s (90% whites and 97% of southern whites voiced fears that integration would lead to intermarriage in *Newsweek* poll of 1963).
- Local option first made legal by *Plessy v Ferguson* (1896) and *Gong Lum v Rice* (in which a Chinese girl was told she had to attend a colored school in 1927) to keep segregation in effect.
- Resistance in south was mounted place to place with litigation and demonstrations. For example, at Little Rock High School in 1957, President Eisenhower sent in the National Guard to ensure black students’ rights.
- In the case of James Meredith entering “Ole Miss” in 1962 the governor, Ross Barnett, persuaded the state legislature to pass a law targeting Meredith specifically to keep him out of the university.
- While the Cuban Missile Crisis was occurring in 1962, white rioting took place at the University of Mississippi in Oxford leaving two dead and others injured.
- Many professors left Mississippi after the riots as speakers were screened and actions questioned.

SECTION 2 - STUDY QUESTIONS

Social-political questions

- How was the fear of communism linked to racism and to particular people of color?
- What was the predominant image of family life in the ‘50s?
- How did small businesses privilege whites in the ‘50s?
- How did blacks lack access to buying houses and getting government-paid education?

- How did instances of white violence against blacks keep reoccurring?
- How did permitting “local option” block integration and slow anti-racist efforts?

Personal questions

- What was left out or glossed over in the history books that you read in school?
- Do you know families that benefitted from white-friendly laws in the ‘50s? How cognizant are they of their privilege?
- When did you become aware of race? What feelings accompanied the experience? If you are white, did you know of any black people of consequence in business, in sports, in politics?
- Did you ever take part in “teen misbehavior” and vandalize or disrupt neighborhoods of “others”?
- If you grew up in a segregated setting, what impact do you think that had on you?
- When did you first become aware of a case of a miscarriage of justice against a black person? How did that knowledge make you feel?

Action step questions

- Would you like to change the curriculum in high schools? Why? How might you work to bring about the changes you desire?
- Do you think the justice system discriminates against people of color? How might you contribute to changing the system?

SECTION 3

Background to the Civil Rights Movement

This section includes the following chapters from Part II of the book:

- Ch 11 - Preparing for the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 12 - Civil Rights Organizing North and South
- Ch 13 - The “Big One”: *Brown v. Board*
- Ch 14 - The Black Community Ups the Ante
- Ch 15 - Civil Rights Movement Strategy

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Ch 11 - Preparing for the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: John Quincy Adams; Grimke sisters; Bayard Rustin; James Farmer; Nelson Mandela; George Houser; Dorothy Height; Anne and Carl Braden; Jim Dombrowski; Ella Baker

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Possible to say Civil Rights Movement started with resistance to slavery, although the years between 1954 – 1968 are considered its heart.
- See threads through abolitionists, Ida B Wells against lynching, WWI pacifists, ‘40s freedom riders.

- George Hauser's and Dorothy Height's lives spanned struggle in twentieth century.
- Jim Dombrowski, Anne and Carl Braden and Ella Baker acted as mentors to younger people working for civil rights in mid twentieth century.

Ch 12 - Civil Rights Organizing North and South

KEY TERMS: Black Popular Front; Motown; Detroit riots (whites vs blacks)

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Action in northern cities for civil rights had an effect on south.
- NYC saw political groups, (e.g. Marcus Garvey, the Nation of Islam) organize; some made reports on race relations to the United Nations.
- Segregation in Washington, DC, under Congressional control as bad as in Southern cities.
- Detroit with strong unions drew migrants from the south and produced the Motown sound.
- Racial tensions high in Detroit; white violence on blacks provoked blacks to resist in the riot of June, 1943.

Ch 13 - The "Big One": *Brown v. Board*

KEY TERMS: W. E. B. Du Bois; NAACP; NAACP Legal and Education Fund; Chief Justice Earl Warren, overturning "separate but equal"

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- NAACP under leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois and teams of lawyers worked since its founding in 1909 to overturn “separate but equal.”
- Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren turned out to be a surprise supporter of outlawing “separate but equal,” understanding the implications of the *Brown* case and being influenced by the NAACP lawyers.
- For southerners, *Brown* was the first step toward race-mixing and annihilation of the white race.
- Anxiety raised over rape. White men felt their sexuality challenged; false stories about rape stoked fears about black men — used to keep white women in check.

Ch 14 - The Black Community Ups the Ante

KEY TERMS: Dreamland Cafe; American Bandstand with Dick Clark; Prince Hall masons; HBCUs; many local beginnings

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- The Warren court’s *Brown* decision led to calls to impeach the Chief Justice.
- In black communities mostly private black organizations spread the word of local organizing.
- Examples were Prince Hall masons, the Black churches, and “safe places” like a barber shop or at a pep rally at a “colored” high school.

Ch 15 - Civil Rights Movement Strategy

KEY TERMS: Daisy Bates; James Meredith; Roy Wilkins; SCLC; Mahatma Gandhi; “moral suasion”; SNCC; Cesar Chavez; sit-ins; freedom riders; “outside agitators”

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- A contrast between approach of NAACP and SCLC.
- Thurgood Marshall did legal work leading to *Brown* and Roy Wilkins shaped NAACP to be national.
- MLK, Jr used a confrontational strategy with SCLC based on Ghandian principles of non-violent resistance and the “inherent goodness” of all people.
- Where white communities resisted and struggles made the news, change occurred even as whites accused King of “stirring things up.”
- In Albany, GA local sheriff and police did not give strong resistance, so movement toward civil rights was thwarted for a time.
- In St Augustine, FL very strong white resistance led to much fear in the black community.
- The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) began in North Carolina and spread out, organizing youth across the south.
- While there were differences among civil rights organizations, whites tended to see them all under the control of MLK and perhaps communists.
- Coordination did occur; e.g. sit-ins in NC in 1960 modeled themselves after ones by NAACP youth in Midwest.

- 1961 Freedom Riders experienced extreme violence (beatings and a bus bombing) but did lead to end of legalized segregation in interstate travel in the south.

SECTION 3 - STUDY QUESTIONS

Social-political questions

- Who were some of the leaders who prepared the way for the Civil Rights Movement? What did they have in common? How did they differ?
- What was happening in race relations before 1950 in NYC; Washington, DC; and Detroit?
- How did the *Brown* case come to overturn “separate but equal”?
- How did the *Brown* decision create fear and anxiety among some whites?
- How did local black communities support organizing to bring about integration?
- How did Martin Luther King, Jr. adapt Gandhi’s ideas?
- What did SNCC contribute to the Civil Rights struggle?

Personal questions

- As Billings describes events leading up to and surrounding the *Brown* decision, were any events new or surprising to you?
- Did you have any school experiences like Billings with his history book or teacher, Mrs. Miller? Did you experience new growth upon learning about new concepts like “integrate” or “exegesis”?
- When did you first become aware of “civil rights”? What was the context? How have your views changed over time?
- Did you ever join with others in ridiculing people unlike your-

self as Billings did toward Negroes as a teenager? If so, how do you feel now looking back?

- Can you remember having a “That’s when I got involved” moment? If so, what inspired you?

Action steps questions

- How might you respond when talking about white riots with someone who argued “Black people asked for it?”
- Can you appreciate how some white people fear the demographic changes in the US when whites will be a numerical minority? How might you respond to them?

SECTION 4

Successes and limits of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s

This section includes the following chapters from Part II of the book:

- Ch 16 - Civil Rights Leaders — Exiled, Murdered, Jailed
- Ch 17 - Ongoing Resistance to Civil Rights
- Ch 18 - White “Race Traitors” in the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 19 - Radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 20 - Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 21 - Growing up Preaching in the Land of “Dog Whistle Politics”

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Ch 16 - Civil Rights Leaders — Exiled, Murdered, Jailed

KEY TERMS: James Earl Ray; Mack Charles Parker; Herbert Lee; Robert F. X. Williams; 1963 March on Washington; Eugene “Bull” Connor; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth; 16th St. Bombing (1963); Medgar Evers; Mississippi Freedom Summer (1964); Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Fannie Lou Hamer; Stokely Carmichael; “Black Power”; Selma to Montgomery March (1965); Jimmie Lee Jackson; Viola Luizzo

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- '60s leading up to 1963 March on Washington saw buildup of violence — murders, bombing, arson in south. Fear for MLK's life at March.
- "Regular" southern whites like Bull Connor in Birmingham, AL organized, helped by KKK; September 1963 16th Street bombing killed 4 little girls.
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) organized Children's Crusade; white brutality shown on TV.
- MLK in Birmingham jail led to civil rights successes, there and elsewhere. JFK called for civil rights legislation a month before he was assassinated.
- Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964 built Freedom Schools and voting drives. At program's beginning Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney murdered by KKK.
- Organizing efforts and violent resistance continued in Mississippi through 1968.
- At Democratic National Convention in 1964 Fannie Lou Hamer attempted (unsuccessfully) to have the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party seated. Needing white southern support, Democrats spurned MFDP efforts, resulting in some civil rights leaders going into exile.
- 1965 Selma to Montgomery marches organized by MLK led to Voting Rights Act; white supporters Rev. James Reeb and Viola Luizzo killed.
- Billings suggests most white people seem to be indifferent to what is now called "black people's history."

Ch 17 - Ongoing Resistance to Civil Rights

KEY TERMS: *Another Country*; boycotts; national franchises; White Citizens Councils; KKK tactics

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Challenges to segregation in public accommodations moved slowly, place by place. Chain stores integrated more quickly.
- Even if blacks were “allowed” in stores on main street, discriminatory customs prevailed.
- Boycotts were effective but were a burden on black people who often had limited transportation options.
- White Citizens Councils made up of “white-shirted gentlemen” gave cover to white hooded KKK; both blamed any violence on “the Negroes.”

Ch 18 - White “Race Traitors” in the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: race traitors; Rev. Will D. Campbell; Bob Zellner; the Heffner family; de facto social segregation; *Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971); white “ethnics”; “playing the race card”

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- White southerners who worked for civil rights, such as Rev. Will D. Campbell, Bob Zellner, and even the moderate Heffner family in McComb, MS, were seen as “race traitors.”
- Segregation in schools both south and north resulted from white systemic control everywhere.
- Black and white families in the south lived closer together, so schools could be combined more easily.
- Housing segregation in north meant bussing was needed to implement integration.
- Resistance in Boston was especially vehement.
- All the violence did not lead whites to look at themselves.

- Whites maintained their innocence and accused blacks of “playing the race card” — suggesting blacks were neglecting to admit their failure to take personal responsibility.

Ch 19 - Radicalization of the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: Jimmy Jones; Stephen Biko; Black Liberation Movement; Nation of Islam; Malcolm X; Marcus Garvey; Toni Morrison

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Black liberation is based on historical memory of global movement accountable to grassroots black constituency.
- Black liberation is rooted in Frederick Douglass’ belief: “Power concedes nothing without a demand.”
- Malcolm X scary to whites, yet MLK’s overtures to whites were rarely embraced.
- Actual threat of the Civil Rights Movement to whites was in fact minimal.
- Blacks desired “to live self-determined lives without guidance and control.”
- Blacks gravitated to places (like Harlem) where cultural protection of blackness can exist.
- Whites speak up more in classrooms, appear racist for patronizing, coddling, rescuing, etc.
- Consider Toni Morrison quote in *Race-ing Justice, En-Gendering Power*, pp. 182-183.

Ch 20 - Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: “Movement culture”; People’s Institute; “big tent” organizing; Poor People’s Campaign; Resurrection City

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Music and art brought many cultural strands together into the “Movement” in the ‘60s and into the ‘70s.
- A uniting belief in the Declaration of Independence’s assertion: “all [people] are created equal.”
- Organizations like the People’s Institute saw importance of black leadership to unify and sustain multiracial movement for justice.
- White people who are tied psychologically to ideology of white supremacy cannot offer effective guidance to liberation of people oppressed by racism for many centuries.
- Assassinations of civil rights leaders and separation of white working class (who went to Vietnam) thwarted the Movement.
- Most notable characteristic of the Civil Rights Movement: black leadership. Civil Rights Movement was the biggest challenge to the racial status quo since Civil War.

Ch 21 - Growing up Preaching in the Land of “Dog Whistle Politics”

KEY TERMS: George Wallace; “dog whistle politics”; *Bakke* case; Nelson Mandela; Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; “identity politics”; silent majority

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- With Civil Rights Movement successes many white leaders like George Wallace argued black advances would be at the expense of whites.

- Euphemisms like “taxpayers” stood for whites in jeopardy, while “welfare cheats” stood for blacks.
- From *Bakke* case (1975) onward the use of affirmative action to relieve racial inequities was challenged in the courts.
- While many white people fear racial retribution, there is no evidence in history.
- When SNCC in the late ‘60s suggested whites return to their own communities some went back to religious organizations, others to identity groups, and others to professional groups, but few went back to work against racism in their white communities or families.
- Out of sight in the ‘70s conservatives were beginning to make appeals to the Silent Majority.

SECTION 4 - STUDY QUESTIONS

Social-political questions

- How did the 1963 March on Washington appear to whites of the day?
- What was the significance of the Freedom Schools?
- How did Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party disrupt the 1964 Democratic Convention?
- How was Viola Liuzzi seen by different groups of people?
- How were the KKK and Citizens Councils similar and different?
- Why were some white southerners seen as “race traitors?”
- What happened in Boston when school bussing was introduced?
- How did state power protect whites and their interests?
- Why was the black leadership of the Civil Rights Movement so notable?

- What role did George Wallace play in challenging the Civil Rights Movement?
- How did “dog whistle” politics strengthen white supremacy?

Personal questions

- Do you agree with Anne Braden’s list of lessons from the Civil Rights Movement (p. 191)? How does your racial identification affect your judgment?
- Does participation and/or cross-racial shared leadership help end racism? Increase leadership skills?
- What kinds of people did you hang around with as you were coming of age? Who did you admire? Where did you feel you belonged? Where did you feel marginal?
- Are there “good books” that you read at an early age that influenced you?
- Has “civil rights” ever seemed dangerously “extreme” or radical to you? What about bussing? Affirmative action? Reparations?
- Do you see “white systemic control” at the root of interracial inequities? If so, what shapes your beliefs? If not, what do you think causes those inequities?

Action step questions

- Can you remember trying to avoid discussing matters of race? What are some openings you could create to begin conversations?
- When celebrating past events like the 1963 march, how can you raise awareness of inequalities that still exist?

SECTION 5

Defusing the struggle/reasserting the race construct

This section includes the following chapters from Part II of the book:

- Ch 22 - Federal Response to the Movement: The Great Society
- Ch 23 - De-Politicizing the Civil Rights Movement: Reasserting the Race Construct
- Ch 24 - Conservative Counter Strategy to the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 25 - White Mainstream Response to the Civil Rights Movement
- Ch 26 - Internalized Racial Superiority - Updated

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Ch 22 - Federal Response to the Movement: The Great Society

KEY TERMS: 501(c)(3) status; *The Other America*; “affirmative action”; Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO); Community Action Agencies; “grass roots” organizing; “clinical practice over movement organizing”

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- LBJ rolled out his plan for “the Great Society” in response to the Civil Rights Movement.

- Affirmative action programs were proposed to provide marginalized people equal chance for success.
- OEO created to oversee programs that maximize participation of poor people in their implementation.
- Grassroots participation was seen by some as being transformative of the poor, while others persisted in believing “high class” white elites should retain power.
- Headstart and VISTA are examples of programs that still exist.
- A big change took place in the ‘70s when non-profits deputized by their 501(c)(3) tax exempt status became dominant in providing “services” to the poor (see more in Ch 23).

Ch 23 - De-Politicizing the Civil Rights Movement: Reasserting the Race Construct

KEY TERMS: People’s Institute; “Movement high holy days”; gatekeepers; needs assessments; Hatch Act (1939 – 40); “silo” approach; “power analysis”; “poverty franchise”

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- By the mid ‘70s leaders from the Civil Rights Movement were being forced to conform to the rules of the power structure and profess that the time of anger and activism had passed; racism was seen as just one “ism” among many.
- Media and white institutions aroused fear by focusing on the negative aspects of communities of color.
- Organizations in providing direct services drew on therapeutic models that emphasized clinical practice.
- Poor people were left out of social service agencies that set up certification requirements and lacked accountability to the communities they served.

- The Hatch Act (1939 – 40) prohibited non-profit employees from working in political campaigns.
- Without an overall historical approach, institutions serving poor communities of color focus on their professional “silos” instead of organizing constituents across different interests.
- Professions lack understanding of how racial inequities were basic to all institutions. White supremacy remained the status quo.
- Outside institutions profited by serving poor communities (“the poverty franchise”).

Ch 24 - Conservative Counter Strategy to the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: “consorting”; “American way of life”; “states rights” equals white supremacy; “knowing class”; country club movement; Citizen Councils; “law and order”; Community Reinvestment Act (1974); Kerner Commission (1968)

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- David Billings arrested in Mississippi in 1969 for “consorting” — a Sovereignty Commission concept of violating state segregation laws.
- Conservatives opposed all movements for social change as threats to the “American way of life.”
- “Knowing class” of northern progressives acted like they knew what was best.
- White conservatives organized in country clubs, in Citizen Councils and business organizations like Kiwanis seemingly supporting civil rights as long as things did not change for them.
- By 1968 Nixon played on white fears and resentment after the uprisings in Detroit, Newark, and Watts and called for “law and order.”

- Nixon did not turn back the clock and actually expanded aid to poor neighborhoods through the Community Reinvestment Act (1974).
- Even as the 1968 Kerner Commission prediction of two societies, one white and affluent, the other black and poor, was coming to pass, so was the myth of a colorblind society.

Ch 25 - White Mainstream Response to the Civil Rights Movement

KEY TERMS: code words; “inner city”; “magnet schools”; “welfare”; urban infrastructure collapse; War on Drugs; Governor Nelson Rockefeller; *Superfly* movies; Michelle Alexander; mass incarceration; “housing bubble burst” (2008); cradle to prison pipeline

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- By end of twentieth century whites had regained control of social change by credentializing services to the poor. Code words like “public” were used to de-legitimize spaces of people of color.
- Programs like magnet schools benefit the children of progressive urban whites, but do not deal with problems of inner cities.
- Reagan used race as a prod in his first presidential bid in 1976 that flowered into stereotypical and misleading images of “welfare queens.”
- Anti-social construct that kept whites in control continued as mistrust of federal government grew.
- As whites fled the cities (with their money), services, both public and private like retail stores also left.
- Detroit is a prime example of state takeover so the crisis could be dealt with to benefit those in power (i.e. creditors paid).

- Redlining and lack of credit contributed to the collapse of urban infrastructure.
- Whites are over-represented in decision making with white men controlling the private sectors and white women the helping professions.
- Building on negative stereotypes of black men, Nelson Rockefeller laid the groundwork for the War on Drugs.
- *Superfly* movies exploited negative black stereotypes.
- Michelle Alexander wrote of mass incarceration that grew out of the War on Drugs and had roots in the Jim Crow laws of the nineteenth century.
- Racial disparities worsened after the housing bubble burst in 2008 and made the cradle to prison pipeline even more real.

Ch 26 - Internalized Racial Superiority - Updated

KEY TERMS: Hurricane Katrina (2005); white entitlement; race privilege; “before me” argument; white innocence; Marcus Garvey Park; gentrification; first ring suburbs; *Shelby County v Holder* (2013); voter ID laws

FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS:

- Because flood insurance was easier for whites in New Orleans to obtain (even those seeking to “undo racism”) whites weathered Hurricane Katrina more easily than blacks.
- Being unaware of history, whites felt entitled to what they could get when reviving neighborhoods without seeing how they had been unfairly privileged.
- Whites proclaimed innocence because they did not personally discriminate or evict people.
- As whites supported noise ordinances, black drummers were driven out of Marcus Garvey Park.

- Gentrification may have brought resources to poor neighborhoods but reverse white movement drove many poor blacks out to first ring suburbs.
- Persistence of racism seen when Supreme Court in *Shelby County v Holder* (2010) weakened the 1965 Voting Rights Act and led to proliferation of voter suppression laws.
- White supremacy has been maintained without referring to race but rather through codes and symbolisms.
- De-regulation, privatization and demonizing of federal government have been the strategies underlying a transformed Republican party into a virtually all-white party.
- Whites find it difficult to follow black leadership or take direction from people of color.
- Perhaps things might have been different if those who believed in real movement toward racial justice when Obama was elected had stuck together and worked with more energy against those who wanted to go back to an earlier racial “normality.”
- The reality was many whites did not want to talk about race or to understand racism.

SECTION 5 - STUDY QUESTIONS

Social/political questions

- What kinds of programs were part of LBJ’s Great Society?
- What was impact of non-profits using 501(c)3 tax exempt status to provide “services” to the poor?
- How was the Civil Rights Movement weakened by the norms of mainstream white culture in the ‘70s?

- What was the silo approach to problems and how did it impact blacks and social change?
- What were the effects of certification requirements on grass-roots leadership?
- How did code words like “public,” “magnet schools,” and “welfare” disadvantage blacks?
- How does the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina point to continued disadvantages for blacks?
- What was the downside of gentrification for long time residents of changing neighborhoods?

Personal questions

- When and how is a “meritocracy” useful? How is it possible to set standards for credentials and other professional standards that are not racially biased?
- Do you agree with Billings that racism is fundamental to this nation’s social inequities?
- Do you agree that had whites supported Obama with more energy and called out racism sooner the political outcomes might have been different?
- Have you, especially if you are white, found it challenging to take direction from someone of another race?

Action step questions

- What can white people who benefit from gentrification do to mitigate the effects of displacement on families and businesses?
- What are ways you can engage people who have opinions based on racial stereotyping?
- If you are involved in non-profit or religious organizations, what are effective ways you can do anti-racist work?

CONCLUSION

In the year since *Deep Denial* was published much has happened in the rainforest where White Supremacy lives. Standing exposed out in the open are white nationalists, collaborators, and those who, through their silence, allow individual and institutional racism to go unchallenged.

We who believe in racial justice must ask and answer the hard question: What is to be done now? We hope the lessons and insights of *Deep Denial* inspire you to take action in the present.

Here are some questions to guide you as you continue your journey:

Social-political questions

- To what extent does “white systemic control” underly all areas of interracial experience in the US?
- How can this country counter the continuing impact of the history of enslavement and oppression on African Americans? How can affirmative action, reparations, or other compensation be implemented?
- Do you think deregulation, privatization, and limiting the power of the federal government increase the likelihood that white supremacy will remain intact? If so, why? If not, why not?
- How do you think the Trump presidency has impacted race relations in American society?

Personal questions/Action steps

- What steps do you take to become more conscious of, and to address, racial “micro-aggressions”? Can you forgive yourself for any you have committed and move on?
- What are specific strategies you now use to challenge racist speech and actions “in the moment”?

Further action steps to think about

- What are ways you can better understand how people in the US have been “colonized” to accept white supremacist ideas?
- How can you encourage people to be less defensive and more open to face up to their prejudices and internalized racial biases?
- How can you help white people recognize when it is necessary to step back and follow the leadership of people of color?
- As you examine organizations made up predominantly of white people, what steps can you take to “decenter” white culture?
- How can practices of partnership and sharing replace patterns of hierarchy found in dominant white cultural institutions?

May you go forward with hope and conviction!

About the Author of the Study Guide

The author of this study guide, Mary Pugh Clark, was a teacher of history and social studies at Montclair High School in NJ for 38 years. She earned an MA at Teachers College, Columbia and a Doctorate in the Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education from Rutgers University. She is a member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quaker) and is an active participant on committees working for racial justice.