

RACE *and* MAN

A COMPILATION

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FOREWORD

It is with belief in the essential and indestructible oneness of the human race, and with confidence that the age of trial and decision through which the world is passing is a prelude to a universal era of brotherhood in all human affairs, that this compilation has been prepared.

In Section I the words of scientists, sociologists and educators have been arranged to present the problem of race relations in this modern world and the solutions as great thinkers envision them. While these do not parallel one another in all instances, they move in the same direction, appearing as bright beams of light reflecting the spiritual impetus of this new Day.

In Section II the Bahá'í teachings are given according to a similar pattern of arrangement in presentation. Here we find the oneness of mankind revealed as the underlying truth of man's relationship with man, and unity in diversity expressed as one great aspect of this truth as it must appear in the new world society to emerge after the present agony. These teachings come from the writings of Bahá'u'lláh, the Founder of the Faith; from the addresses and informal talks of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, His son, Who lectured in America in 1912; and from the more recent words of the first Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith, Shoghi Effendi. In them we find emphasized, not only the urgency of the problem of race prejudice and hatred, but also the necessity of solving it through a spirit of unity and love,—a spirit that must find expression through definite institutions of a social order designed for the good of all mankind.

—The Compilers.

INTRODUCTION

I

'Abdu'l-Bahá stepped out of half a century of Oriental banishment and imprisonment into the North America of 1912 with His vibrant message of the Oneness of the Human Race. The ideal He proclaimed was not new, but it needed a spiritual impetus to make it a convincing reality in the United States. This 'Abdu'l-Bahá furnished. "A few," He said, "unaware of the power latent in human endeavor, consider this matter as highly impracticable, nay even beyond the scope of man's utmost efforts. Such is not the case. . . . Many a cause which past ages have regarded as purely visionary, yet in this day has become most easy and practicable." Then He admonished, "Endeavor, ceaseless endeavor, is required. Nothing short of an indomitable determination can possibly achieve it." Throughout His nine months tour of this country and Canada He made the practice of unprejudiced association both a natural and a joyous experience. He imbued His followers with so deep a realization of this central theme of human development and with so genuine a love for their fellowmen that they arose with unquenchable enthusiasm to bring this mighty work to a brilliant consummation.

The evolution of inter-racial activities throughout the Bahá'í Communities is evidence of the timeliness of the teaching of human oneness. A series of conventions beginning in 1921 under the wise guidance of Mrs. Agnes Parsons called into "active association and spiritual fellowship some of the gentlest and finest spirits found in the realm of humanity." In May of that year the nation's capital witnessed the first convention for amity between white and colored races in America, perhaps in the world. Social leaders acted as patronesses, statesmen, educational leaders, business men, artists and musicians of both races and from the Orient collaborated in three memorable days in the friendly atmosphere of the First Congregational Church.

The program, quoting from the sacred Scriptures of the world, stated its purpose in these words: "Half a century ago in America slavery was abolished. Now there has arisen need for another great effort in order that prejudice may be overcome. Correction

of the present wrong requires no army, for the field of action is the hearts of our citizens. The instrument to be used is kindness, the ammunition, understanding. The actors in this engagement for the right are all the inhabitants of these United States. The great work we have to do and for which this convention is called is the establishment of amity between the white and colored people of our land. When we have put our own house in order, then we may be trusted to carry the message of universal peace to all mankind."

'Abdu'l-Bahá from His home in Haifa, Palestine sent a message to that historic gathering: "Say to this convention that never since the beginning of time has one more important been held. This convention stands for the oneness of humanity. It will become the cause of the removal of hostilities between the races. It will be the cause of the enlightenment of America. It will, if wisely managed and continued, check the deadly struggle between these races which otherwise will inevitably break out."

President Harding, reading the favorable and widespread press comments, is reported to have exclaimed, "Thank God for that convention." And well he might, for shortly before the capital had been the scene of a bloody race riot.

At least three other amity conventions have since been held by the Bahá'ís in Washington, D. C. where Christians, Jews, Bahá'ís and various racial groups have mingled in joyous accord. An interracial discussion group, the natural outcome of these conferences, continued its distinctive service for many years.

The faith and courage of three undaunted individuals brought to Springfield, Mass. a second convention similar to the one held in Washington and in the same year. New York followed with another in 1924. It attracted outstanding scholars and humanitarians with its theme of scientific and spiritual evidence that there is no superior race. The next convention for amity held in Philadelphia was the first to announce itself as wholly under Bahá'í auspices. Since then these conventions have increased in number, scope and influence, including such cities as Dayton, O., Geneva and Rochester, N. Y., Boston, Chicago, Montreal, Detroit, Urbana, Ill., Atlantic City, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Portsmouth, N. H., and Wilmette, Ill.

In 1925 a group of Bahá'ís, securing the cooperation of religious liberals and humanitarians of San Francisco, inaugurated the

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World Unity conferences which widened the horizon of many a city throughout the land.

Bahá'ís throughout the West began also to hold inter-racial dinners with many diverse elements participating. Now this form of fellowship has become general among all kinds of groups interested in bettering race relations.

Green Acre, summer colony of the Bahá'ís in Maine, has been for more than two decades the center of annual conferences for amity, and with an added advantage. The more leisurely atmosphere has afforded opportunity to translate these ideals into vital living along the many avenues of human endeavor, deeds being the irrefutable test both of the value of a theory and of the sincerity of its proponents.

With the experience gained by the passage of time has come a deeper understanding of the implications of the message of Bahá'u'lláh, Revealer of the Bahá'í Faith, and a greater capacity to arise to its opportunities. The day for speaking of "race amity" has merged into the day for proclaiming "race unity." Gestures of tolerance and goodwill which leave their participants free to go back to the old divisive attitudes, institutions and activities, are no longer sufficient to meet the world's pressing needs. They solve no problems. Recognition of the oneness of the human race is the next and inevitable step. It is a new spiritual level which recreates the individual and his whole social fabric. Prejudice is transmuted into appreciation, lines of separation dissolve into avenues of association and cooperation. Acceptance of the mighty truth of "unity in diversity" can, as Shoghi Effendi, Bahá'í Guardian, points out "conflict with no legitimate allegiances, nor can it undermine essential loyalties. . . . The call of Bahá'u'lláh is primarily directed against all forms of provincialism, all insularities and prejudices. If long-cherished ideals and time-honored institutions, if certain social assumptions and religious formulae have ceased to promote the welfare of the generality of mankind, if they no longer minister to the needs of a continually evolving humanity, let them be swept away and relegated to the limbo of obsolescent and forgotten doctrines." Unity involves no loss of distinctive attributes; on the contrary, its life-imparting power invests the individual with widened horizons enriched by the hitherto unsuspected potentialities of all his fellowmen. Uniformity can come only from blind imitation of outmoded standards.

Among the outstanding unity activities initiated in 1931 were a series of inter-racial cooperative trips by white and colored Bahá'ís into the heart of the South. They were inspired by Shoghi Effendi and encouraged by the Southern Inter-racial Commission. Mr. Louis G. Gregory, whose records of amity activities in the Bahá'í year books includes much inspiring material beyond the scope of this introduction, wrote of these teachers, "As they made use of the ordinary method of travel by omnibus and sometimes found it necessary to room together, their work caused a sensation and evoked inquiries wherever they went as to an interest which would make representatives of two races so happily united in service. . . . No friction arose as a result of their travels together, although so much at variance with custom."

More recently, emphasis has been along three lines: inter-racial and international projects by local Bahá'í Communities, educational editorial releases for minority publications, and the college project. Both press and radio, locally and nationally have given generous cooperation. Nearly two hundred schools and colleges, white and colored, Indian and Jewish, have given cordial welcome to the ambassadors of human oneness, opening assembly, sociological, comparative religion, history and other classes, and arranging student and faculty conferences with the speakers.

Clear-eyed American youth is seeing as never before the vital importance of the practical application of race unity teachings, and is ready for the deeper truth that "*deeds that have a truly spiritual basis will transform the world.*" With the understanding of this eternal law of the universe comes the realization that the ideals and accomplishments of the Bahá'í Faith present no isolated modern phenomenon. They are related to and form an integral part of the whole pattern of human culture unfolding throughout the ages. The Bahá'ís form a social group in which the universal attitude and principle of oneness is being unfolded throughout the world.

II

Unity—the unity of men based on a common spiritual enlightenment—has been the keystone of the great civilizations of the world. It is evident first within limited areas gradually widening as barriers of geography and immaturity are surmounted. Apparent exclusiveness, such as Jewish prohibition of marriage with neigh-

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boring tribes, does not belie this statement; it was for the protection of the unity achieved; the preservation of the integrity of the state against the pollution of idolatry. Similarly Muhammad's regulations concerning warfare were to defend the infant God-loving community of Islám from the daily threats of polytheists who employed methods of savagery. Unity of men under God is the secret of ever-advancing civilization.

The remarkable civilization of the Hebrews arose from the acceptance of one God, and remained virile and productive as long as loyalty to divine laws, spiritual and social, maintained the purity of its sublime faith and the unity of its creative drive. It gathered loose tribes into a prosperous city-state under the banner of divine teachings and transformed the bondage and degradation of Egypt into the highest degree of learning, character and renown. If one of the other nations wished to praise anyone, he would compare him to an Israelite, a man without guile. So famed was the wisdom of the Jewish prophets that Socrates and other Greek philosophers acquired much of their knowledge from the sages of Jerusalem.

Buddhist civilization advanced the general welfare, and united India in a noble and peaceful order from China to Afghanistan, a unity never again attained. Gradually the natural passions of man destroyed the "renunciation" and "right thought" and "right conduct" of Gautama Buddha, and the taint of humanistic and idolatrous neighbors gained ascendancy. An honorable empire was tragically corrupted and destroyed by superstition, ascetism and caste.

Cyrus and Darius spread a beneficent and superbly co-ordinated Zoroastrian kingdom from India and China on the East to Ethiopia and Arabia on the West, aspiring, building and uniting in the name of Ahura-Mazda. Persia became, under this civilization, truly the heart of the world. "Her governing wisdom filled the sages with awe, and the rulers of continents fashioned their laws upon her polity." In art and science, in culture and virtue, she was a point of emulation for other peoples, including Greece and Rome. A divine religion was the fountain head of her unified life, the spring of her endeavor, the source of her wisdom and her power.

In time of decay, when a paralysis afflicted the earth, pure spiritual truth came again to man under a new Name. Religion

was revealed in clear and intense focus in Jesus the Christ. To Rome the new Christianity imparted the stalwart virtues of morality and gave peace and order for a number of centuries. Christians were lauded by Galen, the great physician, for a perfection that philosophers envied. Theirs was a Truth that was destined to circle the earth and to lay, in individual morality and discipline, the foundation of a universal civilization to come.

Islámic civilization, a marvel to western historians, lighted in its turn the whole Mediterranean and Middle East with education, art and applied science. It passed this torch to the entire world through the European Renaissance and the new impulse to explore the globe. In the closely-knit pattern of its political and social life it gave birth to the concept and rise of the independent, unified modern nation. Citizenship was a privilege extended without restriction to persons of whatsoever race or religion who would pledge allegiance to the state; legal arrangements provided for the rapid freeing of slaves and the inclusion of this class as members of the state. Patriotism became an integrating and dynamic factor in modern progress because in Islám "it was an element in the Faith of God." Nationhood, thus conceived, was a vital step toward the organization of world society. The pristine culture of Islám with its thirst for knowledge, its respect for all men, its individual discipline, its bursting energy and cohesive strength—all came with the life-blood that flowed from worship of One God.

The unifying of peoples and nations in this later day is inevitable. It is as simple in solution as the integrating of tribes, city-states and nations in the past. It is as difficult, on the other hand, as lifting the human soul from its selfish animal motivation into spiritual consciousness and a new morality. For the problem of unity, whether of family or state, is always a moral and spiritual one. Man's extraordinary intellectual development has bestowed in this age the benefits of scientific achievement, but, unfortified by spiritual aim and knowledge, it is powerless to complete unity within nations or to integrate all humanity. Too long man denies the full light of the spirit that could unite people and make all things new. Too long he rejects justice and honor, courtesy, fidelity, good-will and co-operation between races, classes and nations in their hour of crisis. Too long have love and mercy, chastity and generosity, sacrifice, self-discipline and divine guid-

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ance been strangers to the heart of the world. These are essentials of the law of oneness. Has not man distorted this truth to suit his own fancy and desire, setting up false gods who can offer but a false salvation? His likeness is the likeness of "those who take to themselves patrons instead of God . . . the likeness of the spider who buildeth her a house, but verily, frailest of all houses is the house of the spider."

The problem of unity has never been solved in tribe or nation save by man's obedience to the requirements of unity within the given area of human relationships. Cycle after cycle of progress has altered the size and special character of social units, until now modern material and intellectual development has opened an era of world-wide intercourse and interdependence. But the spiritual virtues required are still the same. In this day they must be lived on a larger scale. Individual morality and national integrity are not enough; ideals of brotherhood without means of putting world-wide brotherhood into practice are not the way of solution. The world has become the area of mutual living. It is a single organism. It has "contracted into a neighborhood." This means that human oneness, which men first learned to apply to small groups, begins to operate as the universal law it actually is, to include all mankind—all nations and peoples—within the sphere of its reward and retribution.

The transgression of humanity is two-fold: first, the refusal of peoples and governments to fulfill the centuries-old demands of unity within national boundaries; and second, their failure to acknowledge the law of unity, attain its required virtues and establish its necessary institutions on a world basis. The greatest American republic has, itself, fallen so far short of its ideals of liberty, justice and equality of opportunity for all races as to allow this defect to become a vulnerable point in its own solidarity, while other nations there are who have completely subverted these ideals by race persecution, economic strife or class tyranny. Even have some found themselves in the position of the lonely eagle that fell wounded upon the plains: in its dying hour its agony was increased by the knowledge that the arrow in its side had been carried by a feather from its own wing. Shall the world not take a lesson from the history of nations and build its structure of unity before it is too late? Thus would it fulfill its own capacity for progress and revivify the nations within

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its whole. "The world is but one country and mankind its citizens."

"The body of the human world is sick," said 'Abdu'l-Bahá in America in 1912. "Its remedy and healing will be the oneness of the kingdom of humanity. Its life is the Most Great Peace. Its illumination and quickening is love. Its happiness the attainment of spiritual perfections. It is my wish and hope that in the bounties and favors of the Blessed Perfection we may find a new life, acquire a new power and attain to a wonderful and supreme source of energy so that the Most Great Peace of divine intention shall be established upon the foundations of the world of man with God."—Alice Simmons Cox, Maye Harvey Gift.

ONENESS OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Scientific knowledge is the highest attainment upon the human plane; for science is the discoverer of realities. It is of two kinds, material and spiritual. Material science is the investigation of natural phenomena; divine science is the discovery and realization of spiritual verities. The world of humanity must acquire both. A bird has two wings; it cannot fly with one. Material and spiritual science are the two wings of human uplift and attainment. . . . By the divine we mean the discovery of the mysteries of God, the comprehension of spiritual realities, the wisdom of God, inner significances of the heavenly religions and foundation of the law.—'Abdu'l-Bahá, *The Promulgation of Universal Peace*, p. 133.

When religion . . . shows its conformity with science, then will there be a great unifying, cleansing force in the world, which will sweep before it all wars, disagreements, discords and struggles—and then will mankind be united in the Power of the Love of God.—'Abdu'l-Bahá, *The Wisdom of 'Abdu'l-Bahá*, p. 135.

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SECTION I

SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

I. Basic Racial Differences an Illusion.

A. Antipathy is due to unscientific, emotional thinking.

1. Ignorance.

Nothing betrays the darkness of ignorance more than the arrogant assumption that pigmentation of skin brands its owner with obscurity of moral perception or darkened intellect, or in any way implies the co-existence of inferior physical traits. . . . Like all exhibitions of prejudice, that of classification by skin color is illogical and inconsistent.

It is sounding a discrepant note against the harmony of the spheres to call human color inferior or unclean. Not by darkness of skin but by darkness of soul shall humanity be judged in future ages.¹—Munroe.

What is it all about, then? [physical differences of color, hair, nose, etc.] Much of it, convictions; habits of mind; prejudices, emotionally reinforced. There are dozens, perhaps hundreds, of physical types. Some have peculiarly or excessively marked features in one direction, some in another. . . . We read significance into color of skin and other physical traits without knowing the facts behind these traits or the causes of change. There is no known fact of human anatomy or physiology which implies that capacity for culture or civilization or intelligence inheres in this race or that type.²—Dorsey.

Probably least well-founded in fact has been the belief that immigration has tended to lower the biological level of the population. Emphasis on this supposed evil has been due not to scientific demonstration of such effects—which facts do not permit—but to the too-ready acceptance of the Nordic Myth and other pseudo-scientific arguments arising from the post-war anti-alien complex, the tremendous growth of nationalism, and the more recent fear of aliens generated by the business depression.³—Taft.

2. Prejudice.

Our color prejudice has not a shadow of physiological justification but is an instance of an irrational aversion from whatever is different.⁴—Toynbee.

... race prejudice is a convenient device for the exploitation of one group by another...⁵—Gallagher.

The most dangerous human stupidity has been that of the white race in the baseless prejudice through which even the meanest of white creatures has felt he could despise a king if his skin were dark.⁶—Buck.

When prejudice comes in the door, justice, amity, understanding, and co-operation are apt to fly out the window... The truth is that there are no individuals, however "sophisticated," however "scientific," who are completely emancipated from social prejudices. In the World War, college presidents, scientists in laboratories, millionaire corporation directors, and clergymen joined uncritically in calling all Germans "Beasts," "Huns." To a less degree but with equal finality these same individuals and all of us ascribe uncomplimentary encomiums to those who differ from ourselves in color, race or culture.⁷—Clinchy.

The element of race or cultural conflict is, or has been, present in the status of several other American minority groups, but in none has it been so virulent or so persistent as in that of the Negro. With the other groups this element has been either rapidly or gradually eliminated or, at least, has reached a stage in which it does not affect group or individual participation in the common rights and guarantees of American citizenship... it remains a fact that the element of race conflict runs through all the fundamental relationships of Negro Americans with the main body and still outweighs any considerations of group or individual qualities or qualifications.⁸—James Weldon Johnson.

Despite the legend of the Civil War, he (white man) has allowed himself to be sold by his desire for dominance into a spiritual slavery... It is because thus far we whites have not had *our*

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spiritual renaissance that we pay any heed to oracles who but bolster up our prejudices.⁹—Allen.

It must be admitted that colored people themselves are not always devoid of prejudice and class divisions. . . . even color lines have been drawn at times between those of lighter and darker pigmentation.¹⁰—Allen.

. . . during all the time that we have been trying to force the Indian to abandon his ways, we have been equally stern in refusing to accept him into our society. The white man has a prejudice against other cultures and an even stronger prejudice against other races, especially those that have colored skins. While sentimental regard for the Indian is now the fashion in America, we do not think of admitting him as an equal. The great American middle classes are so full of color prejudice that Indians, no matter how fully they may adopt white ways, will not for many years be accepted into the white world. So with one hand we try to tear the Indian from his own society and with the other we slap him back if he presumes to enter ours.¹¹—Embree.

3. Rationalization.

The idea of the great blond Aryan, the leader of mankind, is the result of self-admiration that emotional thinkers have tried to sustain by imaginative reasoning. It has no foundation in observed fact.¹²—Boas.

The science of inequality is emphatically a science of White people. It is they who have invented it and set it going, who have maintained, cherished, and propagated it, thanks to *their* observations and *their* deductions. Deeming themselves greater than men of other colours, they have elevated into superior qualities all the traits which are peculiar to themselves, commencing with the whiteness of the skin and the pliancy of the hair. But nothing proves that these vaunted traits are traits of real superiority.¹³—Finot.

More striking still has been the attitude of the white race in the United States toward the negro race. Here, in a country

founded on the conception of freedom and equal opportunity, it has been possible to hold vast numbers of another race in slavery while at the same time defending this action by pious explanations regarding the relative destinies of the white and colored races. The basis and motivation of slavery was economic. But by a naive form of rationalism virtuous pretexts for slaveholding were established and the psychology of the slaveholders was crystalized to a point beyond possibility of argument or voluntary change.

Race prejudices due to such political or economic factors are very difficult to eliminate because they are founded upon man's most basic emotions of egoism and greed. The human mind is so formed as to avoid voluntarily facing a consciousness of guilt or wrongdoing.¹⁴—Cobb.

It was almost natural for those who were insecure to wish to cut down the competitive field, to reach out for the new opportunities which were still retained by minorities, who now suddenly became "interlopers," "intruders." . . . Hence the most ingenious excuses were invented or were resurrected. . . . But the desire to dispossess came first, and then the arguments were created to satisfy the uneasy conscience. This was why the justifications were so often contradictory: Jews were a menace to Christian institutions because they were Bolsheviks . . . the Jewish capitalists aimed to control all finance and industry . . . Jews were parasites . . . Jews were dangerously creative and polluted a pure culture. . . .¹⁵—Sachar.

. . . in times of economic stress there is a definite tendency to accumulate differences between groups and resentment against certain minorities. Frequently such economic competition, as well as other factors, is transplanted into other more virtuous arguments against the resented minority. How complicated the whole problem is can be demonstrated by the fact that not all members of the group consciously or definitely promote such attitudes purely out of self interest. They are often duped with such slogans as, "America for Americans" and "Nordic Superiority", which they accept as the explanation of social problems or social goals. The attitudes arising from such slogans are then transferred to the minority group.¹⁶—Brown.

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B. Thinkers are realizing the fundamental unity of all races.
as shown in

1. Scientific attitude on questions of inferiority.

The doctrine of racial inequality is pretty well discredited in the world of scholarship, but in the popular thought of America it is firmly fixed.¹⁷—Reuter.

Undoubtedly color prejudice in the modern world is the child of the American slave trade and the Cotton Kingdom. Before American slavery became the foundation of a new and world-wide economic development, the trend of human thought was toward recognizing the essential equality of all men, despite obvious differences. Beginning, however, with the second quarter of the nineteenth century and with the recognition of the value of black slave labor, came a determined, even though partially unconscious effort to prove scientifically the essential inferiority of Africans.¹⁸—Du Bois.

Backward does not necessarily mean inferior.¹⁹—Ratzel.

Recent trends of investigation have emphasized the study of primitive culture and have led to a wide realization of the essential likenesses in the development of early human culture and emphasis on the fact that difference, in time or method, is no proof of race inferiority or cultural limitations.²⁰—Du Bois.

We have every reason to suppose that all races are capable, under proper guidance, of being fitted into the complex scheme of our modern civilization, and the policy of artificially excluding them from its benefits is as unjustifiable scientifically as it is ethically abhorrent.²¹—Boas.

Again and again we have seen the case of a race or nation being despised, outcast, or barbarian in one generation and demonstrating that it is capable of high culture the next.²²—Esterbrook.

My education work with pupils... at Robert College, Con-

stantinople, left me with the conviction that intelligence is a matter of individual, not racial difference. In one class a Greek might lead in scholarship, in another an Armenian, a Bulgarian or a Turk.²³—Cobb.

Neither in respect alone of colour, nor of descent, nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another. The evolution which man is undergoing is over and above everything else, a social evolution. There is, therefore, but one absolute test of superiority. It is only the race possessing in the highest degree the qualities contributing to social efficiency that can be recognized as having any claim to superiority.²⁴—Kidd.

... there is no color line in genius; exceptional ability has occurred repeatedly among the darkest of mankind; and we are justified in asserting that if the world of men be divided into three great types by measurable physical and cultural differences, the darkest section has repeatedly given birth to exceptional men in art, religion and government. This we can assert, despite the fact that with the modern emphasis put upon the accomplishment of white folk, much that black folk have done has been forgotten or ignored.²⁵—Du Bois.

Today there are an increasing number of Negroes contributing in the fields of education, art, literature and religion. The record these people have made in our country is one of the most remarkable in the history of any race. I have often said that they have accomplished more in a shorter period of time against greater obstacles than has any other people ever.²⁶—Howe.

The African is quite capable of standing on his own feet. The steamers and trains are manned by natives who have been trained with remarkable rapidity. All our telephone stations are in the hands of natives. The Negro is probably as competent as the white man to handle the scientific instruments of civilization. . . . I do not deny that he still has to be educated. What I do maintain is that he has qualities of head and heart which ought not to be treated as negligible. He is by nature good and faithful and

endowed with a sense of honor, and if he is really given the chance, he will reach a high level. There is an *élite* in the black world capable of excelling in all regions of human intelligence. On the other hand, I do not in the least believe that if the black race is raised above its present position, there is any chance of its entering into conflict with the white race. It will take its place in the human family and will develop side by side simultaneously with us.²⁷—Mangin.

... it is my opinion and that of every man who has accompanied me on my various trips that these so-called savages [Eskimos] are every bit as *intelligent* as the most highly civilized. We often confuse intelligence with knowledge. These natives are really intelligent. They merely lack the essentials for progress—material with which to work.²⁸—MacMillan.

2. Explanation of different skin pigmentation, etc.

We now know that color of skin and hair is only the effect of environment, and that we are fair only because our ancestors lived for thousands, or probably tens of thousands, of years in sunless and foggy countries. Fairness is nothing else than lack of pigment, and our ancestors lost part of theirs because they did not need it...²⁹—Von Luschan.

Color probably has no biologic significance; it may have physiologic value. Nowhere in the plant or animal world is it a mark of high or low, or of progressive or backward. Man's skin color is partly determined by exposure, mostly by an inherited mechanism which regulates pigment. How or why this mechanism works, how it arose and why it varies as it does in man, we do not know....

Our ancestral skin was probably dark. The amount of pigment increased in the Negroid type, decreased in the Mongoloid. They represent the two extremes.³⁰—Dorsey.

In the tropical sections, the Indians are usually dark skinned, averaging a clear ocher or orange-brown.... The mountain tribes and those of the south temperate zone are larger, lighter, and better proportioned; while in the extreme south of South

America we find tribes strikingly like our plains Indians. All this goes far to prove that environment has a marvelous effect on the physical characteristics of a race.³¹—Verrill.

We are justified [Sir Arthur Keith says] in regarding the pituitary gland as one of the principal pinions in the machinery which regulates the growth of the human body and is directly concerned in determining stature, cast of features, texture of skin, and character of hair—all of them marks of race. When we compare the chief racial types of humanity—Negro, the Mongol, and the Caucasian or European—we can recognize in the last-named a greater predominance of the pituitary than in the other two. . . . [European traits] are best explained, so far as the present state of knowledge goes, in terms of pituitary function.³²—Thomson.

3. Understanding of legitimate racial comparisons.

a. Men appear to be of one species—human.

. . . systematists generally agree that there is at present but one species of man, namely, *Homo sapiens*, and that all races and varieties have arisen in the first instance from a common human stock.³³—Conklin.

In the present state of science it has become impossible for us to distinguish the ethnical origins of peoples. The constituent elements are so much intermingled that the most ardent partisans of inequality must admit the relationship of all the races. The "purity of blood" which we create at will, and which we find in the animal world, becomes impossible in the human *milieu*. The Negroes are related to the Whites, who are linked to the Yellows, as these last have common links both with Negroes and Whites. On the road which separates them we only meet with links which unite them. . . .

As it is impossible to shut up human souls in dogmatic and eternal formulas, it is equally impossible to enclose human beings in immutable racial moulds. But more. As we have had the opportunity of proving, the word race cannot be used to determine the specific character of the floating distinctions between members of the human unity.

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In one word, the term race is only a product of our mental activities, the work of our intellect, and outside all reality. Science has need of races as hypothetical limits, and these "products of art," to use Lamarck's expression, have become concrete realities for the vulgar. Races as irreducible categories only exist as fictions in our brains.³⁴—Finot.

The Negro is a human being, and modern anthropology has shown that the differences among human beings—*anatomical, physiological, and mental*—are insignificant as compared with their fundamental resemblances and identities. We shall certainly not need a Negro science of medicine. The things that breed disease among the whites . . . will breed disease with equal facility among the Negroes. And we may rest assured that the measures and remedies that prevent and cure diseases among the whites will do the same for the blacks.

And what is true of the body in this respect is also true of the mind. The conditions that make for morality or immorality, for happiness or unhappiness, for love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, kindness and cruelty, among the whites accomplish the same results for the blacks. We shall not need a separate psychology for the Negroes, nor a separate logic, ethics, sociology, economics; not even a separate religion or art. The laws and facts of human nature discovered by these various sciences are equally true of the colored races of man as of the white. Science knows no essential distinctions, because nature knows none.³⁵—Morse.

If racial antipathy were based on innate human traits this would be expressed in interracial sexual aversion. The free intermingling of slave owners with their female slaves and the resulting striking decrease in the number of full-blood Negroes, the progressive development of a half-blood Indian population and the readiness of intermarriage with Indians when economic advantages may be gained by such means, show clearly that there is no biological foundation for race feeling.³⁶—Boas.

There was neither racial nor social incompatibility between Indian and white. On the frontier white men married Indian

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women, and we have seen that white captives married to Indian men were reluctant to leave them. In Europe the early tendency of scholars was to consider the Indians as belonging to the white race.³⁷—Wissler.

...mankind constitutes a real unity... there is an identity of nature running through and present in all mankind. This is not, or not merely, a natural unity. It does not lie in, or arise from, singleness of ancestry or kinship of blood; it is not merely the result of historic accident or physical causes. I cannot think of it as less than a spiritual unity which can neither be produced nor destroyed from without. All men can say "We" with a truth and significance incommunicable to any other beings than men; they share in a complex but single type of experience. And with this goes a mutual or reciprocal communion in which no other beings participate; they are all literally one with one another.³⁸—Smith.

Man stands at the apex of creation, which exists for him and was undertaken that he might be brought into being. Bahá'u'lláh endorses the ancient quotation from God, "But for thee I would not have created the spheres." All men, to whatever race or nation they belong, represent the highest work of the Creator. Each of them, be he white or black, is endowed with all the faculties, and is "the dawning place of righteousness."³⁹—Christophil.

b. Diversities are produced through environment and evolution.

The causes of the existing vast diversity in races are differences in natural and human environment, in training, in racial ideology, in nationalistic aspirations and ideals.⁴⁰—Cobb.

The physical differences of races are more or less obvious and may be explained by the long period of time since the original human stem began to differentiate, bringing it about that different human types have lived for many thousands of years

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under different climatic and other selective conditions. . . . On *a priori* grounds there is every reason for supposing that mental powers and character traits have undergone a differentiation comparable to that of the physical traits.⁴¹—Hankins.

If there is a real difference determined by race, we should find the same kind of difference between these racial types wherever they live. Professor Garth has recently collected the available evidence and reaches the conclusion that it is not possible to prove a difference due to genetic factors, that rather all the available observations may be easily explained as due to differences in social environment. . . .

. . . cultural environment is a most important factor in determining the results of the so-called intelligence tests. In fact, a careful examination of the tests shows clearly that in none of them has our cultural experience been eliminated. City life and country life, the South and the North present different types of cultural background to which we learn to adapt ourselves, and our reactions are determined by these adaptations, which are often so obscure that they can be detected only by a most intimate knowledge of the conditions of life. We have indications of such adaptations. . . . It would seem that among the Plains Indians the experience of girls with bead work gives to them a superiority in handling tests based on form. . . . The variety of [emotional] response of groups of the same race but culturally different is so great that it seems likely that any existing biological differences are of minor importance. . . . From Waitz on, through Spencer, Tylor, Bastian, to our times, ethnologists have not given serious attention to race, because they find cultural forms distributed regardless of race.

I believe the present state of our knowledge justifies us in saying that, while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with great will power, or emotionally more stable than another, that the difference would materially influence its culture.⁴²—Boas.

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ESKIMO

Commonly "primitive" people are supposed to have certain mental qualities, designated as "instinctive," through which they vastly excel us along certain lines; and to make up for this excellence they are supposed to be far our inferiors in certain other mental characteristics. My own observations incline me to believe that there are no points in which they, as a race, are any more inferior to us than might be expected from the environment under which they have grown up from childhood; and neither have they any points of superiority over the white man, except those which are developed directly by the environment.⁴³—Stefansson.

NEGRO

We have made no effort to assay the emotional and temperamental differences of white and negro on which many writers lay stress. One can see no reason to doubt that such differences exist and that they play a rôle in the social status and cultural adjustments and contributions of the negro. It is not improbable, indeed, that in some respects here, as in physical traits, the negro excels the white. Our purpose has been . . . to give an illustration of the general principles discussed in earlier pages, namely, that racial differences are those of degree and not of kind.⁴⁴—Hankins.

The African Negroes are uncommonly gifted in music—probably, on the average, more so, than the white race. This is clear not only from the high development of African music, especially as regards polyphony and rhythm, but a very curious fact, unparalleled, perhaps, in history, makes it even more evident; namely, the fact that Negro slaves in America and their descendants, abandoning their original musical style, have adapted themselves to that of their white masters and produced a new kind of folk-music in that style. Presumably no other people would have accomplished this.⁴⁵—Von Hornbostel.

The belief current in some circles that a long period of time, perhaps a thousand years, must elapse before people deprived of civilization can truly respond to its urge is unfounded in fact. Orientals whose background is different in numberless ways from that of the West appear in numbers at any of our great universi-

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ties and with equal readiness with American youth acquire the arts and sciences. Youth taken from the African jungles with an age-long heritage of slavery have not only held their own in schools with students of light hue, but have oftentimes won high honors.⁴⁶—Gregory.

JEW

The Jews have, indeed, many common traits, social, religious, and national. These traits are the result of social heredity, which we ordinarily call tradition. They are the result of many factors, based on pressure without and training within. They consist of definite institutions, like those of any other people: the Hebrew language, the Jewish faith, Jewish customs, Jewish literature, Jewish law; above all, the historic memory and tradition of the Jewish folk.⁴⁷—Levinger.

II. Importance of Modern Race Problem.

A. Leaders recognize existence of race problems.

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.⁴⁸—Du Bois.

The problem of minorities is not new nor is it peculiarly American. . . . It exists within every group to the extent that individuals sense a feeling of difference between themselves and the majority or dominant element of the group. . . .

Each group tends to develop a definite attitude of superiority as to its own cultural pattern and a corresponding feeling of antagonism toward that of others. It harbors its own folkways, exalts its own culture, fosters its own self-glorification, and seeks to transmit this same attitude, undiminished and even enhanced, to its children. Likewise each group disparages the accomplishments of those of the out-group, ridicules its culture, and often, as in modern Germany today, seeks to exterminate it by strict censorship and even by persecution.⁴⁹—Brown.

The new Negro, the new Chinese, the new oppressed and submerged colored peoples everywhere, are reaching out for higher and higher achievements and more abundant opportunities for

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self-realization. The world around, almost, "new" is the one word which describes the stirring of thought among those sections of mankind which have hitherto been looked down on by the believers in Anglo-Saxon superiority.⁵⁰—Allen.

The formation of the Latin American was conceived . . . as a most comprehensive process integrating the heterogeneous elements of the Caucasian, the Indian, and the Negro, a deep-rooted movement reaching back to the first beginnings of man in America and counting with centuries as the units of time. In sharp contrast . . . the Anglo-Saxon mind conceived the new North American on a much simpler and more practical basis. Including only white elements in the new human blend . . . a relatively unified human type emerged in an astonishingly short time. However, the Indians, the original owners of this hemisphere, and the Negroes, transplanted to America against their own will, had no part whatsoever in the blending process; isolated, they were left to their own devices and constitute a body of foreign matter within the nation at large, to this very day.

* * *

If today the history of Latin America appears turbulent and chaotic, the reason lies in the sudden clash of two blood strains, a shock which caused a racial and cultural short circuit. We must never forget, however, that we know only the very beginning of the process. The blending, fermenting and purifying goes on, generation after generation, and some day the mestizo will have conquered himself and his world. He then will perish in blood, in character, and even in name: the new American will have arisen.⁵¹—Jordan.

In recent years, too, there has been a powerful backwash of group feelings or national emotions from the drastic events in Europe; some of it natural and inevitable, and some of it purposefully stimulated by agents of Old World governments. . . .

At the risk of oversimplification, this backwash and the Depression have been effective in increasing prejudice and intolerance, and in driving—more or less—the various elements back upon their own resources as groups.

Anti-Semitism has increased; we all know that—with the result

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that the tendency among the Jews in many parts of the country is to suppress their talents and ambitions, and to draw apart from the main streams of American life. . . . To a lesser extent, in milder forms, the same is true of many other new groups. . . .

This thing is spreading. . . . It creeps into the speeches of professional patriots. It is being organized: we are said to have about eight hundred societies and movements whose purpose is to spread prejudice. It is being taken up by Americans who are not of old-stock but of the more favored, earlier new-immigrant groups. . . .⁵²—Adamic.

I. White-Negro problem.

The fourth act of pioneering is still remembered as one of the bitterest periods in our national history. We emancipated the slave ****

We no sooner freed the slave than we reenslaved him. No doubt we were not altogether to blame for this. The act of liberating was consummated with too unthinking a swiftness and with altogether too scant a realization of what was needed if bound men were to be made truly free. In any event, the emancipation was one chiefly in name, and we face among us today a caste system that is an ironical commentary upon our constitutional theory of being a free and democratic people.⁵³—Overstreet.

To realize the situation in the United States, continued Prof. Charles Johnson, "one need only study the practises of New York and Chicago with reference to private rights of certain citizen-minorities. The American Negro minority must petition, not only for the right to engage in ordinary work, and in defense work, but for the right, in this democratic crisis, to fight for the preservation of the principles of democracy. The limited measure of success in this sphere is a measure of the present limitation of our democracy."⁵⁴—Charles S. Johnson.

But even if Americans realize our danger, our responsibility, our peculiar position, can we produce the necessary leadership

for democracy? What is this division between our belief in democracy for all and our practice of democracy only for some? It is not hypocrisy. We Americans are not hypocritical except in small amusing ways. Talk to any dirt American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody the rights of freedom. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. This cannot be the same man talking, you will say. No, the colored man cannot have the same treatment as the white man, it seems. "Why?" you inquire. The white American scratches his head. "Well, it just don't work that way," he says. . . .

What is the matter with this American? It is clear enough. He suffers from what is called in psychology a split personality. He is two distinct Americans. One of him is a benevolent, liberty-loving, just man. The other one of him is a creature who may or may not be benevolent, but who is certainly undemocratic in his race attitudes.

This division in personality is desperately serious at this moment when millions of people in the world are looking for leadership in a democracy from us. If we cannot assemble ourselves and provide it, leadership will be found elsewhere. . . .

How can we integrate ourselves for democracy? The first step toward unifying a split personality is to realize that there is the split. The next step is to reject the undesired self.⁵⁵—Buck.

The color line has only just *begun* to crumble in the South and meanwhile it is tightening in the North. . . . Everywhere race prejudice, consciously or unconsciously, is the servant of economic serfdom—share-cropping, exclusion from labor unions, peonage, wage exploitation, political chicanery, and the denial of decent housing, decent living, and decent education. It is a far-flung battle-line. . . .⁵⁶—Villard.

Our social system does not give Negroes the status of a minority group as the term is usually understood in this country, because the members of white minorities may change their culturally inherited attributes for new, typically American ones and live, if they care to, in the larger community according to the general standards they find there. Furthermore, such groups are never

subordinated in all their activities to the extent that Negroes are. . . .

The symbols of the Negro's social subordination are his color, his frizzy hair, his everted lips, and the general Negroid conformation of his physical appearance. Such traits are signs or badges of low status that all have been trained to recognize. . . . A colored person is recognized by one of his kind as a fellow victim of the social situation and as a comrade in the general fight for the "advancement of the race." On the other hand, he may also be seen as a dangerous competitor for the few prizes available to negroes. But, however that may be. . . Negroes always recognize among themselves that they are of one kind and in one group.⁵⁷—Warner, Junker, and Adams.

2. Jewish problem.

Of all oppressed minorities, the Jew is the most ubiquitous and consequently the most oppressed. But because of his very scattering, the Jew also lives in lands of less misery, of more enlightenment, and of less oppression. The danger is everywhere, but the reality of oppression is limited to a certain environment. As we glance about the world, we can see a sliding scale: complete equality, tolerance, discrimination, oppression, complete proscription. With the growth of the factors that make for misery, for unrest, for hatred in the world outside, the Jew suffers always as the eternal minority among the nations.⁵⁸—Levinger.

Discrimination in employment and in professional lines is the outstanding evidence of anti-Jewish prejudice in America today, more serious than religious or social prejudice. . . . The various aspects, added together, indicate that the second anti-Semitic movement is now in process in the United States, and that it promises to remain a part of American life as a whole. . . . But we must bear in mind that the picture, while deeply shaded, is not one-sided, that the United States is by organization and tradition the last country to give rise to anti-Semitism, and should be the first to see it die down, if not quite disappear.

Probably no one group out of the many of which America is composed will ever be the butt for the attacks of all the others. If any such exists, it is more likely to be the Negro than the

Jew. . . . If liberalism ever advances in America to the point of solving the essential problems of the land, the race problem it will first encounter is that of black and white, not the comparatively minor one of the gentile and Jew.⁵⁹—Levinger.

At different times and in different classes of society one or another of the causes of Antisemitism has dominated the discussion. The motives alleged for it vary. Now the Jew is attacked as a dissenter, now as a business rival, now as an alien. Antisemitism clearly follows the same laws as hatred directed against other minorities. When the minority is relatively small, and attracts little attention, Antisemitism is feeble. When the primitive passions are quelled by humanity, reason, religion, philanthropy, they are kept under, but at great crises they burst into flame. The Jews' quality of a permanent minority renders Antisemitism permanent. In reality Antisemitism is merely a special case of the hatred of foreigners.⁶⁰—Valentin.

3. Indian Problem.

. . . these Indians are not identical in culture with their white neighbors of Old American stock. Their traditions are different. Secretly, maybe, but surely, they consider themselves intrinsically better than their white neighbors, or at least that the culture of their ancestors was a far better one than that of the white man. At the same time many of them are doing their best to acquire the economic techniques of their white neighbors and to profit thereby. They desire all the conveniences of contemporary life though they are not in sympathy with it.

Today the touring white public looks upon the Indian as a diversion, encouraging him to exploit his past for profit. . . . The white tourist attitude encourages the Indian to take a place in our midst which is somewhat like that of the gypsy in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is not a desirable solution to the Indian problem. How to change this attitude on the part of the interested public and still maintain a market for Indian crafts, the interest in which is certain to be erratic and subject to violent style fluctuations, is puzzling.

Perhaps the outstanding problem in the present system of reservation management is to keep the Indian from becoming

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more and more dependent. If he should be turned loose in the world, his lack of experience would quickly send him to the bread line. . . . Just how to avoid the violent final wrench in turning the Indian loose is not clear. No one has yet proposed a procedure which promises gradually to induct the Indian from economic dependence to independence. So he is in a kind of vicious circle, completely conditioned to a dependent existence and at the same time taught to desire all the benefits accruing to a successful independent citizen.⁶¹—Wissler.

Despite the way in which they have been treated, although they might, with every reason, hate and detest the whites, yet when the time came and the United States was drawn into the great European war, the Indians responded nobly to the call to arms. No fighters in all the armies of the world showed greater courage, greater endurance, or greater patriotism. At the close of the conflict, they returned, wounded, maimed, perhaps bearing medals and orders won by heroic deeds on the battlefields of France, to again become reservation Indians, to be forgotten by the government they had served, to be fleeced, coerced, and at the whim or covetousness of the whites, to be driven from pillar to post as before.⁶²—Verrill.

A summary of Indian policy was recently submitted by John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as an official document to the United States Congress. Commenting on past and present policies, this document says:

The Indian in his own land has been virtually a man without a country. He has witnessed the forced disintegration of his tribal and social structure, has been in a large measure debarred from any participation in the civic life of white communities, and has been paternally governed by an absolutist bureaucratic administration. The community life of an intensely social people was further broken up by the allotment system, which tended to scatter Indian families on isolated homesteads.

The rooting out process penetrated likewise into the deeper spiritual strata of Indian culture. The Indian languages were systematically suppressed in the Indian schools; the religious ceremonies, the poetry, music, and traditions were discouraged

or suppressed; the precious and beautiful ancient arts and crafts were allowed to decline and in many cases to completely disappear. . . . In violation of the Constitutional guarantee of freedom of religious conscience. . . .the Indian schools were illegally used for the practically forced proselytism of Indian children, regardless of the consent of their parents. . . .

On the purely cultural side, only sheer fanaticism would decide the further destruction of Indian languages, crafts, poetry, music, ritual, philosophy, and religion. These possessions have a significance and a beauty which grew patiently through endless generations of a people immersed in the life of nature, filled with imaginative and ethical insight into the core of being. To destroy them would be comparable to destroying the rich cultural heritage of the Aryan race—its music and poetry, its religion and philosophy, its temples and monuments. Yet through generations the Government did deliberately seek to destroy the Indian cultural heritage; and only because the roots of it lay so deep in the Indian soil, and only because age-old instinctive modes of thought and expression are so much less destructible than individual life itself, has the Indian culture stubbornly persisted.⁶³
—Embree.

4. World problem.

. . . I believe that we are coming to understand democracy today as never before. It has taken the knowledge of what tyranny is to make us see what democracy *must* be. Democracy is political freedom combined with human equality. Unless the democratic nations practise both political freedom and human equality, democracy will fail. Thus India, when she is politically free, must solve the great human inequalities among her people.

We Americans have the same task. Our people have political freedom, but not human equality. Our civil war rid us of the slave system, but did not give the freed human equality.

The people of China have human equality, but not political equality.

We are all partial democracies—but what a great struggle it is—the most ennobling that the human mind has ever conceived—that people must be free, that there must be human equality in the world.⁶⁴—Buck.

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One phase of the world revolt from which we could not escape concerns something which people do not like to talk about very much—namely, our attitude toward other races of the world. Perhaps one of the things we cannot have any longer is what Kipling called "The White Man's Burden." The other races of the world may be becoming conscious of the fact that they wish to carry their own burdens. The job which the white race may have had to carry alone in the past, may become a co-operative job.

One of the major results of this revolution may be a general acceptance of the fact that all people, regardless of race, creed, or color, rate as individual human beings. They have a right to develop, to carry the burdens which they are capable of carrying, and to enjoy such economic, spiritual and mental growth as they can achieve. . . .

The Negroes have been loyal Americans ever since they were brought here as slaves. They have worked here and they have fought for our country, and our country fought a bloody war to make them citizens and to insist that we remain a united nation.

They have really had equality only in name, however. Therefore, they are fertile ground for the seeds of dissension. They want a better life, an equality of opportunity, a chance to be treated like the rest of us before the law. They want a chance to hold jobs according to their ability, and not to be paid less because their skins are black. They want an equal break with the men and women whose skins happen to be white.

They must have a sense of economic equality, because without it their children cannot profit by equal education. Moreover, how can they have equal education if they haven't enough to eat, or if their home surroundings are such that they automatically sink to the level of the beasts? They must have, too, a sense that living in a Democracy, they have the same opportunity to express themselves through their government and the same opportunity as other citizens for representation. They aspire to the same things as the yellow and brown races of the world. They want recognition of themselves as human beings, equal to the other human beings of the world.

Of course, they are a part of this revolution—a very active part because they have so much to gain and so little to lose. Their aspirations, like those of other races seeking recognition and rights as human beings, are among the things we are fighting for.

This revolution will, I think, establish that the human beings of the world, regardless of race or creed or color, are to be looked upon with respect and treated as equals. We may prefer our white brothers, but we will not look down on yellow, black, or brown people.⁶⁵—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Crucial in today's situation is the basic readjustment of the status and relationships of the white and non-white peoples, both as peoples of the East and the West and as dominant and subject or colonial peoples. For as Pearl Buck has so aptly put it: "The main barrier between the East and the West today is that the white man is not yet willing to give up his superiority and the colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority." No retreat to the status quo in terms of the pre-war relationship of races and cultures will ever resolve the issue. . . .

The present war happily is not, as many racialists think and plan, a color war. In fact, its alignments of friend and foe cut diametrically across race lines. In Europe, they divide as enemies branches of the so-called "white" race. In Asia, they divide branches of the so-called "colored peoples." Nonetheless, color and ethnic differentials correspond very largely to those invidious distinctions between imperial and colonial, dominant and subject status out of which has arisen the double standard of national morality. The crux of this inner conflict is whether our vision of world democracy can clear-sightedly cross the color line, whether we can break through the barriers of cultural racialism to reach the Four Freedoms in their universal goals. Certainly here, both nationally and internationally, color becomes the acid test of our fundamental honesty in putting into practice the democracy we preach. There is essential truth, then, in saying that the parity of peoples is the main issue of this global conflict. Only through the vindication and implementation of that principle can democracy come full circle, can we conclude a war for world freedom with a just and stable peace.⁶⁶—Locke.

B. Leaders point to dangers involved in race problems.

The aspirations of the men and women from the far corners of the earth have given the breath of life to America. Of course, we should have nothing against them. But let us go much further.

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Let us be alert to realize that whoever raises the knife of prejudice against any group whatsoever stabs with his dagger the flesh and honor and, indeed, the heart of America.⁶⁷—Broun.

And for the avoidance of interracial conflict on a titanic scale in the remaining years of the Twentieth Century the white man, because of his long dominance, is chiefly responsible.

Only the coming of the new white man can prevent catastrophe. Nothing affects the situation very much unless the new Negro, the new peoples of the new East, and the new white man, can begin now to live a new life more adventurous by far than war and exploitation.⁶⁸—Allen.

1. Dangers in Negro problem.

a. To American civilization.

I am disturbed by the fact that so few people are seriously troubled by the Negro Problem. I refer to it as the Negro Problem, but of course it is not a problem that involves or concerns only the Negro. It is, I feel, a section of the American Problem which involves all of us, white and black, old-stock white folk and people of recent-immigrant stocks. In fact, I think it is one of the things in our country's life that ought to engage our national intelligence most seriously and continuously. The ultimate test of the American civilization probably will come with the success or failure of efforts to solve the Negro question.⁶⁹—Adamic.

All ways in which the Negro falls short of civilized standards are great liabilities to the race and no less so to the nation of which he is a part. If America is to maintain her position in education, health, and business prosperity, the condition of this large group of the population must be further improved. A community cannot maintain health with one part well and another part harboring contagious disease. In modern industrial civilization, no nation can realize its potential wealth with one great group so ill-trained that it cannot render effective labor or so poor that it cannot buy goods.⁷⁰—Embree.

Realizing that the present relation between the races is strained, and that few white men know the mood of the Negro,

Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, professor of English Literature at Virginia Military Institute, undertook to read and clip more than fifty Negro papers, and has brought together this material in a little volume called, "The Voice of the Negro."...

It is my deliberate judgment that not one white person out of each thousand really knows what the Negro is thinking. It is also very doubtful if many Negroes understand the white man, for the difference of environment and mental background of the two races make understanding of each other very difficult. . . .

The total impression of the book is most alarming. It shows the horrible injustices which the Negro must suffer and his attitude toward them. It shows a race no longer cringing and fawning, but a race at bay, long-suffering, more than patient, but growing sullen and vindictive. It shows a people becoming conscious of its own power, proud of its own achievement, and justly demanding fair treatment and respect.

It is a most challenging statement, which every American citizen should read. . . . no white man dare neglect the fact that such things are being said, and that they are molding the opinions, the mood and spirit of the Negro race. The stage is surely set for great difficulties in the future, unless those who have both leadership and Christianity give heed to this timely warning.⁷¹—Weatherford.

. . . color becomes more acute and painful in its consequences the closer the individual approximates those behavior traits and general standards of the larger society for lack of which the race is usually reproached. It is as if American society wished not only to condemn Negroes as inferior beings with unacceptable, if picturesque, modes of living, but also to punish those who change their ways and most completely accept traditional American values. The more intelligent and sensitive, the more cultured and refined a Negro may be, and the more completely he assimilates and transmits the national ideals, the more seriously is he made to feel that his race, and race alone, bars him from enjoying the full rights of American citizenship. The paradox is made explicit for him in the disparity he cannot help observing between what he is taught in school about democracy and the "American dream," on the one hand, and the actual discrimination with which he is confronted on the other.

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Perhaps no graver challenge than this paradox could be made to the national faith in the supremacy of individual merit or to the traditional claim that in America, if nowhere else in the world, humble origin need offer no insuperable barrier to complete success and social glorification. In other words, the significance of color in the last analysis is fateful for the dominant race in the American social scene as well as for the Negro; it places an ominous question mark after the most cherished national ideals.⁷²—Warner, Junker and Adams.

No matter which way we turn in the North or the South, there seems to be no solution. The colour problem is an abyss into which we can look only with terror.⁷³—Schrieke.

Summarizing the whole situation, we may see that although the Negro has made amazingly rapid gains in the last few years, the race situation in both the North and the South is intensified, indeed partly because of these gains. For mass opinion among whites still interprets this rapid advance as social and economic encroachment, and seldom looks at it in its deeper constructive aspect of common advance and lifting of the level of civilization. So, unless liberal white opinion in both sections, in cooperation with intelligent Negro leadership, can rapidly widen opportunities and lessen artificial handicaps, the mass momentum of Negro advance must produce serious race conflict.⁷⁴—Locke.

Color and want are not problems only of the Pacific.

The South has not done all that it should have done in self-reconstruction. The North withdrew from a Reconstruction largely devoted to loot and declined to continue a Reconstruction which included a sense of responsibility. The result is that the United States contains still what once the President called Economic Problem No. 1, but which now promises inescapably to be a sort of first demonstration area in all our eloquent talk of an acceptable peace. . . .

It may seem funny, now, that Lee's army was largely composed of white men who were not only slaveless but almost as degraded as colored men by slavery. They fought. Their descendants make the white South which is now too often too ignorant, very often

too poor, and which is generally unable to consider questions of color with the placidity of a philosopher in Manhattan. Years ago, color had become for many of them one poor though cruel weapon in a competition for existence.

The frictions between such men and colored men are sharpened now, so sharpened that I have been—as other southern men have been—frightened in fear of bloodshed. Such bloodshed might not only mean dead white men and dead Negroes. It might easily serve as a handle for fascists at home. . . . The world makes what happens in the South; and the world itself may be changed, hediously or happily by what happens there. . . . But what looks like a crisis now, what seems to hold threat to racial peace now, may contain the promise of escape from the poverty which has so long been almost a synonym for the South—the black South, but the white South also. . . .

Such an advance would really be Reconstruction. And no other reconstruction, self-made or alien-created, can really remake the South into the altogether pleasant land which it ought to be—which it must be if America is to have meaning in example to the earth in terms of promises of better life on the earth for all men everywhere.⁷⁵—Daniels.

b. To the Negro himself.

1. The systematic subordination of Negroes to white people in the American social system has a definite effect upon the development of Negro personality. [The book is a record of case histories showing how even immorality, crime and psychopathic disease arise alarmingly from the race situation.]

2. Evaluations of color and other physical traits made by Negroes themselves on their own group influence the development of personality.

3. Social-class position and occupational status in the Negro society have effects upon Negro personality formation ****

The social world in which the Negro American lives is a very different one from that in which the white American lives. The Negro in the United States is widely thought of as an inferior being. He is considered intellectually beneath the capacity of the white man and consequently to be kept out of those higher positions which are appropriate for white people only. He is

generally thought of as "childlike" or "primitive" and, in either case, not so civilized as the more mature white man. The Negro is likewise often thought of as morally inferior, or it is said that his morality "has not been developed." Certain religious types of mind have conceived him as "condemned by God" to occupy a subordinate and servile position in a community where whites have been divinely appointed to a superior position.

These feelings about Negroes are present to some extent even among the so-called liberals in the white group. They take such forms as not wanting to associate with Negroes and insisting that Negroes be segregated as to residence and restricted to the use of separate institutions for education, recreation, health, and religion, or the satisfaction of other human wants. Wherever Negroes are found in large numbers anywhere in the United States, these attitudes of the white population and the reciprocal ones they generate among Negroes have led to a consistent pattern of behavior that systematically subordinates the colored group to the superior status of the dominant race.⁷⁶—Warner, Junker and Adams.

2. Dangers in Jewish problem.

a. To civilization.

Antisemitism is no longer a problem which concerns only the Jews and their enemies. It concerns everyone. It has therefore a stronger claim on the attention of the public than has been the case hitherto. . . .

. . . I have tried to indicate the danger with which hatred of the Jews, like all national hatred, threatens our civilization. In proportion as the eyes of the nations are opened to the true nature of Antisemitism, as democracy is educated into immunity against national psychoses, and as the individual realizes his duty to test before passing judgment, in such proportion will the power of Antisemitism decline.⁷⁷—Valentin.

b. To the Jew himself.

. . . unless the Jew finds some rationale for his being, he is doomed to a terrifying fate.

He will not be assimilated into the world. He cannot lose his

identity. The goal toward which Israel now slips, in the absence of a planned program, is not extinction. . . .

The Jew is rapidly arriving at a point where he will be completely de-Judaized without being assimilated, where, without becoming anything else, he will cease to be a Jew. He threatens to be an undigested element within every land, alienated in spirit from his past and denied full entrance into the present. He continues to suffer as a Jew, to be slighted, ostracized, handicapped and suppressed though his Jewishness may have not lost all meaning for him.

This is the abyss toward which the Jew moves today—the catastrophe of a Jewishness which cannot be escaped and which is nevertheless empty of all satisfaction.⁷⁸—Steinberg.

One of the most subtle yet effective forms taken by anti-Semitism in our country [America] is the increasing discrimination against Jews seeking employment. It is as cruel as it is refined. Many of our young people knock at door after door for simple, humble positions, office boy, clerk, stenographer, janitor, sales-person, workman—and are refused opportunity, without even the usual questioning, only because they are Jews. . . .

The reasons given? Jews are not good organization workers. They are never content. They are constantly seeking to better themselves. . . . [etc.] These are indeed serious indictments. But one wonders if such generalizations can be universally true or if, once again, the answer may not lie in the area of unreasoning prejudice. . . .

You accuse Jews of being radicals and yet you create the very circumstances which makes for discontent. . . .

. . . in general the problem is a non-Jewish problem, a Christian problem, an American problem and no solution short of justice is possible. . . . The results upon American life if the present tendency continues must be our first consideration.⁷⁹—Lazaron.

The garment of our spirit is in tatters and has been patched from strangers' cloth.⁸⁰—Gordon.

Many of the results of anti-Semitism have thus been disastrous for the Jews. Murder robs a people of many of its members.

.. The allurements of assimilation, whether by the baptismal font or the slower process of intermarriage, have drawn away many, including ambitious intellectuals. The rest of the people, living under constant fear, have developed a most unwholesome attitude of resentment and suspicion in early childhood. . . .

Naturally, a large proportion of any minority grow up to believe what the majority has told them about themselves. The inferiority complex is a frequent result of oppression. We have many examples of such a sense of inferiority among Jews, often among very brilliant ones, who were thoroughly conscious that they personally were superior people.⁸¹—Levinger.

For the Jews are faced with something much worse than mere assimilation or race death. They are moving, precisely at a time when their lot threatens to become harder than ever before, toward the mass imbecility which characterizes the world spirit of our time. Judaism begins to take its tone from the nickel-in-the-slot epoch of human spiritual history. If the process continues the so-called Jewish group will be distinguished by nothing except its perpetual complaints. . . .

The darker shadow on the picture of tomorrow, almost obliterating the cruelty of the economic struggle, will be the new factor in Jewish life—emptiness. . . .⁸²—Samuel.

3. Dangers to the Indian.

When a people is suddenly forced to give up its customs and ideals for those it cannot understand, its whole social structure crumbles. There is no longer any meaning to life. All the old goals and ambitions are gone. Laws may be passed and rules of conduct laid down but these are mere words unless the rules make sense to the people concerned. Human beings, however healthy and well fed, lead a mere animal existence unless they have ideals to guide them, ambitions to spur them on, a social organization into which they can happily fit their individual lives. . . .

But the conquering white man has insisted that the Indian give up the things which mean so much to him and adopt our ways. When he refuses to do so we are disgusted, not stopping to realize that our ways may be as meaningless or distasteful to him

as his are to us. When he doesn't adopt our religion we say he is superstitious. When he doesn't follow our social customs we say he is immoral. When he doesn't work according to our economic pattern we say he is lazy and shiftless. When, after forcing him to attend our schools for long weary years, the Indian still prefers to return to his people and his customs, we say he has "reverted" and is only a blanket Indian after all.⁸³—Embree.

4. Danger to the world.

The race problem today reveals two different aspects: it intensifies a spirit of hostility arising not from race relations but from the conflict of states—a by-product of nationalism in its negative, aggressive manifestation; and it intensifies that antagonism among citizens of the same state whose ultimate source is economic competition. The race problem, then, stands as a major world issue for the sole reason that it supplies a constant source of instinctive hatred and jealousy, a mighty reservoir of unthinking antagonism, employed to deepen and to justify every social hostility created by the international chaos in which we live. It is one form of the primitive within every individual and every social group springing to action when the bestial-human element is aroused. Race prejudice is not a direct but an indirect factor in human strife, and for that very reason it is more sinister when its unconscious powers are aroused.^{83a}—Holley.

The patience of colored peoples is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that white Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice, and nothing will weaken this will. . . .

The advocates of an American union with the white, English-speaking portions of the British Empire, "with such other peoples as may be found ready and able to unite" are heading us straight into the gravest war we can yet imagine. . . .

The persistent refusal of Americans to see the connection between the colored American and the colored peoples abroad . . . is agony to those loyal and anxious Americans who know all too well the dangerous possibilities. . . .

ours is a peculiar danger, for one-tenth of our own nation is colored. Our relation to the colored peoples and democracy does not even lie so far off as Africa or India. It is just outside our doors, it is inside our homes. The deepest loyalties today may not be national. . . .

. . . let Americans be sure of this—unless we can declare ourselves wholly for democracy now and do away with prejudices against colored peoples, we shall lose our chance to make the world what we want it to be. . . . For most of the people in the world today are colored. . . .

For the new white man can no longer rule in this world unless he rules by totalitarian military force. Democracy, if it is to prevail at this solemn moment in human history, can only do so if it purges itself of that which denies democracy and dares to act as it believes.⁸⁴—Buck.

III. Suggestions for uplifting and unifying the races.

A. Light of education needed by all races.

1. Increasing human capacities and general knowledge.

It seems clear today that the masses of men within and without civilization are depressed, ignorant and poor chiefly because they have never had a chance. . . . and because disease and crime have been made easier than health and reason.

For centuries the world has sought to rationalize this condition and pretend that civilized nations and cultured classes are the result of inherent and hereditary gifts rather than climate, geography and happy accident. This explanation, which for years was supported by the phenomenal onrush of European culture, is today, because of the decline and fall of this hegemony, less widely believed; and whatever mankind has accomplished through the ages and in many modern regions of the world, is beginning to be looked upon as forecast and promise of what the great majority of human beings can do, with wider and deeper success, if mere political democracy is allowed to widen into industrial democracy and the democracy of culture and art.⁸⁵—Du Bois.

The educational task, then, is to lift the concerns of human relationships up from the automatic emotional-response level, the prejudice area, into the thought-taking control of the cerebral

cortex. . . . Mankind has arrived at the stage of civilization where group rights can be collectively safeguarded. A culture group can now afford to condition emotions of appreciation of outsiders and still expect to maintain group individuation. Prejudices can be sloughed off as vestiges of outmoded tribalisms.⁸⁶—Clinchy.

...the one safe intellectual approach to a social problem is through a sound historical perspective. Since this, too, is a most effective cure for prejudice and social misunderstanding, the wide-scale cultivation of such an approach seems obviously one of the outstanding practical hopes of the Negro and one of the great progressive needs of democracy.⁸⁷—Locke.

The progress which they [Negroes] have made in education and the professions, in wealth and in the arts of civilization, affords one of the most remarkable incidents in this period of world history. They have demonstrated their ability to partake of the advantages of our institutions and to benefit by a free and more and more independent existence. Whatever doubt there may have been of their capacity to assume the status granted them by the Constitution of this Union is being rapidly dissipated. Their cooperation in the life of the nation is constantly enlarging.⁸⁸—Coolidge.

The most significant thing we observe at this Institute [Tuskegee], is the rapid transformation of many of the students who come here. Many of them have had but little previous training. They are awkward, gawky, slow of movement, and sluggish of mind. They have been led to believe that Tuskegee will help them to better their condition. Our first object is to straighten them up physically. That is why we have the military system of training. They are carefully drilled. . . . It is nothing short of a revelation to see how rapidly they are transformed from indolence and indifference, into mental and physical alertness. Along with that . . . they learn how to work with their hands, and become skilled in various trades and vocations. . . . Academic learning is naturally much easier, when obtained in conjunction with physical training.⁸⁹—Roberts.

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But Jewish civilization has not merely to be transmitted; as new needs arise it has to be transformed. That is, it must do more than preserve the glories of the past; it must evolve to meet the challenge of the future. If the Jewish consciousness is to survive, it must be a continually readjusted, revitalized consciousness. If Jewish civilization is to have a future, it must become a modern civilization.⁹⁰—Kaplan.

Opportunity for the Indian does not mean merely freedom to revive the old ways or to stand still. All living cultures change and grow. The Indian peoples were constantly developing before the European came, and with white contact Indians at once took over many new tools and customs which they have made a part of their own culture. Given a chance, Indian life will continue to grow and develop.⁹¹—Embree.

2. Understanding of race problems, and amity ideals.
... the minority groups, their place in American life, and their adjustment have been viewed from the standpoint of special interests, and the discussions of the various angles of the problems of minority cultural groups have not proceeded with a scientific spirit, with adequate research into social and cultural backgrounds, so that their problems might be considered in all their relationships. A considered program of education requires that attention be given to all the factors operating in our social life, together with the complexities and potencies of cultural backgrounds and heritages that must be taken account of in any program of cultural interaction.⁹²—Payne.

The final program is nothing less than a re-education of the human race, to train men and women for living together in amity and understanding rather than in oppression and resentment. Such a program alone will ever remove the fundamental cause of group hatred and prejudices from the world. It is, on the face of it, not a Jewish program, but a national and international project, in which the Jew is simply one of the many peoples to be taught, and one of the groups which are the topic of study.

Such a re-education of the human race is not so visionary as the words appear at first reading. Every program of education has its social background and social purpose. Ordinarily the schools of a country, from kindergarten through university, are designed for the understanding and support of the established order. . . . A general system of re-education, then, would begin with the schools and would influence all the organs of education and propaganda. . . . Anti-Semitism will go only if and when every type of race hatred and group prejudice disappears.⁹³
—Levinger.

Struck by the increasing good-fellowship between white and colored students in the South, George L. Collins instituted an inquiry into how race prejudice is overcome. . . . It appears from the summary . . . that the student Christian associations had contributed more to their changed point of view than any other influence. . . . Twenty [out of 50] declared that injustices to the negro . . . had opened their eyes. More than forty listed as contributing causes their friendships with colored people. . . . Negro writings, a closer study of the Bible, the influence of teachers, liberal journals—these are among the numerous other influences given. It is extraordinary how powerful the religious element is and how many of the younger college lads and girls are moved to a different race attitude because of a new interpretation of the teachings of Jesus. . . . Finally, must be recorded the increasing attendance of white people at negro athletic contests and similar gatherings. . . .

The negro on his side has contributed to the crumbling of the color line by a better, more understanding, and more effective leadership, by marvelous patience, and long suffering, coupled with a quiet and determined insistence upon civic and legal rights, and by the winning of pre-eminence by certain individuals.⁹⁴—Villard.

. . . we should judge men as individuals, regardless of race. . . . Rather let us look upon all men as brothers, and realize that what any particular individual of the human race is today is largely the result of geographic and social environment, training, education and opportunity. . . .

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then we shall see all as equally needful of our love and of the hand of brotherhood free from superciliousness.⁹⁵—Cobb.

3. Appreciation of cultures and enrichment by exchange.

... characterizing differences in individuals and groups are to be sought out, appreciated and fostered as the essential ingredients of a rich common culture. ... In the most practical sense, everybody needs everybody else, and it becomes more and more evident that we can develop our own potentialities to the fullest only by doing everything in our power, not only to understand, but to bring to active and creative life the highest potentialities in other people. ...⁹⁶—Andress.

... "civilization," as we know it, came to us from various sources. The American Indians and the Chinese, two people that we rarely think of as civilized at all, have apparently made a full contribution to human culture. The American Indian has, in fact, made more numerous *original* contributions than the classical Greeks made.⁹⁷—Waterman.

Civilization is largely the accumulative product and residue of this ever-widening process of culture contact, interchange and fusion****

... a combination of particular circumstances, viz., European industrial and colonial expansion, has combined with the age-old tendency to cultural chauvinism to produce these serious modern misconceptions about culture. They, in turn, have led to chronic disparagement and underestimation of racial and culture groups particularly different from our own. Under such circumstances, most cultural divergence is interpreted as cultural inferiority, and the appreciation of cultural interaction and indebtedness becomes almost completely obscured. This merges into one grand over-all misconception, the fallacy of cultural separatism—the belief that in being distinctive cultures are separate and water-tight units of civilization. Historical evidence shows this view to be unfounded; for, much to the contrary, all cultures are composite and most cultural elements interchangeable. ...

Progress, indeed, in many instances seems proportional to the

degree to which a society has a many-sided cultural exposure.⁹⁸
—Locke.

As the teacher guides his work in courses, and as the dramatic opportunities in school assembly periods follow each other, let the student thrillingly appreciate the contributions made by men and women of all world cultures to his America—if only he is sensitive enough to become aware of them; if only he has the capacity to appreciate the culture of the Czech boy, that Negro artist, that Jewish scientist, that Anglo-Saxon genius, that Scandinavian experimenter in co-operatives, that Oriental philosopher, that German architect. It is the ensemble of many cultures that makes America.⁹⁹—Clinchy.

Every group has its quota to contribute to the life of the world, whether in thought or in expression, in labor or merely in its distinctive mode of life. The ultimate world organization will be one in which, not merely anti-Semitism and every type of group prejudice will be impossible, but the interest in the many types of people in the world will be directed toward their contributions to the common welfare. The external foe which may then unite them will be none other than the conquest of the forces of nature; the inner unity will be a vast ethical and religious agreement that all men are in a literal sense brothers.¹⁰⁰
—Levinger.

... study and use of Negro materials as experimental and promising steps in the development of a native American art idiom. . . .

... if succesful, it will establish for other traditions, dormant in the mass-conformity of our national culture, a new principle of cultural diversity and reciprocity. And certainly, apart from the enrichment of American life, this would be one of the great solvents of racial antagonism and misunderstanding. If they will but see it, because of their complementary qualities, the two racial groups have great spiritual need, one of the other. It

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would be truly significant in the history of human culture, if two races so diverse should so happily collaborate, and the one return for the gift of a great civilization the reciprocal gift of the spiritual cross-fertilization of a great and distinctive national culture. At all events, the future history of the interaction between the Negro and his American setting will bear watching as having quite as important potentialities for America at large as for the Negro in particular.¹⁰¹—Locke.

The world still has much to learn from Indian ways. The Indian practices, for example, of co-operative labor and common sharing begin to look good to a world tired of bitter competition and the unequal division of the abundance which modern science and mechanics should be able to supply for everyone. The Indian's close acquaintance with nature, his reverence and deep feeling for the mysterious, begin to look like pleasant oases in a world made desert by pavements, clattering machines, and fixed rules and schedules. Quiet and a soul at peace, as well as rules of hygiene, are needed for a healthy life. We now understand, better than we did during the boom days of imperialism and fortune hunting, the Indian's respect for leisure and enjoyment in their place as well as for labor and industry. No longer satisfied with a standard of living based solely on the number of things a man possesses, we view with more appreciation the Indian's ability to build a colorful and satisfying life without the constant aid of gadgets. We are beginning to look longingly at his ancient zest for life, boiling over in drama and dance and thrilling at the presence of danger, at the artistry of his social organization and the graceful courtesy of his personal relationships.¹⁰²—Embree.

Most of us, old-stock and new Americans, are not aware of the human resources we have here, and of the opportunity before us to create a great culture on this continent; a culture which could approach being universal or pan-human and more satisfying to the human make-up than any culture that has yet appeared under the sun. *Nor are we aware of the dangers ahead of us if we fail to take advantage of this opportunity.* . . . Most of us need to become conscious of this situation, of this new America; need

to become naturalized to it. As a country, we need to look into the resources of genius and talent, character and cultural values in the new groups. . . .¹⁰³—Adamic.

4. Enlightenment of the Spirit.

What is happening among us today [in America] is what, in older terminology, might be called a quickening of the soul of man****

Our ways of life, we realize, have been too low for such greatness of life as lies within us. It is this spiritual revolt which underlies all others, and it is in the pursuance of this demand. . . . that this new adventure becomes more important and more profoundly revolutionary than all the others. . . . The emancipators of the slave could visualize one kind of slavery; they were as yet too restricted in vision to realize the thousand-fold forms of bondage that must be removed before man—black or white—could be called truly free. . . .

It is civilization that is moving, an old civilization advancing into a new one.¹⁰⁴—Overstreet.

Prejudices are hard to overcome because they are seated in the emotional nature. Even the education and training of the intellect does not suffice to overcome these pre-judgments of others based not upon rational grounds but upon emotional reactions and traditions implanted in the course of the formation of man's emotional character. In such cases the intellect merely serves to rationalize the prejudice, to defend it, to justify it with apparently reasonable grounds****

The Bahá'í Faith specifically attacks prejudices of all kinds. It condemns all emotional expression which tends toward separation and inharmony. It preaches, sympathy, understanding, and love for every race. . . .

In its brief history the Bahá'í Brotherhood has shown a marvelous power of wiping out strong and deep-seated prejudices. . . .

The Bahá'í Faith has accomplished this miracle not simply by urging people to be kind and to develop their higher emotions; nor by a gradual process of education and enlightenment leading them out of the unreasoning prejudices of the past. No, it is not by such means the millions have been brought into harmony

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and love. It is rather by the proclamation of a spiritual message which is accepted by all its adherents as divinely revealed and authoritative.¹⁰⁵—Cobb.

Our age, more clearly even for Israel than for other peoples, is an age of . . . errancy and return. It is decisive for all mankind today, whether the burgeoning religious feeling of a new generation achieves both maturity and leadership. For the special fate of the Jewish people it is decisive whether the generation of this crisis will be able to re-embody within itself the primordial forces which shaped us. And that means, whether it will be able to find again in its own soul the forces that have animated our conflicts and our creative deeds, undiminished in vigour and in joy. Both of these decisive questions, the general human one and the specific Jewish one, have the same core and kernel. For the awakening religious yearning of mankind is profoundly allied to the primal fashioning forces of Judaism.¹⁰⁶—Buber.

B. Social justice needed for progressive civilization.

. . . nothing can contribute more toward the permanent establishment of our national welfare than the continued effort to realize for the humblest in our national life, whether black or white, that full measure of justice and equal opportunity for which America stands as a symbol before all the world.¹⁰⁷—Moton.

As the "bone of contention" in the slavery controversy, the "ward of democracy" throughout the Reconstruction, and the "problem" of interracial adjustment in the contemporary social order, the Negro has been by some irony of fate throughout American history the human crux of our practical problems of political and social democracy.

The importance of being a problem, however, is a handicapping, not a stimulating importance, and the black minority would gladly be relieved of it. Yet not until social justice and consistent democracy are worked out in America will the Negro as America's most chronic social problem cease to have an unnatural and disproportionate prominence.¹⁰⁸—Locke.

The future of Latin America is with no single race but with a

new amalgam which is already setting its pattern. . . . For hundreds of years the development of ability among West Indians and the opening of doors, particularly, of economic opportunity, were confined to white people or to those light mulattoes who by courtesy passed as white. The great mass of laborers became a proletariat reduced in the days of the slave trade to the very lowest labor status. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that economic opportunity and social justice will raise, out of this part of the world, people not only capable of supporting present human civilization but of creating new centers for a greater and finer culture.¹⁰⁹—Du Bois.

The Indian must find his place not in an ancient culture but in a modern world. But he has a right to expect that he be given religious and cultural freedom so that, like other groups in our very mixed population, he may continue to follow the beliefs and ceremonies that mean so much to him. And he has a right to ask that he be allowed to move over into the new economic order without too great haste and without any racial discrimination against him.¹¹⁰—Embree.

Why then . . . have the Caucasians and the Indians lived so amicably in Guiana? Merely because the policy of the original Dutch settlers was to form and retain friendly relations with the aborigines. Because they realized that they could not hope to retain their settlements and develop the land if the country was full of hostile tribesmen. Because the British, who acquired the land from the Dutch, agreed to fulfill the Dutch treaties, and because the British have kept faith with the Indians. It stands, I believe, as the only country where such conditions have existed, unique among all the lands of the New World as a spot where Europeans and Indians have never been at war and where . . . no mistreatment of the Indians has ever occurred. And it goes far to prove that all the warfare, the agonies, the cruelties, and atrocities which have formed a disgraceful blot on American history might have been easily avoided. It proves that even where there were savage, cannibal, and warlike tribes, the Indians were ready and willing to be friendly with the Europeans; that they were ready and willing to retain that friendship; that

they could and would abide by their treaties and promises; and that had the white men not been the first to cause trouble, had they not been the aggressors, most if not all of our long, bloody, and costly Indian wars might have been avoided.¹¹¹—Verrill.

I. Mutual and unhampered experience in citizenship.

... appraise him, appreciate him, help him [Negro], and allow him to take his place as a free, effective and helpful citizen of the Republic.¹¹²—Hill.

Short of the bitter extremities of ruthless economic conflict or resolution of the mass feud between black and white through the discovery of common proletarian interests, there lies one intermediate way of realistic hope, since, after all, America has kept herself an institutional democracy in spite of her treatment of the Negro. The Negro, though still heavily disfranchised, is potentially a citizen with the corrective power of the ballot. . . . This, intelligently used, might remove enough of the restrictions to his progress to forestall serious race conflict, and might lead to the steady progressive adjustment so desirable and so desired by all but the extreme reactionaries and the extreme social radicals.¹¹³—Locke.

After the war and with the depression, the Negro's position again became critical. Mass production gave him entrance into industry formerly largely monopolized by skilled white workers, but the general depression threw the Negro first into the ranks of the unemployed. He was saved from something like economic annihilation by his increased political power, based on the black population in cities like New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Chicago. After a lapse of thirty years, one Negro congressman appeared in Washington and Negroes became members of state legislatures in a dozen different states and were represented on city councils. While they lost a good many of the more spectacular political jobs that were formerly set aside for them, they gained representation for merit and training in a number of less conspicuous but important positions under the New Deal.

But above all they had to examine again the balance of im-

portance between political and economic power. It was pointed out that the casting of a ballot must not be simply for the election of officials or to settle at infrequent times, broad contrasting matters of policy; but rather that real democracy can be attained only when the laborer can express his wishes in industry; when he has a voice in the production and distribution of wealth. And while the broad accomplishment of this great advance in human progress is not in the hands of the Negro voter today, he has the opportunity of starting toward it through the organization of his power as a consumer and by utilization of the cultural bands of his racial grouping to secure industrial emancipation.¹¹⁴—Du Bois.

It is true that the power of the ballot is somewhat chimerical. White citizens who hold the unqualified right to vote do not find it a panacea for their ills. . . . So, Negro citizens should avoid building exaggerated hopes on the right to vote. Nevertheless, we are eternally right in contending that, however great or small the power of the ballot may be, we need it.¹¹⁵—James Weldon Johnson.

The greatest sign of hope in the political future of the Negro is the growth of a social consciousness—the increasing awareness of the commonality of his problem with those of other minority and interested groups; the growing understanding of the nature of the solution of his problems—that only through the concerted action and co-operation of all groups of socially minded Americans can there be any lasting solutions. Until such time as social and economic security is extended to the American Negro, race consciousness will continue to function as the dominant force in the Negro's political activity; not until the struggle for suffrage for the Negro citizens is completely won and his civil rights as an American citizen are respected, will the Negro develop that "political mindedness, cohesion and management" which will make him a direct and powerful force in the American political machine. Thus when he has achieved this political strength and perspective, he can stand shoulder to shoulder with his white brother-citizen and work for . . . a true democracy and a brotherhood of man.¹¹⁶—*Cavalcade of the American Negro*.

2. Opportunity and solidarity of all labor.

The new white man will burst the bonds of *economic dependency*. . . . Negro labor today is "cheap" labor; and many a white owned industry exhibits the profits that it does simply because it lives in a state of dependency on colored workers. The new white man will not fail to attack this extremely practical aspect of the race question; for without freedom to compete for his bread and butter . . . what can mere physical freedom amount to? In the ranks of organized white labor, which for the most part refuses to admit the colored worker, will some day yet be heard the voice of the new white man, crying out the sound principle of all-inclusive labor solidarity****

Is there, indeed, any way at all short of *complete* justice, *complete* equality, complete freedom for friendship?¹¹⁷—Allen.

The black masses are on the verge of induction from their unenviable status as servants into the forces of the industrial workers, a more arduous, but less dependent rank. They require a new leadership, training in the principles of collective action, a new orientation with their white fellow workers for the sake of a future peace, a reorganization of the physical and mental habits which are a legacy of their old experiences, and deliberate training for the new work to come. It is this rehabilitation of the worker that the Urban Leagues have tried to accomplish, accompanying this effort with a campaign against the barriers to the entrance of Negro workers into industry. Conceiving these workers as inherently capable of an infinite range of employment, this organization insists merely upon an openness which permits opportunity, an objective experiment uncluttered by old theories of racial incompetence and racial dogmas.¹¹⁸—Charles S. Johnson.

Many features of the union movement in the district make for improvement of race relationships. A united movement of the laboring population of the region has as its *sine qua non* intellectual acquaintance of at least a few members of both groups. . . . the new mining and metal unions have in the main adopted the form of interracial association that calls for regular association of the membership from each race with that from the other in trade union meetings. . . . The force depended upon for hold-

ing the two races in a common line of behavior on industrial questions is the discussion of matters of common interest by the rank and file of both races, in mixed trade union meetings. . . .

. . . trade unionism calls forth the best efforts of many Negro members. . . .

. . . many whites testified both to the growth of Negro participation in union meetings and to the ability which occasional Negro speeches revealed. . . .

In the Birmingham district the trade unionism . . . is . . . an effort to bind the Negro group to act not against the interests of the whites but in concert with those interests. . . . The Negroes for their part join in the hope that concerted action with the whites will mean a rise in Negro wages. . . . A natural process of mutual concession can be seen in operation in the unions, a process which stands both to bring the Negro population more nearly to the economic level of the whites and to prevent white antagonism to such gradual approach to better standards. . . .

That the Negroes are at present in the mood to stand with the whites was the almost universal belief of the white trade union people. . . . White men relieved of fear of Negro competition, and aware that the continued absence of the threat depends upon reasonable treatment of the Negroes in their unions, have a double reason for a more kindly attitude toward Negroes than has by all accounts commonly characterized the industrial South.¹¹⁹—Cayton & Mitchell.

3. Improved moral and health conditions.

That the Negro is racially susceptible to disease, racially incapable of education or racially apt to violate laws, is a case not proved. In many instances the data have been inconclusive or misinterpreted, notably in statistics of crime. Change in conditions which produce ill health and crime and improvement in opportunities for education have demonstrated the capacity of the Negro to profit by these changes. Experience has actually shown the possibility of improvement in health and progress in education and in law observance.¹²⁰—Van Kleeck.

The latest, and it may yet prove to be the strongest influence brought to bear on this question [of better relations], is the

activity of women's clubs representative of the best and strongest womanhood in the South. For a long while white women of the South have been silent concerning things they have seen with their own eyes and against which their hearts burned with indignation. But with the emancipation that has come to womanhood in the ballot their voices are raised in repudiation of a chivalry that would defend their honour with lawlessness and murder. In a previous chapter mention has been made of organizations that have placed themselves on record as demanding the same chivalrous regard for the protection of Negro womanhood as for their own, and unhesitatingly denounced as hypocritical the attitude that would surround white womanhood with every protection of the law while deliberately leaving Negro womanhood still exposed to a laxity of sentiment that regards only lightly the delinquency of youth that crosses the colour line.¹²¹
—Moton.

4. New governmental policies.

From Washington have come signs that Jim Crow weighs more heavily than before on the federal conscience. In an hour when this country is giving aid in the battle against the forces of racial injustice abroad, a few blows at least have been struck against racial injustice at home.

President Roosevelt has instructed the heads of all government departments and agencies to hire without regard to "creed, race or religion," and he has singled out the Negro as the chief victim of what he called "some lack of sympathetic attitude toward the problems of minority groups" in the federal establishment. True, such instructions have been issued before. But this time the President has deemed it "imperative" for the government to eradicate Jim Crowism in its own employment policies, and now there are grounds for believing that the moment for reform may be ripe.¹²²—Alexander.

The decision [Supreme Court] in the Mitchell case simply says that in states requiring "separate but equal accommodations" for the races the accommodations must be equal. . . .

The railroads cannot afford to furnish equal but separate accommodations. . . .

The roads may be expected to take advantage of this decision in further extending Pullman service to Negroes.

This is one of three fairly recent Supreme Court decisions which have dealt with various phases of segregation. The first established the rights of Negroes in states having separate schools to every type of training available to any other citizen. The second upheld the right of Negro teachers in segregated schools to equal pay for equal training and work. In each of these cases the Supreme Court set aside the findings of lower courts and applied the principle of equal treatment under the segregation laws.

More significant than the decisions themselves has been the reaction of the South to them. There has been in the South no open or significant criticism of the decisions. On the other hand, there has been much serious discussion among responsible people, including officials. Through all this discussion has run the assumption that Southern practice must be brought into line with these court decisions. The absence of outbursts from extremists has been significant.¹²³—Alexander.

And at long last there are evidences that we may allow the Indian to carry on what is left of his own way of life. There is in recent years some change in white attitudes and some tendency to restore Indian rights. The American people have called a halt on further exploitation. The government is trying to protect such holdings as the Indians now have and to help them build a life for themselves as a part of the new nation but founded on their own traditions.

The recent change in government attitude toward Indian life is striking. And fortunately this trend is not a matter of party politics. . . .

The new policy as outlined by the federal Indian Office looks toward three main objectives:

Economic rehabilitation of the Indians, principally on the land;

Organization of the Indian tribes for managing their own affairs;

Civic and cultural freedom and opportunity.¹²⁴—Embree.

SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

C. Association of races related to a constructive amity program.

1. Inter-social co-operation, free and friendly.

We hate people because we fear them, because our interests, as we understand them at any rate, run counter to theirs. On the other hand, good will is founded in the long run upon co-operation. The extension of our so-called altruistic sentiments is made possible only by the organization of our otherwise conflicting interests and by the extension of the machinery of co-operation and social control.¹²⁵—Park.

The first step toward friendly cooperation between individuals or racial groups, is to know each other; and the second step is that they have a common objective.¹²⁶—Hill.

The American Negro is today in perhaps as great danger from his over-zealous and misled white friends as he is from his white enemies. To idolize him, pet and pamper him, make him believe that he is better and greater than he is, and that his achievements have merit which they really have not, and that he is fit and ready to assume positions in society and to perform tasks of which he has little comprehension, is just as fatal to his future as are all the handicaps his enemies are able to place upon him. But the Negro, the same as any other man who desires to attain the goal of success and happiness, if allowed to walk in the light, will find his way.¹²⁷—Hill.

2. Inter-racial study efforts.

In almost every Southern city interracial committees, made up of leading white and colored citizens, meet frequently and are bringing about some mutual acquaintance and respect. As individual Negroes attain distinction, they are as a matter of course drawn into meetings of leaders of the professional groups.¹²⁸—Embree.

Every school and every community has potentialities for a controlled experiment in inter-cultural relations. . . .

The school, or the community, might select individuals from

as many culture strains as there are in the society. . . . Meeting face to face in an intelligent and sympathetic way, for shared study of the conflicts and offending situations, will tend to moderate, if not remove, much of the prejudice and discrimination. One is amazed to discover, in all the history of "man's inhumanity to man," and after 300 years of American life, that overt hostilities remain between minority groups and that this "clearing-house" or round-table practice has been little used.

Such discussion demands . . . intelligent and broad-hearted members. The students or adults will be expected to draw on scientific research to get at the facts necessary for full understanding of the problems that will arise. As the discussions proceed, the surface prejudices will soon be penetrated, and some fascinating differences in national backgrounds will be probed. Another challenging strata to go into will be the fundamental differences of religious faith. Other difficulties will lead to examination of economic competition. . . . The process is as delicate as a surgeon's task. The result, however, in terms of changed social behavior, will be wholesome and rewarding, not only to leaders who walk this friendly road away from prejudices but, through them, to the whole society.

Need it be added that every adjustment between a minority and a majority is a two-sided proposition calling for two-way conciliation? The personality, attitude, and the character of the values maintained by the minority determine in part the degree to which prejudices will be overcome, even as do the factors under the control of the majority.¹²⁹—Clinchy.

One of the new and important forces in the change of interracial relations must be the interest in interracial contacts in the universities and colleges, and this movement is really almost focused in Southern and mid-Western universities and colleges. . . .

A considerable portion of the younger generation through such agencies and also on their own initiative are making voyages of exploration and discovery between the races and this is one of the most hopeful signs and trends of the present situation.¹³⁰—Locke and Odum.

All these forces [for better relations] may be said to have

crystallized in what is popularly known as the Interracial Commission. While including both races in its personnel this body is essentially the organized conscience of the forward-looking white South to place the relations of the two races in this section upon the highest plane of justice, equity, and honour. It aims first of all to have the South consider with open mind the elements of the problem presented by the Negro in its midst. It aims to bring out the facts of the Negro's status, his shortcomings as well as his excellencies and achievements; to bring to the light of day the many secret practices oppressive to the individual Negro which he is powerless to resist and concerning which the Negro himself cannot get a hearing; and finally, where public opinion and the law already guarantee to the Negro a measure of justice and fair dealing, to see to it as a matter of conscience that those charged with this responsibility discharge their duty to the Negro without evasion or equivocation.¹³¹—Moton.

3. Social equality.

a. Full association as goal.

He [the Negro] rightly believes in the aristocracy of character and intellect, and that when his character and intellectual status justify it, he should, as an individual at least, be freely and fully admitted into this aristocracy.¹³²—Hill.

I mean no half-way measure; I mean full and fair equality. That is, the chance to obtain work regardless of color, to aspire to position and preferment on the basis of desert alone, to have the right to use public conveniences, to enter public places of amusement on the same terms as other people, and to be received socially by such persons as might wish to receive them. These are not extravagant demands, and yet their granting means the abolition of the color line. The question is: Can American Negroes hope to attain this result?¹³³—Du Bois.

He [the white man] will know so many Negroes personally, if he has the good fortune to deserve their friendship, that the experiment of association alone will render him immune from the foolish phrases of traditionalism.¹³⁴—Allen.

b. Segregation viewed with growing disfavor.

No phase of discrimination against the Negro touches the race more widely or intimately than segregation. In its application no measure operates so effectively to retard the general progress of the race, not even disfranchisement. Its defenders urged it originally to reduce friction between the two races, which it probably has done on the face of it; but it acts daily and hourly to excite the resentment of all Negroes against the continuous injustices perpetrated under the cover and protection of segregation policies.

The policy of segregation, wherever it is in force, touches all Negroes, irrespective of their means, education, character, or position, and in actual practice subjects them all to embarrassment, humiliation, and injustice. In theory segregation is advocated as a measure applicable with equal force to both races, but in practice this obtains so rarely that it is not exaggeration to say that for all practical purposes it never does. As carried into effect the Negro is at a constant disadvantage even in the face of the most specific directions to the contrary.¹³⁵—Moton.

The great majority of Americans are not deliberately hostile to the participation of the Negro in the benefits of democracy, in the right to employment according to his capacity, the right to live in security and in decent surroundings, or the right to education, the right to exercise the franchise, the right to equal protection of the law. What the majority of Americans do not realize is that equality in these benefits which in a democracy should be the heritage of all men, never can be attained under a system of racial segregation. . . .

In a democracy, segregation on the basis of race and color is the social façade of repression and exploitation. It has no other *raison d'être*. Equality of treatment is unattainable under a system of racial segregation, no matter how conscientiously it is attempted. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the public schools, from the elementary grades to the state universities and colleges. . . .

It is not that the Negroes cannot acquire an education under the segregated system. . . . But the very fact of separation creates a spiritual hiatus between the races, fostering in the one a feeling

of inferiority, and in the other an equally insidious superiority complex. It breeds resentment, a suspicion and humiliation, and undermines the Negro's faith in democratic government itself.¹³⁶
—Carter.

Just before and immediately after the World War, large-scale migrations of Negroes to Northern and Mid-Western cities seriously extended the areas of racial friction and maladjustment. With this has gone a very general spread of the policies of educational, residential and industrial segregation, to such an extent that the problem of segregation may now be regarded as the crux of the present-day contemporary phase of the race problem. Conservative, reactionary, and anti-Negro opinion, North and South, is behind the policy of "segregating the Negro" and introducing bi-racial organization as far as practicable and possible. It is partly due to this situation that Negro leadership has become practically unanimous in presenting a solid front against segregation.¹³⁷—Locke.

In recent years there has been in the South an increasing uneasiness and dissatisfaction among thoughtful whites over the obvious injustices of segregation as practised under the law. Much of this is to be found among people not of the "professional sympathizer" type but among editors, business men and the more enlightened public officials. These decisions have strengthened the hands of such Southerners and have given them a support in doing something they know should be done. . . .

It is doubtful that legal segregation can ever be made consistent with the spirit and intent of democracy. . . . About this fundamental issue the South does not yet want to think—nor has the Supreme Court as yet had an opportunity to pass on it. When and if that time comes, both the South and the Court will have a chance to deal with the heart of the problem.¹³⁸—Alexander.

c. Stigma being removed from interracial amalgamation.

1) Racial mixture not deleterious in the past.

Race blending, especially in the rare instances when it occurs under favorable circumstances, produces a type superior in fer-

tility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks.¹³⁹—Finch.

...blended bloods usually produce finer physical form and greater physical strength than is seen among the unmixed races ... the mixed breed known as Negroes is destined to physically outstrip either the pure blacks or the pure whites.¹⁴⁰—Hill.

... the intermingling of racial types****
 ... it is easy to see that intermingling has played an important part in the history of modern populations. ... It is interesting to note that Spain's greatness followed the period of greatest race mixture, that its decline set in when the population became stable and immigration stopped. This might give us pause when we speak about the dangers of the intermingling of European types. What is happening in America now is the repetition on a larger scale and in a shorter time of what happened in Europe during the centuries when the people of northern Europe were not yet firmly attached to the soil.

The actual occurrence of intermingling leads us to consider what the biological effect of intermixture of different types may be. ...

The essential question to be answered is whether we have any evidence that would indicate that matings between individuals of different descent and different type would result in a progeny less vigorous than that of their ancestors. We have not had any opportunity to observe any degeneracy in man as clearly due to this cause. ... Biological degeneracy is found rather in small districts of intense inbreeding. Here again it is not so much a question of type, but of the presence of pathological conditions in the family strains, for we know of many perfectly healthy and vigorous intensely inbred communities. We find these among the Eskimos and also among many primitive tribes among whom cousin marriages are prescribed by custom. ...

The mixed descendants of Europeans and American Indians are taller and more fertile than the pureblood Indians. They are even taller than either parental race. ... The biological observations on our North American mulattoes do not convince us that there is any deleterious effect of race mixture so far as it is evident in anatomical form and function.¹⁴¹—Boas.

Brazil is the one country in the world, besides the Portuguese colonies on the east and west coasts of Africa, in which a fusion of the European and African races is proceeding unchecked by law or custom. The doctrines of human equality and human solidarity have here their perfect work. The result is so far satisfactory that there is little or no class friction. The white man does not lynch or maltreat the negro: indeed, I have never heard of a lynching anywhere in South America except occasionally as part of a political convulsion. The negro is not accused of insolence and does not seem to develop any more criminality than naturally belongs to any ignorant population with loose notions of morality and property.¹⁴²—Bryce.

These blood mixtures of slave days were often what the scientists would call eugenic. Often the best white blood, represented by the white planters and their sons, joined with that of Negro girls chosen for their comeliness, intelligence and attractive personalities. Patrick Henry was so impressed by the superiority of the mixed breeds that, while speaker of the Virginia Assembly, he introduced a bill offering a state bonus to children of mixed parentage. . . . While this bill aimed at increasing marriages with Indians, it shows the sympathetic attitude of the times with miscegenation in general.^{142a}—Embree.

2) Present trend in interbreeding of races.

The races of the world are not drawing apart, but together, and it needs only the vision that will look ahead a few thousand years to see the blending of all racial currents into a common stream.¹⁴³—Conklin.

No matter how weak the case for racial purity may be, we cannot hope easily to overcome its appeal. The individual is always ready to subordinate himself under the group to which he belongs. He expresses his feeling of solidarity by an idealization of his group and by an emotional desire for its perpetuation. As long as the social groups are racial groups we shall also encounter the desire for racial purity. . . .

It follows that the "instinctive" race antipathy can be broken down, if we succeed in creating among young children social

groups that are not divided according to the principle of race. . . .¹⁴⁴—Boas.

. . . since emancipation, sentiment among both whites and blacks has been increasingly against further mixed intercourse. For half a century Negroes have been marrying chiefly within their own ranks and so distributing the primary blood mixtures more and more evenly throughout the new race.¹⁴⁵—Embree.

No one can foretell the further course of blood fusion between the new race and other peoples in the United States. Of course there cannot be much further mingling with Indians since they are now a negligible part of the population, but the question of relations between the descendants of Europeans and Africans is as active as ever. The greatest amount of mixture in years past came because of the helpless condition of the colored women. As the Negro gains better status, there is a tendency on his part and on that of the white man to avoid further interbreeding. No races in history have lived side by side over long periods of time without almost completely mixing their bloods; and in the long future, this course may prove to be inevitable in the United States. Those who regard miscegenation with dread should realize that so far throughout the New World the chief offender against "race purity" has been the white man, that the degraded position of the Negro has made possible the enormous amount of race mixture that has already taken place, and that improved standing and self-respect for the Negro is the only thing that is likely to retard the interbreeding of the white and colored groups.¹⁴⁶—Embree.

. . . touching the future, it seems as certain as anything in human affairs can be that the races now inhabiting South America, aboriginal, European, and African, will be all ultimately fused. The Spanish republics (except the purely white Argentina and Uruguay) will be Ibero-American, Brazil will be Ibero-American-African. All present facts point that way, and that any hitherto unfelt repulsion will arise seems improbable.¹⁴⁷—Bryce.

3) Intermarriage viewed with growing favor.

Under prevailing circumstances complete freedom of matrimonial union between the two races cannot be expected. The causes that operate against the unions of colored men and white women are almost as potent as in the days of slavery. Looking forward towards a lessening of the intensity of race feeling an increase of unions of white men and colored women would be desirable.¹⁴⁸—Boas.

Nor is there any good reason to believe that the differences between races are so great that the descendants of mixed marriages would be inferior to their parents. Biologically there is no good reason to object to fairly close inbreeding in healthy groups, nor to intermingling of the principal races.¹⁴⁹—Boas.

I haven't a sister; if I had I'd advise her against marriage with an American colored man because the social pressure here would probably be too great, but that would be absolutely the only ground on which I'd object to it.¹⁵⁰—Fauset.

If white and black in the South were free and intelligent there would be friendship and some intermarriage and there ought to be; but none would marry where he did not wish to, and there could be no greater intermingling in the future than in the shameful past, unless this union of races proved successful and attractive.¹⁵¹—Du Bois.

There is only one way to decrease race intermixture and that, paradoxically enough, is the establishment of social equality. For with other races socially on a par with the white race self-respect stands squarely in the way of illicit alliances. There might in truth be a slight increase in legal marriages between the races; but for a long time the preponderant effect would very likely be a decrease in actual race mixture.

One thing is sure: you cannot disregard custom very extensively in this world of ours, and we may be certain that by the time any considerable racial intermarriage were taking place we should have come along that particular road of social change because

there was an extremely widespread approval of it. The mores can be changed; but you can never change them fast.¹⁵²—Allen.

D. Specific movements for solution of minority problems: their values and limitations.

1. "Melting-pot" theory.

The melting-pot theory which implied that the cultural heritage should be refined, eliminated, melted into the American stream became the dominant motive of the Americanization movement at the beginning of the twentieth century and education accepted and promoted this point of view. From this approach to the problem there was no need to take account of cultural peculiarities and backgrounds, they were to be lost, to be given up, why bother about them? . . . The minority cultures were to be obliterated and the minority groups incorporated into the American cultural stream with as little disturbance as possible.

While the melting-pot theory was generally accepted, and is held by many today, there was a growing dissatisfaction with it as basic to a policy of aculturation. The theory did not work, the minority cultures did not melt. . . . [It] did not take account of the vital needs of our minority groups, and, more important, it did not seek to provide for the preservation of the vital cultural traditions of those groups whose "human natures" were accounted for by centuries of civilization, and a culture different from our own.¹⁵³—Payne.

It is to ask ourselves whether our ideal has been broad or narrow—whether perhaps the time has not come to assert a higher ideal than the "melting-pot." Surely we cannot be certain of our spiritual democracy when, claiming to melt the nations within us to a comprehension of our free and democratic institutions, we fly into panic at the first sign of their own will and tendency. We act as if we wanted Americanization to take place only on our own terms, and not by the consent of the governed.¹⁵⁴—Bourne.

Middle-class families . . . did not understand that the true America was an ensemble of cultures, where every immigrant group was privileged to enjoy cultural pluralism, contributing

its own unique experience to fructify American life. . . . They sought frantically, therefore, to achieve "likeness" as quickly as possible. And, in most instances, the vital, the distinguishing, the enriching features of their Jewish life were abandoned along with the more superficial trimmings of European dress, speech, and manners.¹⁵⁵—Sachar.

The arms and superior equipment and training of the white men were not the greatest factors in conquering and destroying countless thousands of Indians in the space of a few years. Along with the European soldiers, sailors, adventurers, and others, came European diseases and vices, and these spread like wildfire among Indians. Diseases to which, through centuries, the white men had become so accustomed that they were practically immune, became malignant when contracted by the Indians. . . .

Civilization, acquired by or forced upon the aborigines, did almost if not quite as much. The naked Indians, unaccustomed to clothing, their bodies exposed to sun and air, and easily kept clean, donned the cast-off garments of the white men, and became diseased, vermin infested, and sickly. Accustomed to an active out-of-doors life, the Indians, forced to labor as slaves or as servants, sleeping in kennel-like quarters, subsisting on strange foods and those of the poorest quality, pined away and died. And the strong alcoholic drinks of the white men stalked like specters among the Indians and brought drunkenness, debauchery, and death wherever they went****

Even where the Indians have been in constant and close touch with the white man, and are within easy reach of civilization, many still retain their ancestral ways. Though they may wear conventional clothing, though they may be Christians, may be educated in schools and colleges, may dwell in modern up-to-date houses, may have well-cultivated, valuable farms, and may even drive about in luxurious motor cars, still they hold their tribal dances and ceremonials, speak their own languages, and are Indian at heart.¹⁵⁶—Verrill.

2. Race solidarity by "Cultural Pluralism."

In recent years a new theory of the adjustment of minority groups to major civilizations has been emerging, that of cultural

pluralism. This theory . . . assumes that no one culture contains all favorable elements, but that each group that makes up the total American population has unique values, and that the nation will be richer and finer in its cultural makeup if it, the country, conserves the best that each group has brought. The theory assumes, furthermore, that these minority groups have been so completely conditioned by their heritages that the historic past could not be sacrificed even if they chose to forget their past experiences. . . .

If the cultural pluralism theory is correct, then the problem of adjustment becomes essentially that of preserving cultural traits, of dignifying qualities and practices different from our own, and of creating a feeling of pride in the folkways, mores, customs, conventions, and social patterns, characteristic of the immigrant in his homeland as well as of the Negro and the Indian. Education, therefore, under this theory assumes a totally different role. It begins by discovering their characteristics, by magnifying them, by dignifying them, and by creating a feeling of pride in them. Education, however, does not end here, but continues by building into the original cultural patterns the best of American traditions, so that the growth and development of the minority groups may be continuous and effective. . . .

The first step involved is that of eliminating prejudice. An effort must be made to acquaint each group with the values inherent in the culture of the other. . . .

Does it mean the ultimate preservation of different cultural streams in our civilization? It does not seem to me that we should be deeply concerned over this matter. There certainly could be no harm in preserving intact the best of the various cultures, but, as a matter of fact, some degree of acculturation is inevitable, and a new and superior culture will emerge.¹⁵⁷
—Payne.

We have sometimes thought of America as the great melting-pot of races, the social caldron where colonists and immigrants from many nations are fused into a single and united people. This mixture of bloods and cultures is the most interesting aspect of American life and gives the new nation its bubbling vitality. Instead of trying to reduce all groups to the same pattern, we are

now beginning to see the value of encouraging within one strong nation many different races and customs. Rather than a melting-pot, America might be thought of as a great pageant of peoples. In such a pageant, the Indian in the future, as he has in the past, may play a brilliant and colorful role.¹⁵⁸—Embree.

The Jew cannot control the economic and political milieu which shapes his destiny. . . . But in his inner life he can be the arbiter. The richness of his past, the contributions that his people have made in religion, in literature, in ethics, in art, in law, in science—this gratifying knowledge can give him a sense of pride that he belongs in a remarkable caravan of achievement.¹⁵⁹—Sachar.

3. Race solidarity by "Racial Nationalism".

The first step of an individual who has a disadvantage is to discover who is in the same boat with him, and thus begins group solidarity. Then the whole group undertakes to secure group self-respect. The Jews, Poles and other oppressed peoples called it "national self-respect." The Negro is now going through the same process. It always means a tremendous acceleration in activity. The best parallel to the Negro is the Jew, who has experienced most of the same social handicaps. It seems to be an eternal paradox that the best way to make people go ahead is to try to hold them back. . . . If the Jews had suffered from no limitation, the world would be much poorer, for the drive of his reaction to discrimination has given us eminent contributions. In the same way I venture to prophesy that in the next generation or two the group that will make far and away the most progress in America will be the Negroes.¹⁶⁰—Miller.

In the present day a race-conscious Negro group is largely an accomplished fact. . . .

The rapid fabrication of a Negro history and culture tradition is a major expression of an actively self-conscious group. . . .

The increasing number of racial organizations of national scope is another expression of the growing race consciousness. . . .

Extreme sensitiveness is increasingly characteristic of the race in America. There is everywhere manifest a spirit of resentment of any and all things that imply disrespect. . . .

The significance to the race of a high degree of solidarity is not always clearly understood by many of its advocates. . . .

To the extent that the Negroes develop peculiar and exclusive institutions, they are to that degree isolated from the only culture that they may hope to acquire. The creation of a distinctive Negro culture in the midst of an advanced and highly complex civilization is manifestly impossible****

The numerous race riots that have occurred, particularly in the post-war decade, are both evidence and expression of a militant race-conscious attitude developed in the presence of a fixed and powerful prejudice of race****

The continued growth of a Negro nationalistic spirit in America is perhaps inevitable. . . .

But in any long time view, the development of a nationalistic unity operates to the disadvantage of the Negro and to the disadvantage of the whole community. . . .

It would be to the advantage of the Negroes and to the advantage of the white people to remove all handicaps imposed by caste and other prejudice. They retard the cultural advance of the Negroes and to that extent the advance of the community. The result is the same whether the Negroes are handicapped in their individual freedom directly by discriminatory acts of the whites or indirectly by the existence of a sentimental race complex. The latter arises as a consequence of the former and so long as discrimination and exclusion are general it is folly to oppose the growth of nationality.¹⁶¹—Reuter.

The only real approach to the causes of anti-Semitism is the Zionist movement, and that not for the majority of Jews. Those Jews, a minority of the entire people, who will eventually be able to go to Palestine, will find for themselves a normal adjustment there. They will no longer be parts of an oppressed minority but members of the Jewish National Home. In that capacity, they will find or create the institutions they need as other peoples have done. . . . Jewish movements will strengthen the Jews, will influence the non-Jewish friends of the Jew, but will by no means touch the anti-Semites.¹⁶²—Levinger.

The rebuilding of Palestine is for us Jews not a mere matter

of charity or emigration: it is a problem of paramount importance for the Jewish people. Palestine is first and foremost not a refuge for East European Jews, but the incarnation of a re-awakening sense of national solidarity. But is it opportune to revive and to strengthen this sense of solidarity? To that question I must reply with an unqualified affirmative....

Nationalities do not want to be fused: they want to go each its own way. A state of peace can be brought about only if they mutually tolerate and respect one another. This demands above all things that we Jews become once more conscious of our nationality, and regain the self-respect which is necessary to our national existence.... It is not sufficient for us to take part as individuals in the cultural work of mankind: we must also set our hands to some work which can serve the ends of our corporate national existence. In this way and in this way only can the Jewish people regain its health.

It is from this point of view that I look upon the Zionist movement.

... if we really succeed in establishing a nucleus of the Jewish people in Palestine, we shall once more have a spiritual centre, notwithstanding that the great majority of us are scattered over the world, and the feeling of isolation will disappear. That is the great redeeming effect which I anticipate from the rebuilding of Palestine.¹⁶³—Einstein.

Jewish political nationalism here, abroad, and in Palestine is unwise. . . .

The philosophy of Jewish life which motivates the Jewish nationalists, as well as their program and methods, constitutes a danger to the stability of the Jewish position in the free countries of the world. The nationalist leaders are forever emphasizing the differences which divide us from our fellow citizens****

My fight is not against Palestine but against the philosophy of political nationalism for Jews; against those Jewish political nationalists who may destroy Palestine. Palestine cannot, must not be built by British bayonets or Italian bayonets or Jewish blood or Arab blood. Let us have regard to the sanctities of our tradition and to the spirit of the land itself, holy like to Christian, Mohammedan and Jew.¹⁶⁴—Lazaron.

4. "Unity in diversity."

One approach to the problem will be to study the true scientific facts about education and culture contact and part of that study will probably lead to a fuller appreciation that each culture has something to give, that a steam-roller flattening into one shape is absurd, that "unity in multiplicity" can be the motif for a Federation of the good in all her cultures, a federation of cultures wider than any the world has ever seen.¹⁶⁵—Langdon-Davies.

The spirit of the work [*Race Relations* by Weatherford and Johnson] seems in opposition to the commonly accepted idea among whites of an inferior culture in its midst. This attitude which leads either to belief in colonization, segregation, subordination or annihilation is unpractical and inadvisable. The possibility of parallel cultures also presents difficulties although offering possibilities for the progressive development of good-will and understanding between groups demanded by the complexity and proximity of modern civilization. The authors point out difficulties in the attainment of a separate culture, namely, the weakening of the original cultural drives of the Negro, the impossibility of a separate economy, and the improbability of being able to resist the effects of a parallel culture. The emancipation of the Negro has led to the enrichment of the general culture rather than of a distinctive culture. Because of this, and because of the belief that all cultures develop by borrowing and by adaptation, the authors lead one to believe that the only permanent solution of white-Negro relations lies in some slow process of amalgamation through which the divisive elements will be disintegrated and American culture become one, enriched through, rather than retarded by, the contribution of Negro as well as white.¹⁶⁶—Anderson.

George Santayana has noted that in his opinion all men are destined eventually to live in terms of a common civilization of science and morals, but as they attain it they will more and more creatively differentiate on the cultural plane.¹⁶⁷—Clinchy.

Human America is poorly integrated, and I am for integration

and homogeneity, for the disappearance of the now sharply defined, island-like groups, and the general, organic merging of all the groups into a nation that culturally and spiritually will be a fusion of all the races and nations now in the United States on the general politico-cultural pattern laid out by the earliest immigrants on this continent and their descendants. . . .¹⁶⁸—Adamic.

5. Conclusions.

It is not our purpose to evaluate any of these theories—we leave all of them to the best thinking of the American people. Most of them have a point. None of them is absolute. It may be hoped that the future will develop an absolute solution for this great American problem, but this consummation seems doubtful.¹⁶⁹—Eppse.

Yet I should like to point out in which direction the most valuable lessons of my experience lie. I believe they are:

First, that racial characteristics are largely determined by environment.

Second, that race prejudice is an artificial product of the mind, induced by various influences.

Third, that in the highest and lowest spheres of thought and activity, all races are alike.

Fourth, that every human being, no matter what his colour, race, faith or class, has a right to earn the respect of his neighbour and his community, by virtue of *what he himself is*.

Fifth, that the brotherhood of man will become an established fact as soon as each man determines to live like a brother in his relations to his fellows.

Sixth, that Christianity has in its *spirit* the solution of class and race problems; but that in its *practice* it is lamentably far from solving them.

Seventh, that he who wishes to enter into fellowship with the nation or race with which he lives must free himself from all isolating practices and beliefs.

Eighth, that entrance into such a large human relationship has to be "bought at a price" and that it is a price worth paying; for there is no loftier human experience than that of becoming one with all mankind.¹⁷⁰—Steiner.

E. America's responsibility for world leadership in unifying of races.

We cannot escape the fact, . . . that there can be no effective or lasting American leadership unless it is a moral leadership supported by the full physical and human resources of this country. There can be no world leadership unless its fundamental honesty is guaranteed by the reorientation of the American people to simple justice in human relations in respect to minorities, racial and cultural; in respect to labor; and in respect to the rights of small nations. Without this our economic and political control can only be that which rests upon the continued use of force of arms, as has been, unfortunately, the case in the past.¹⁷¹—Charles Johnson.

When it comes to these international aspects of democracy the United States, . . . had an auspicious start. . . . The leadership of the time was a galaxy of all-out libertarians, who considered the world as their country and humanity at large their fellow citizens. For them democracy was a world principle. . . .

Even when this international birthmark faded into a narrower nationalism, there remained with us something of the tradition of world connection and mission. . . .

Today we are, it would seem, on the swing back to a wider democracy. We have recanted our selfish isolationism of 1919. We have repaired our undemocratic ways at their weakest foreign points. . . .

But over against all this, there stands one tragic but not irremedial liability. In the neglected and unsolved problem of the Negro in America, the Achilles of the West has a dangerously vulnerable heel. At any time, in any critical position requiring moral authority before the world, this threatens to impair our influence as an exemplar of democracy. It has already done so. . . .

For the moment, then, the paradox of race has become our democracy's great dilemma. But speeded on its way to solution it could, by that very token, become a triumphant vindication. Clear credentials on this score would give America a passport to world confidence, especially in the eyes of that two thirds of humanity who happen to be non-white.¹⁷²—Locke.

It has been a long while since the United States had any imperialistic designs toward the outside world. But we have practiced within our own boundaries something that amounts to race imperialism. The attitude of the white citizens toward the Negroes has undeniably had some of the unlovely characteristics of an alien imperialism—a smug racial superiority, a willingness to exploit an unprotected people. We have justified it by telling ourselves that its end is benevolent. And sometimes it has been. But so sometimes have been the ends of imperialism. And the moral atmosphere in which it has existed is identical with that in which men—well-meaning men—talk of “the white man’s burden.”

But that atmosphere is changing. Today it is becoming increasingly apparent to thoughtful Americans that we cannot fight the forces and ideas of imperialism abroad and maintain any form of imperialism at home. The war has done this to our thinking. . . .

Our very proclamations of what we are fighting for have rendered our own inequities self-evident. When we talk of freedom and opportunity for all nations, the mocking paradoxes in our own society become so clear they can no longer be ignored. If we want to talk about freedom, we must mean freedom for others as well as for ourselves, and we must mean freedom for everyone inside our frontiers as well as outside.^{172a}—Willkie.

America with her unique experience of multiform contacts of races and peoples is in a position to invest the concept of democracy with a broader and richer meaning than any nation has done so far. . . . She can, if she will, encourage the search for the unique and the distinctive in social life, side by side, with a strong emphasis on the basic human interests.¹⁷³—Drachsler.

As long as we thought of Americanism in terms of the “melting-pot,” our American cultural traditions lay in the past. It was something to which the new Americans were to be molded. . . .

The failure of the melting-pot, far from closing the great American democratic experiment, means that it has only just begun. . . . In a world which has dreamed of internationalism, we find that we have all unawares been building up the first international

nation. The voices which have cried for a tight and jealous nationalism of the European pattern are failing. From that ideal . . . time and tendency have moved us further and further away. What we have achieved has been rather a cosmopolitan federation of national colonies, of foreign cultures, from which the sting of devastating competition has been removed. America is already the world-federation in miniature, the continent where for the first time in history has been achieved that miracle of hope, the peaceful living side by side, with character substantially preserved, of the most heterogeneous peoples under the sun. . . .

They believe that the most effective integration will be one which co-ordinates the diverse elements and turns them consciously toward working out together the place of America in the world situation. They demand for integration a genuine integrity, a wholeness and soundness of enthusiasm and purpose which can only come when no national colony within our America feels that it is being discriminated against or that its cultural case is being prejudiced. . . .

We must see if the lesson of the war has not been for hundreds of these later Americans a vivid realization of their transnationality, a new consciousness of what America means to them as a citizenship in the world.¹⁷⁴—Bourne.

GOD'S ANSWER

Read his (W. E. Burghardt Du Bois) Litany of Atlanta:

"Bewildered are we and passion tost, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people; straining at the armposts of Thy Throne, we raise our shackled hands and charge Thee, God, by the bones of our stolen fathers, by the tears of our dead mothers, by the very blood of our crucified Christ: What meaneth this? Tell us the plan; give us the sign; whisper—speak—call, great God, for Thy silence is white terror to our hearts! The way, O God, show us the way and point us the Path!"

Heaven and earth heard that piercing cry, uttered by one, echoed by millions. Earth and Heaven answered. The chivalry of the South shook off its indifference for a better acquaintance with its black neighbors and to inaugurate a campaign of education against mob rule. Heaven's reply, no less specific, brought the Mystery of God, the Flame of Divine Guidance, . . . 'Abdu'l-Bahá, . . . the Servant of God, who appeared in 1912 before the band of interracial workers known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at their fourth convention and briefly unfolded to them the program of God for human relief. It was a message from the living God upon whom they called but did not know. They received both the message and the messenger with joyous acclaim, but in the hurly-burley of human plans soon forgot, as did countless others. . . .

This Most Great Reconstruction which the majestic Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh brings to view, is not black or white or yellow or brown or red, yet all of these. It is the power of divine outpouring and endless perfections for mankind.—Louis Gregory.

SECTION II

SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS ON RACE UNITY

I. The Spiritual Truth of the Oneness of Mankind.

A. Former Prophets indicated men are brothers under one God.

According to the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh, all religious, racial, patriotic and political prejudice must be abandoned; for these are the destroyers of the real foundation of humanity. He has announced that the religion of God is one, for all revelations of it are based upon reality. His Holiness Abraham summoned the people to the reality; His Holiness Moses proclaimed the reality; His Holiness Christ founded the reality. Likewise all the prophets were the servants and promulgators of the reality. Reality is one and indivisible. Therefore the prejudices and bigotries which exist today among the religions are not justifiable inasmuch as they are opposed to the reality. All prejudices are against the will and the plan of God. Consider for instance racial distinction and enmity. All humanity are the children of God; they belong to the same family, to the same original race. There can be no multiplicity of races, since all are the descendants of Adam. This signifies that racial assumption and distinction is nothing but superstition.¹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Brotherhood or fraternity is of different kinds. . . . it is evident that fraternity, love and kindness based upon family, nativity, race or an attitude of altruism are neither sufficient nor permanent since all of them are limited, restricted and liable to change and disruption. . . .

Therefore the Lord of mankind has caused his holy divine Manifestations to come into the world. He has revealed his heavenly books in order to establish spiritual brotherhood, and through the power of the Holy Spirit has made it practicable for perfect fraternity to be realized among mankind. . . . For example consider the foundation of the brotherhood laid by His Holiness Christ. Observe how that fraternity was conducive to unity and accord and how it brought various souls to a plane of uniform attainment where they were willing to sacrifice their lives for each other.²—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

1. The teaching of Jewish Prophets.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them.—*Genesis* 1:26, 27.

The Lord looketh from heaven; he beholdeth all the sons of men.

From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth.

He fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works.—*Psalms* 33:13-15.

Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?—*Malachi* 2:10.

And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord and his name one.—*Zechariah* 14:9.

2. The Christian teaching.

But be not ye called Rabbi: For one is your master, even Christ: and all ye are brethren.—*Matthew* 23:8.

And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.—*John* 10:16.

God hath showed that I should not call any man common or unclean.—*The Acts* 10:28.

God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands. . . .

And hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth. . . .—*The Acts* 17:24, 26.

There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.—*Galatians* 3:28.

3. The Word of the Islamic Prophet, Muhammad.

Your God is one God: there is no God but He, the Compassionate, the Merciful.—*Qur'án* 2:158.

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Mankind was but one people. . . .—*Qur'án* 2:209.

Men were of one religion only: . . .—*Qur'án* 10:20.

In the great *Qur'án*, God says: "Thou shalt see no difference in the creatures of God." In other words, He says: From the ideal standpoint, there is no variation between the creatures of God, because they are all created by Him.³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

B. The Bahá'í Message proclaims the realization of the oneness of mankind in this promised Day of God.

O ye discerning ones! Verily, the words which have descended from the heaven of the Will of God are the source of unity and harmony for the world. Close your eyes to racial differences, and welcome all with the light of oneness.⁴—Bahá'u'lláh.

The utterance of God is a lamp, whose light are these words: Ye are the fruits of one tree, and the leaves of one branch. . . . So powerful is the light of unity that it can illuminate the whole earth.⁵—Bahá'u'lláh.

"Address yourselves to the promotion of the well being and tranquillity of the children of men. Bend your minds and wills to the education of the peoples and kindreds of the earth, that haply the dissensions that divide it may, through the power of the Most Great Name, be blotted out from its face, and all mankind become the upholders of one Order, and the inhabitants of one City. . . . Ye dwell in one world, and have been created through the operation of one Will. Blessed is he who minglenth with all men in a spirit of utmost kindness and love."⁶—Bahá'u'lláh.

For thousands of years the human race has been at war. It is enough. Now let mankind for a time at least, consort in amity and peace. Enmity and hatred have ruled. Let the world for a period, exercise love. . . . We must now realize that we are the servants of one God, that we turn to one beneficent father, live under one divine law, seek one reality and have one desire. Thus may we live in the utmost friendship and love, and in return the favors and bounties of God shall surround us, the world of humanity will be reformed, mankind enjoy a new life, eternal light illumine and heavenly moralities become manifest.

RACE AND MAN

Then divine policy shall govern the world; for the divine policy is the oneness of humanity. God is just and kind to all. He considers all as his servants. He excludes none and his judgments are correct and true.⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

In every Dispensation the light of Divine Guidance has been focussed upon one central theme. . . . In this wondrous Revelation, this glorious century, the foundation of the Faith of God and the distinguishing feature of His Law is the consciousness of the Oneness of Mankind.⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

In cycles gone by, though harmony was established, yet, owing to the absence of means, the unity of all mankind could not have been achieved. . . . In this day, however, means of communication have multiplied, and the five continents of the earth have virtually merged into one. . . . In like manner all the members of the human family, . . . have become increasingly interdependent. . . . Hence the unity of all mankind can in this day be achieved.⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

The proclamation of the Oneness of Mankind—the head cornerstone of Bahá'u'lláh's all-embracing dominion—can under no circumstances be compared with such expressions of pious hope as have been uttered in the past. . . . It implies at once a warning and a promise—a warning that in it lies the sole means for the salvation of a greatly suffering world, a promise that its realization is at hand.¹⁰—Shoghi Effendi.

1. All men are created in the image of God.

Upon the inmost reality of each and every created thing He [God] hath shed the light of one of His names, and made it a recipient of the glory of one of His attributes. Upon the reality of man, however, He hath focused the radiance of all His names and attributes, and made it a mirror of His own self. Alone of all created things man hath been singled out for so great a favor, so enduring a bounty.

These energies with which the Day Star of Divine bounty and Source of heavenly guidance hath endowed the reality of

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man, lie however, latent within him, even as a flame is hidden within the candle and the rays of light are potentially present in the lamp.¹¹—Bahá'u'lláh.

According to the words of the Old Testament, God has said: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." . . .

Let us now discover more specifically how he is the image and likeness of God and what is the standard or criterion by which he can be measured and estimated. This standard can be no other than the divine virtues which are revealed in him. Therefore every man imbued with the divine qualities, who reflects heavenly moralities and perfections, who is the expression of ideal and praiseworthy attributes, is verily in the image and likeness of God. If a man possesses wealth can we call him an image and likeness of God? Or is human honor and notoriety the criterion of divine nearness? Can we apply the test of racial color and say that man of a certain hue—white, black, brown, yellow, red—is the true image of his creator? We must conclude that color is not the standard and estimate of judgment and that it is of no importance, for color is accidental in nature. The spirit and intelligence of man is the essential; and that is the manifestation of divine virtues, the merciful bestowals of God, the life eternal and baptism through the Holy Spirit. . . . Man is not man because of bodily attributes.¹²—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

2. Minor human differences do exist.
 - a. Color variations not important.
 - 1) Color due to climate.

Indeed, the world of humanity is like one kindred and one family. Because of the climatic conditions of the zones, through the passing of the ages, colors have become different. In the torrid zone, on account of the intensity of the effect of the sun throughout the ages the black race appeared. In the frigid zone, on account of the severity of the cold and the ineffectiveness of the heat of the sun throughout the ages the white race appeared. In the temperate zone, the yellow, brown and red races came into existence. But in reality mankind is one race. Because it is of one race unquestionably there must be unity and harmony and no separation or discord.¹³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

2) Color as the point of racial difference.

One of the important questions which affect the unity and solidarity of humankind is the fellowship and equality of the white and colored races. Between these two races certain points of agreement and points of distinction exist which warrant mutual consideration. The points of contact are many; for in the material or physical plane of being, both are constituted alike and exist under the same law of growth and bodily development. Furthermore both live and move in the plane of the senses and are endowed with human intelligence. There are many other mutual qualifications. In this country, the United States of America, patriotism is common to both races; all have equal rights to citizenship, speak one language, receive the blessings of the same civilization and follow the precepts of the same religion. In fact numerous points of partnership and agreement exist between the two races; whereas the one point of distinction is that of color. Shall this, the least of all distinctions be allowed to separate you as races and individuals? . . . God is not pleased with, neither should any reasonable or intelligent man be willing to recognize inequality in the races because of this distinction.¹⁴—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

3) Color not cause of strife in nature.

The animal, notwithstanding that it is a captive of nature and nature completely dominates it, does not attach importance to color. For instance, thou dost behold that the black, white, yellow, blue and other colored pigeons are in utmost harmony with one another. They never give importance to color. Likewise sheep and the beasts are in utmost love and unity. But man is peculiar in that he has made color the means of strife. Between the white and the black there is the utmost estrangement and discord. When we enter a rose garden we behold how beautiful is the display of variegated flowers. The difference of color is the adornment of the rose garden. Were it of one color it would not have such splendor.¹⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

In the realm of genesis and creation the question of color is of least importance. . . .

In the animal kingdom . . . we find variety of color. See how the doves differ in beauty yet they live together in perfect peace, and

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love each other. They do not make difference of color a cause of discord and strife. They view each other as the same species and kind. They know they are one in kind. . . . Throughout the animal kingdom we do not find the creatures separated because of color. . . . If we do not find color distinction drawn in the kingdom of lower intelligence and reason, how can it be justified among human beings, especially when we know that all have come from the same source and belong to the same household? In origin and intention of creation mankind is one.¹⁶—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Likewise in the world of minds and souls, fellowship, which is an expression of composition is conducive to life; whereas discord, which is an expression of decomposition is the equivalent of death. Without cohesion among the individual elements which compose the body-politic, disintegration and decay must inevitably follow and life be extinguished. Ferocious animals have no fellowship. The vultures and tigers are solitary whereas domestic animals live together in complete harmony. The sheep, black and white, associate without discord. Birds of various species and colors wing their flight and feed together without trace of enmity or disagreement. Therefore in the world of humanity it is wise and seemly that all the individual members should manifest unity and affinity.¹⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

4) Man originated race distinctions.

God did not make these distinctions; these divisions have had their origin in man himself. Therefore, as they are against the plan and purpose of God they are false and imaginary.¹⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Racial prejudice or separation into nations such as French, German, American and so on is unnatural and proceeds from human motive and ignorance. All are children and servants of God. Why should we be separated by artificial and imaginary boundaries?¹⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

No difference or preference has been made by God for its [earth's] human inhabitants; but man has laid the foundation of preju-

dice, hatred and discord with his fellow-man by considering nationalities separate in importance and races different in rights and privileges.²⁰—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

5) Color no distinction in Kingdom of God.

In the Kingdom of God no distinction is made as to the color of the skin, whether it be black or white; nay, rather the heart and soul are considered. If the spirit is pure, the face is illuminated, although it be black. If the heart is stained, the face is dark and depressed, although it may be of the utmost beauty. The color of the pupils of the eye is black, yet they are the fountains of light.

Although the white color is apparent, yet in it is hidden and concealed seven colors. Therefore whiteness and blackness have no importance; nay, rather the circle of distinction is based upon soul and heart.²¹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Therefore be it known that color or race is of no importance. He who is the image and likeness of God, who is the manifestation of the bestowals of God, is acceptable at the threshold of God whether his color be white, black or brown; it matters not. . . . The standard of divine measure and judgment is his intelligence and spirit. . . .

The character and purity of the heart is of all importance. The heart illumined by the light of God is nearest and dearest to God.²²—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

b. Diversity should be the cause of love, harmony, beauty.

This variety in forms and coloring which is manifest in all the kingdoms is according to creative Wisdom and hath a divine purpose.²³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Let us look at the beauty in diversity, the beauty of harmony, and learn a lesson from the vegetable creation. If you beheld a garden in which all the plants were the same as to form, color and perfume, it would not seem beautiful to you at all, but rather, monotonous and dull. The garden which is pleasing to the eye and which makes the heart glad, is the garden in which are growing side by side flowers of every hue, form and perfume, and the

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joyous contrast of color is what makes for charm and beauty. . . . It is just the diversity and variety that constitutes its charm; each flower, each tree, each fruit, besides being beautiful in itself, brings out by contrast the qualities of the others, and shows to advantage the special loveliness of each and all.

Thus it should be among the children of men! The diversity in the human family should be the cause of love and harmony, as it is in music where many different notes blend together in the making of a perfect chord. If you meet those of different race and color to yourself, do not mistrust them and withdraw into your shell of conventionality, but rather be glad and show them kindness. Think of them as different colored roses growing in the beautiful garden of humanity and rejoice to be among them.²⁴—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

c. Capacities and character are only true distinction.

. . . excellence does not depend upon color. Character is the true criterion of humanity. Anyone who possesses a good character, who has faith in God and is firm, whose actions are good, whose speech is good,—that one is accepted at the threshold of God no matter what color he may be. . . . You are under the training of one gardener and this gardener is kind to all. Therefore you must manifest the utmost kindness towards each other and you may rest assured that whenever you are united, the confirmations of the kingdom of Abhá will reach you, the heavenly favors will descend, the bounties of God will be bestowed, the Sun of Reality will shine, the cloud of mercy will pour its showers and the breeze of divine generosity will waft its fragrance upon you.

I hope you will continue in unity and fellowship. How beautiful to see colored and white together! I hope, God willing, the day may come when I shall see the red man, the Indians with you, also Japanese and others. Then there will be white roses, yellow roses, and a very wonderful rose-garden will appear in the world.²⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

. . . Bahá'u'lláh has proclaimed the reality of the oneness of the world of humanity and announced that all nations, peoples and

racers are one. He has shown that although individuals may differ in development and capacity, they are essentially and intrinsically equal as human beings, just as the waves of the sea are innumerable and different but the reality of the sea is one.²⁶—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

So all mankind possess intelligence and capacities, but the intelligence, the capacity and the worthiness of men differ. This is evident.

For example, take a number of children of one family, of one place, of one school, instructed by one teacher, reared on the same food, in the same climate, with the same clothing, and studying the same lessons—it is certain that among these children some will be clever in the sciences, some will be of average ability, and some dull. Hence it is clear that in the original nature there exists a difference of degree, and varieties of worthiness and capacity. This difference does not imply good or evil, but is simply a difference of degree. . . .

Perhaps some one will say, that since the capacity and worthiness of men differ, therefore the difference of capacity certainly causes the differences of characters.

But this is not so; for capacity is of two kinds, natural capacity and acquired capacity. The first, which is the creation of God, is purely good—in the creation of God there is no evil; but the acquired capacity has become the cause of the appearance of evil. For example, God has created all men in such a manner, and has given them such a constitution and such capacities, that they are benefited by sugar and honey, and harmed and destroyed by poison. This nature and constitution is innate, and God has given it equally to all mankind. But man begins little by little to accustom himself to poison, by taking a small quantity each day, . . . The natural capacities are thus completely perverted. . . . One does not criticize people because of their innate capacities and nature, but rather for their acquired capacities and nature . . . when the natural qualities of man are used in an unlawful way, they are blameworthy.²⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

The only difference lies in the degree of faithfulness, of obedience to the Laws of God. There are some who are as lighted torches, there are others who shine as stars in the sky of humanity.

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The lovers of mankind, these are the superior men, of whatever nation, creed, or color they may be. For it is they to whom God will say these Blessed Words, "Well done, My good and faithful servants." In that day He will not ask, "Are you English, French, or perhaps Iranian? Do you come from the East, or from the West?"

The only division that is real is this:—There are heavenly men and earthly men; self-sacrificing servants of humanity in the love of the Most High, bringing harmony and unity, teaching peace and goodwill to men. On the other hand there are those selfish men, haters of their brethren, in whose hearts prejudice has replaced loving kindness, and whose influence breeds discord and strife.

To which race or to which color belong these two divisions of men, to the white, to the yellow, to the black, to the East or to the West, to the North or to the South? If these are God's divisions, why should we invent others?²⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Know thou that all men have been created in the nature made by God, the Guardian, the Self-Subsisting. Unto each one hath been prescribed a pre-ordained measure, as decreed in God's mighty and guarded Tablets. All that which ye potentially possess can, however, be manifested only as a result of your own volition****

How often hath the human heart, which is the recipient of the light of God and the seat of the revelation of the All-Merciful, erred from Him Who is the Source of that light and the Well Spring of that revelation. It is the waywardness of the heart that removeth it far from God, and condemneth it to remoteness from Him. Those hearts, however, that are aware of His Presence, are close to Him, and are to be regarded as having drawn nigh unto His throne****

Let no one imagine that by Our assertion that all created things are the signs of the revelation of God is meant that—God forbid—all men, be they good or evil, pious or infidel, are equal in the sight of God****

How lofty is the station which man, if he but chooseth to fulfil his high destiny, can attain! To what depths of degradation he can sink!²⁹—Bahá'u'lláh.

3. Human unity will be manifest in the World Order of Bahá'u'lláh: the Kingdom of God on earth.

A world community in which all economic barriers will have been permanently demolished and the interdependence of Capital and Labor definitely recognized; in which the clamor of religious fanaticism and strife will have been forever stilled; in which the flame of racial animosity will have been finally extinguished; in which a single code of international law—the product of the considered judgment of the world's federated representatives—shall have as its sanction the instant and coercive intervention of the combined forces of the federated units; and finally a world community in which the fury of a capricious and militant nationalism will have been transmuted into an abiding consciousness of world citizenship—such indeed, appears, in its broadest outline, the Order anticipated by Bahá'u'lláh, an Order that shall come to be regarded as the fairest fruit of a slowly maturing age.

"The Tabernacle of Unity," Bahá'u'lláh proclaims in His message to all mankind, "has been raised; regard ye not one another as strangers. . . . Of one tree are all ye the fruit and of one bough the leaves. . . ."30—Shoghi Effendi.

Let no one, while this System [Bahá'í Administrative Order] is still in its infancy, misconceive its character, belittle its significance or misrepresent its purpose. . . . The central, the underlying aim which animates it is the establishment of the New World Order as adumbrated by Bahá'u'lláh. The methods it employs, the standard it inculcates, incline it to neither East nor West, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither rich nor poor, neither white nor colored. Its watchword is the unification of the human race; its standard the "Most Great Peace"; its consummation the advent of that golden millenium—the Day when the kingdoms of this world shall have become the Kingdom of God Himself, the Kingdom of Bahá'u'lláh.³¹—Shoghi Effendi.

II. The Grave Importance of Modern Race Problems.

A. All race prejudice is harmful.

1. Racialism today usurps the place of God.

. . . what is it that the eye encounters as one surveys the international scene. . . . A world that has lost its bearings, in which the

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bright flame of religion is fast dying out, in which the forces of a blatant nationalism and racialism have usurped the rights and prerogatives of God Himself, in which a flagrant secularism—the direct offspring of irreligion—has raised its triumphant head.³²—Shoghi Effendi.

The chief idols in the desecrated temple of mankind are none other than the triple gods of Nationalism, Racialism and Communism, at whose altars governments and peoples, whether democratic or totalitarian, at peace or at war, of the East or of the West, Christian or Islamic, are, in various forms and in different degrees, now worshipping. . . .

The theories and policies so unsound, so pernicious, which deify the state and exalt the nation above mankind, which seek to subordinate the sister races of the world to one single race, which discriminate between the black and the white, and which tolerate the dominance of one privileged class over all others—these are the dark, the false, and crooked doctrines for which any man or people who believes in them, or acts upon them, must, sooner or later, incur the wrath and chastisement of God.³³—Shoghi Effendi.

All prejudices are against the will and plan of God. Consider for instance racial distinction and enmity. All humanity are the children of God; they belong to the same family, to the same human race. There can be no multiplicity of races, since all are the descendants of Adam. This signifies that racial assumption and distinction is nothing but superstition. . . . God did not make these divisions. These distinctions have had their origin in man himself. Therefore as they are against the plan and purpose of the reality they are false and imaginary. We are of one physical race even as we are of one physical plan of material body. . . .³⁴—‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

2. Race prejudice destroys human welfare.

Prejudice whether it be religious, racial, patriotic, or political in its origin and aspect is the destroyer of human foundations and opposed to the commands of God. God has sent forth His prophets for the sole purpose of creating love and unity in the

world of human hearts. All the heavenly books are the written word of love . . . There should be no racial alienation or national division among mankind . . . it has been decreed by God in this day that these prejudices and differences shall be laid aside.³⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

All the warfare and bloodshed in history have been the outcome of prejudice.³⁶—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

B. Negro-white discord critical.

1. Enmity between colored and white threatens havoc.

This question of the union of the white and the black is very important, for if it is not realized, ere long great difficulties will arise, and harmful results will follow.³⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

If this matter remaineth without change enmity will be increased day by day, and the final result will be hardship and may end in bloodshed.³⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

2. Unity between colored and white would be assurance of world peace.

Each one should endeavor to develop and assist the other toward mutual advancement. . . . Love and unity will be fostered between you, thereby bringing about the oneness of mankind. For the accomplishment of unity between the colored and white will be an assurance of the world's peace.³⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

C. Unity is a prerequisite of the illumination, peace and welfare of humanity.

The well-being of mankind, its peace and security, are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established. This unity can never be achieved so long as the counsels which the Pen of the Most High hath revealed are suffered to pass unheeded.⁴⁰—Bahá'u'lláh.

The brightness of the fire of your love will no doubt fuse and unify the contending peoples and kindreds of the earth, whilst the fierceness of the flame of enmity and hatred cannot but result in strife and ruin.⁴¹—Bahá'u'lláh.

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The utterance of God is a lamp, whose light are these words: Ye are the fruits of one tree, and the leaves of one branch. Deal ye one with another with the utmost love and harmony, with friendliness and fellowship. He Who is the Day Star of Truth beareth Me witness! So powerful is the light of unity that it can illuminate the whole earth. The one true God, He Who knoweth all things, Himself testifieth to the truth of these words.

Exert yourselves that ye may attain this transcendent and most sublime station, the station that can insure the protection and security of all mankind. This goal excelleth every other goal, and this aspiration is the monarch of all aspirations.⁴²—Bahá'u'lláh.

If the oneness of the human world were established, all the differences which separate mankind would be eradicated. Strife and warfare would cease and the world of humanity would find repose. Universal Peace would be promoted and the east and west would be conjoined in a strong bond. All men would be sheltered beneath one tabernacle. Nativities would become one; races and religions be unified. The people of the world would live together in harmony and their well-being would be assured.⁴³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

The most important teaching of His Highness Bahá'u'lláh, is to leave behind racial, political, religious and patriotic prejudices. Until these prejudices are entirely removed from the people of the world, the realm of humanity will not find rest. Nay, rather, discord and bloodshed will be increased day by day, and the foundation of the prosperity of the world of man will be destroyed.⁴⁴—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

III. The Solution of Race Problems: the Accomplishment of Human Unity in the Kingdom of God on Earth.

A. Spiritual power and ideals necessary for achievement of human oneness.

But there is need of a superior power to overcome human prejudices; a power which nothing in the world of mankind can withstand and which will overshadow the effect of all other forces at work in human conditions. That irresistible power is the love of God.⁴⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

When a man turns his face to God he finds sunshine everywhere. All men are his brothers.⁴⁶—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

1. The Holy Spirit [Word of God] overcomes human limitations.

The source of perfect unity and love in the world of existence is the bond and oneness of reality. When the divine and fundamental reality enters human hearts and lives, it conserves and protects all states and conditions of mankind, establishing that intrinsic oneness of the world of humanity which can only come into being through the efficacy of the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Spirit is like unto the life in the human body, which blends all differences of parts and members in unity and agreement. . . . Just as the human spirit of life is the cause of the co-ordination among the various parts of the human organism, the Holy Spirit is the controlling cause of the unity and co-ordination of mankind.⁴⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

In the contingent world there are many collective centers which are conducive to association and unity between the children of men. For example, patriotism is a collective center; nationalism is a collective center; identity of interests is a collective center; political alliance is a collective center; the union of ideals is a collective center, and the prosperity of the world of humanity is dependent upon the organization and promotion of the collective centers. Nevertheless, all the above institutions are, in reality, the matter and not the substance, accidental and not eternal—temporary and not everlasting. With the appearance of great revolutions and upheavals, all these collective centers are swept away. But the Collective Center of the Kingdom, embodying the Institutes and Divine Teachings, is the eternal Collective Center. It establishes relationship between the East and the West, organizes the oneness of the world of humanity, and destroys the foundation of differences. It overcomes and includes all the other collective centers. Like unto the ray of the sun, it dispels entirely the darkness encompassing all the regions, bestows ideal life, and causes the effulgence of divine illumination. Through the breaths of the Holy Spirit it performs miracles; the Orient and the Occident embrace each other, the North and South become intimates

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and associates, conflicting and contending opinions disappear, antagonistic aims are brushed aside, the law of the struggle for existence is abrogated, and the canopy of the oneness of the world of humanity is raised on the apex of the globe, casting its shade over all the races of men. Consequently, the real Collective Center is the body of the divine teachings, which include all the degrees and embrace all the universal relations and necessary laws of humanity. . . .

Therefore, the believers of God throughout all the republics of America, through the divine power, must become the cause of the promotion of heavenly teachings and the establishment of the oneness of humanity.⁴⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Consider the flowers of a garden, though differing in kind, color, form, and shape, yet, inasmuch as they are refreshed by the waters of one spring, revived by the breath of one wind, invigorated by the rays of one sun, this diversity increaseth their charm, and addeth unto their beauty. How unpleasing to the eye if all the flowers and plants, the leaves and blossoms, the fruits, the branches and the trees of that garden were all of the same shape and color! Diversity of hues, form and shape, enricheth and adorneth the garden, and heighteneth the effect thereof. In like manner, when divers shades of thought, temperament and character, are brought together under the power and influence of one central agency, the beauty and glory of human perfection will be revealed and made manifest. Naught but the celestial potency of the Word of God, which ruleth and transcendeth the realities of all things, is capable of harmonizing the divergent thoughts, sentiments, ideas, and convictions of the children of men.⁴⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

. . . Moses gave the message of the glad-tidings of Christ and Christ confirmed the Prophethood of Moses. Therefore between Moses and Jesus there is no variation or conflict. They are in perfect unity but between the Jew and the Christian there is conflict. Now therefore if the Christian and Jewish peoples investigate the reality [of the Word] underlying their Prophets' teachings they will become kind in their attitude toward each other and associate in the utmost love, for reality is one and not

dual or multiple. If this investigation of the reality becomes universal the divergent nations will ratify all the divine Prophets and confirm all the Holy Books. No strife or rancor will then remain and the world will become united.⁵⁰—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

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2. Bahá'u'lláh brings the unifying power of the Spirit for man in this Day.

Through each and every one of the verses which the Pen of the Most High hath revealed, the doors of love and unity have been unlocked and flung open to the face of men. We have erewhile declared—and Our Word is the truth—: "Consort with the followers of all religions in a spirit of friendliness and fellowship." Whatsoever hath led the children of men to shun one another, and hath caused dissensions and divisions amongst them, hath, through the revelation of these words, been nullified and abolished. From the heaven of God's will, and for the purpose of ennobling the world of being, and for elevating the minds and souls of men, hath been sent down that which is the most effective instrument for the education of the whole human race. . . . The Tongue of Grandeur hath, however, in the day of His manifestation proclaimed: "It is not his to boast who loveth his country, but it is his who loveth the world." Through the power released by these exalted words He hath lent a fresh impulse, and set a new direction, to the birds of men's hearts, and hath obliterated every trace of restriction and limitation from God's holy Book."⁵¹—Bahá'u'lláh.

Through the power of the words He hath uttered the whole of the human race can be illumined with the light of unity, and the remembrance of His Name is able to set on fire the hearts of all men, and burn away the veils that intervene between them and His glory.⁵²—Bahá'u'lláh.

Today His Holiness Bahá'u'lláh is the collective center of unity for all mankind. . . .⁵³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

That which the Lord hath ordained as the sovereign remedy and the mightiest instrument for the healing of all the world is the union of all its peoples in one universal Cause, one common

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Faith. This can in no wise be achieved except through the power of a skilled, an all-powerful and inspired Physician. This, verily, is the truth, and all else naught but error.⁵⁴—Bahá'u'lláh.

In the Orient the various peoples and nations were in a state of antagonism and strife, manifesting the utmost enmity and hatred toward each other. Darkness encompassed the world of mankind. At such a time as this, Bahá'u'lláh appeared. He removed all the imitations and prejudices which had caused separation and misunderstanding, and laid the foundation of the one religion of God. When this was accomplished, Muhammadans, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Buddhists all were united in actual fellowship and love. The souls who followed Bahá'u'lláh from every nation have become as one family living in agreement and accord, willing to sacrifice life for each other. . . . They have attained the condition of rebirth in the spirit of God. They have become revived and regenerated through the breaths of the Holy Spirit. Praise be to God! this light has come forth from the east and eventually there shall be no discord or enmity in the Orient. Through the power of Bahá'u'lláh all will be united. His Holiness upraised this standard of the oneness of humanity. . . .⁵⁵ 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

The principle of the Oneness of Mankind, as proclaimed by Bahá'u'lláh, carries with it no more and no less than a solemn assertion that attainment to this final stage in this stupendous evolution is not only necessary but inevitable, that its realization is fast approaching, and that nothing short of a power that is born of God can succeed in establishing it.⁵⁶—Shoghi Effendi.

"The Call of God," 'Abdu'l-Bahá has written, "when raised, breathed a new life into the body of mankind, and infused a new spirit into the whole creation. It is for this reason that the world hath been moved to its depths, and the hearts and consciences of men been quickened. Erelong the evidences of this regeneration will be revealed, and the fast asleep will be awakened."⁵⁷—Shoghi Effendi.

The Faith of Bahá'u'lláh has assimilated, by virtue of its crea-

tive, its regulative and ennobling energies, the varied races, nationalities, creeds and classes that have sought its shadow, and have pledged unswerving fealty to its cause. It has changed the hearts of its adherents, burned away their prejudices, stilled their passions, exalted their conceptions, ennobled their motives, co-ordinated their efforts, and transformed their outlook. While preserving their patriotism and safeguarding their lesser loyalties, it has made them lovers of mankind, and the determined upholders of its best and truest interests. . . . This universal, this transcending love which the followers of the Bahá'í Faith feel for their fellow-men, of whatever race, creed, class or nation, is neither mysterious nor can it be said to have been artificially stimulated. It is both spontaneous and genuine. They whose hearts are warmed by the energizing influence of God's creative love cherish His creatures for His sake, and recognize in every human face a sign of His reflected glory.⁵⁸—Shoghi Effendi.

3. Religious unity would remove many barriers between peoples.

The divine purpose in religion is pure love and agreement. The prophets of God manifested complete love for all. Each one announced the glad-tidings of his successor and each subsequent one confirmed the teachings and prophecies of the prophet who preceded him. There is no disagreement or variation in the reality of their teaching and mission. Discord has arisen among their followers who have lost sight of the reality and hold fast to imitations. If imitations be done away with and the radiant shining reality dawn in the souls of men love and unity must prevail. In this way humanity will be rescued from the strife and wars which have prevailed for thousands of years; dissensions will pass away and the illumination of unity dawn.⁵⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

That which the Lord hath ordained as the sovereign remedy and the mightiest instrument for the healing of all the world is the union of all its peoples in one universal Cause, one common Faith.⁶⁰—Bahá'u'lláh.

Today the Christians are believers in Moses, accept him as a Prophet of God and praise Him most highly. The Muhammadans

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are likewise believers in Moses, accept the validity of his Prophethood, at the same time believing in Christ. Could it be said that the acceptance of Moses by the Christians and Muhammadans has been harmful and detrimental to those people? On the contrary it has been beneficial to them, proving that they have been fair-minded and just. What harm could result to the Jewish people then if they in return should accept His Holiness Christ and acknowledge the validity of the Prophethood of His Holiness Muhammad? By this acceptance and praiseworthy attitude the enmity and hatred which have afflicted mankind so many centuries would be dispelled, fanaticism and bloodshed pass away and the world be blessed by unity and agreement. Christians and Muhammadans believe and admit that Moses was the interlocutor of God. Why do you not say that Christ was the Word of God? Why do you not speak these few words that will do away with all this difficulty? Then there will be no more hatred and fanaticism, no more warfare and bloodshed in the Land of Promise. Then there will be peace among you forever.⁶¹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Consider the grandeur and majesty of Jesus. . . . In reality Christ is incomparable. What harm then can come from your declaration that Jesus of Nazareth was a great man of Israelitish birth and therefore we love him? That we have given to the world a great man indeed? That this mighty Personage whose Word has spread throughout the world, who has conquered the east and west was an Israelite? Should you not be proud of him? When you glorify and honor the memory of Christ, rest assured that the Christians will take your hands in real fellowship. All difficulty, hesitancy and restraint will vanish. Consider the troubles and persecutions heaped upon you in Russia. . . . And you must not think that this is ended.

This humiliation will continue forever. The time may come when in Europe itself they will arise against the Jews. But your declaration that Christ was the Word of God will end all such trouble. My advice is that in order to become honorable, protected and secure among the nations of the world, in order that the Christians may love and safeguard the Israelitish people, you should be willing to announce your belief in Christ the Word of God. This is a complete statement; there is nothing more. Is it

not thoughtless, ignorant prejudice which restrains you from doing so? Declare that verily the Word of God was realized in Him and all will be right.

The rabbi thoughtfully said, "I believe that what you have said is perfectly true but I must ask one thing of you. Will you not tell the Christians to love us a little more?"

We replied: "We have advised them and will continue to do so."⁶²—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

4. Needed spiritualization of all peoples through Bahá'u'lláh will be accomplished.

... this consummation [a world commonwealth] will, by its very nature, be a gradual process, and must, as Bahá'u'lláh has Himself anticipated, lead at first to the establishment of that Lesser Peace which the nations of the earth, as yet unconscious of His Revelation and yet unwittingly enforcing the general principles which He has enunciated, will themselves establish. This momentous and historic step, involving the reconstruction of mankind, as the result of the universal recognition of its oneness and wholeness, will bring in its wake the spiritualization of the masses, consequent to the recognition of the character, and the acknowledgment of the claims, of the Faith of Bahá'u'lláh,—the essential condition to that ultimate fusion of all races, creeds, classes, and nations which must signalize the emergence of His New World Order.⁶³—Shoghi Effendi.

WHITE AND NEGRO

To bring the white and the colored together is considered impossible and improbable, but the breaths of the Holy Spirit will accomplish this fact.

The world of America must be very thankful for this realization; for this enmity and hatred which exist between the white and the colored races is very dangerous and there is no doubt that it will end in bloodshed unless the penetration of the Word of God, the breaths of the Holy Spirit and the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh are diffused amongst them and love instead of hatred is established between the two races.

They must destroy the foundation of enmity and rancour and lay the basis of love and affinity. The power of the teachings of

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Bahá'u'lláh will cause the disappearance of this danger from America.⁶⁴—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

ESKIMOS

Perchance, God willing, the calls of the Kingdom may reach the ears of the Eskimos. . . . Should you display an effort, so that the fragrances of God be diffused amongst the Eskimos, its effect will be very great and far-reaching. God says in the great Qur'án, "A day will come wherein the lights of unity will enlighten all the world. The earth will be irradiated with the light of its Lord." In other words, "The earth will become illumined with the light of God. That light is the light of unity." "There is no God but God." The continent and the islands of Eskimos are also parts of this earth. They must similarly receive a portion of the bestowals of the most great guidance.⁶⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

INDIANS

You must give great importance to teaching the Indians, that is, the aborigines of America. For these souls are like the ancient inhabitants of Peninsular Arabia, who previous to the Manifestation of His Holiness Muhammad were treated as savages. But when the Muhammadic light shone forth in their midst, they became so illumined that they brightened the world. Likewise, should these Indians and aborigines be educated and obtain guidance, there is no doubt that through the divine teachings, they will become so enlightened as in turn to shed light to all regions.⁶⁶—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

REPUBLICS OF AMERICA

Therefore the believers of God throughout all the republics of America, through the divine power, must become the cause of the promotion of heavenly teachings and the establishment of the oneness of humanity. . . .

Consequently, the believers of God must display the utmost effort, upraise the divine melody throughout those regions, promulgate the heavenly teachings and waft over all, the spirit of eternal life; so that those Republics may become so illumined with the splendors and the effulgences of the Sun of Reality that

they may become the objects of the praise and commendation of all other countries.⁶⁷—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Therefore it is the hope of 'Abdu'l-Bahá that just as ye are confirmed and assisted in the continent of America, ye may also be confirmed and assisted in other continents of the globe—that is, ye may carry the fame of the Cause of God to the East and West and spread the Glad Tidings of the appearance of the Kingdom of the Lord of Hosts throughout the five continents of the world.⁶⁸—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

JEWES

In the Orient the various peoples and nations were in a state of antagonism and strife, manifesting the utmost enmity and hatred toward each other. Darkness encompassed the world of mankind. At such a time as this, Bahá'u'lláh appeared. He removed all the imitations and prejudices which had caused separation and misunderstanding, and laid the foundations of the one religion of God. When this was accomplished, Muhammadans, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Buddhists all were united in actual fellowship and love. The souls who followed Bahá'u'lláh from every nation have become as one family living in agreement and accord, willing to sacrifice life for each other. The Muhammadan will give his life for the Christian, the Christian for the Jew, and all of them for the Zoroastrian. They live together in love, fellowship and unity. They have attained to the condition of rebirth in the spirit of God. They have become revived and regenerated through the breaths of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Addressing the Jewish people Bahá'u'lláh has written: "The Most Great Law is come, and the Ancient Beauty ruleth upon the throne of David. Thus hath My Pen spoken that which the histories of bygone ages have related. At this time, however, David crieth aloud and saith: 'O my loving Lord! Do Thou number me with such as have stood steadfast in Thy Cause, O Thou through Whom the faces have been illumined, and the footsteps have slipped!' " And again: "The Breath hath been wafted, and the Breeze hath blown, and from Zion hath appeared

that which was hidden, and from Jerusalem is heard the Voice of God, the One, the Incomparable, the Omniscient."⁷⁰—Shoghi Effendi.

5. Understanding of ideal of unity in diversity important.

Let there be no misgivings as to the animating purpose of the world-wide Law of Bahá'u'lláh. Far from aiming at the subversion of the existing foundations of society, it seeks to broaden its basis, to remold its institutions in a manner consonant with the needs of an ever-changing world. It can conflict with no legitimate allegiances, nor can it undermine essential loyalties. Its purpose is neither to stifle the flame of a sane and intelligent patriotism in men's hearts, nor to abolish the system of national autonomy. . . . It does not ignore, nor does it attempt to suppress, the diversity of ethnical origins, of climate, of history, of language and tradition, of thought and habit, that differentiate the peoples and nations of the world. It calls for a wider loyalty, for a larger aspiration than any that has animated the human race. It insists upon the subordination of national impulses and interests to the imperative claims of a unified world. It repudiates excessive centralization on one hand, and disclaims all attempts at uniformity on the other. Its watchword is unity in diversity. . . .⁷¹—Shoghi Effendi.

The Faith of Bahá'u'lláh has assimilated, by virtue of its creative, its regulative and ennobling energies, the varied races, nationalities, creeds and classes that have sought its shadow, and have pledged unswerving fealty to its cause. It has changed the hearts of its adherents, burned away their prejudices, stilled their passions, exalted their conceptions, ennobled their motives, coordinated their efforts, and transformed their outlook. While preserving their patriotism and safeguarding their lesser loyalties, it has made them lovers of mankind, and the determined upholders of its best and truest interests. . . . This universal, this transcending love which the followers of the Bahá'í Faith feel for their fellow-men, of whatever race, creed, class or nation, is neither mysterious nor can it be said to have been artificially stimulated. It is both spontaneous and genuine. They whose hearts are warmed by the energizing influence of God's creative

love cherish His creatures for His sake, and recognize in every human face a sign of His reflected glory.⁷²—Shoghi Effendi.

B. Courageous action for promotion of unity has been commanded.

1. Bahá'u'lláh's Teaching makes unity a law for all men today.

Before the face of all men I have arisen, and bidden them fulfill My pleasure. My object is none other than the betterment of the world and the tranquillity of its peoples. The well-being of mankind, its peace and security, are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established. This unity can never be achieved so long as the counsels which the Pen of the Most High hath revealed are suffered to pass unheeded.

Through the power of the words He hath uttered the whole of the human race can be illumined with the light of unity, and the remembrance of His Name is able to set on fire the hearts of all men, and burn away the veils that intervene between them and His glory.⁷³—Bahá'u'lláh.

Through Him [Bahá'u'lláh] the light of unity hath shone forth above the horizon of the world, and the law of oneness hath been revealed amidst the nations, who, with radiant faces, have turned towards the Supreme Horizon, and acknowledged that which the Tongue of Utterance hath spoken in the kingdom of His knowledge: "Earth and heaven, glory and dominion, are God's, the Omnipotent, the Almighty, the Lord of grace abounding!"⁷⁴—Bahá'u'lláh.

In every Dispensation the light of Divine Guidance has been focussed upon one central theme. . . . In this wondrous Revelation, this glorious century, the foundation of the Faith of God and the distinguishing feature of His Law is the consciousness of the Oneness of Mankind.⁷⁵—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

. . . it has been decreed by God in this day that these prejudices and differences shall be laid aside. All are commanded to seek the good-pleasure of the Lord of unity, to follow His command and obey His will; in this way the world of humanity shall be-

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come illumined with the reality of love and reconciliation.⁷⁶—
‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

2. ‘Abdu’l-Bahá explains responsibilities in establishing human unity.

a. Advice for action on the problem in general.

I ask you not to think only of yourselves. Be kind to the strangers, whether come they from Turkey, Japan, Persia, Russia, China or any other country in the world.

Help them to feel at home; find out where they are staying, ask if you may render them any service; try to make their lives a little happier . . . go out of your way to be kind to them. . . .

Put into practise the Teaching of Bahá’u’lláh, that of kindness to all nations. Do not be content with showing friendship in words alone, let your heart burn with loving kindness for all who may cross your path. . . .

What profit is there in agreeing that universal friendship is good, and talking of the solidarity of the human race as a grand ideal? Unless these thoughts are translated into the world of action, they are useless.⁷⁷—‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

When you love a member of your family or a compatriot, let it be with a ray of the Infinite Love! Let it be in God, and for God! Wherever you find the attributes of God love that person, whether he be of your family or of another. Shed the light of a boundless love on every human being whom you meet, whether of your country, your race, your political party, or of any other nation, color or shade of political opinion. Heaven will support you while you work in this ingathering of the scattered peoples of the world beneath the shadow of the Almighty Tent of Unity.⁷⁸—‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

- b. Advice to the white and Negro races: mutual advancement and appreciation.

May both develop toward the highest degree of equality and altruism. May you be drawn together in friendship and may extraordinary development make brotherhood a reality and truth. I pray in your behalf that there shall be no other name than that of humanity among you. . . .

Therefore strive earnestly and put forth your greatest endeavor toward the accomplishment of this fellowship and the cementing of this bond of brotherhood between you. Such an attainment is not possible without will and effort on the part of each; from one expressions of gratitude and appreciation; from the other kindness and recognition of equality. Each one should endeavor to develop and assist the other toward mutual advancement. This is possible only by conjoining of effort and inclination. Love and unity will be fostered between you, thereby bringing about the oneness of mankind. For the accomplishment of unity between the colored and whites will be an assurance of the world's peace. Then racial prejudice, national prejudice, limited patriotism and religious bias will pass away.⁷⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

The black man must ever be grateful to the white man for he has manifested great courage and self-sacrifice in behalf of the colored race. Four years he fought their cause, enduring severe hardships, sacrificing life, family, treasure, all for his black brother until the great war ended in the proclamation of freedom. By this effort and accomplishment the black race throughout the world was influenced and benefited. Had this not been accomplished the black man in Africa would still be bound by the chains of slavery. Therefore his race should everywhere be grateful, for no greater evidence of humanism and courageous devotion could be shown than the white man displayed. If the colored people of the United States forget this sacrifice, zeal and manhood on the part of the whites no ingratitude could be greater or more censurable. If they could see the wretched conditions and surroundings of the black people of Africa today, the contrast would be apparent and the fact clearly evident that the colored race in America enjoys incomparable advantages. The comfort and civilization under which they live here are due to the white man's effort and sacrifice. Had this sacrifice not been made they would still be in the bonds and chains of slavery, scarcely lifted out of an aboriginal condition. Therefore always show forth your gratitude to the white man. Eventually all differences will disappear and you will completely win his friendship.⁸⁰—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

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c. The question of social association.

1) Intimate race contacts essential to solution.

In the world of being the meeting is blessed when the white and colored races meet together with infinite spiritual love and heavenly harmony. When such meetings are established, and the participants associate with each other with perfect love, unity and kindness, the angels of the Kingdom praise them, and the Beauty of Bahá'u'lláh addresseth them, "Blessed are ye! Blessed are ye!"

When a gathering of these two races is brought about that assemblage will become the magnet of the Concourse on high, and the confirmations of the Blessed Beauty will surround it.⁸¹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

You have written that there were several meetings of joy and happiness—one for white and another for colored people. Praise be to God! As both races are under the protection of the All-Knowing God, therefore the lamps of unity must be lighted in such a manner in these meetings that no distinction be perceived between the white and colored. Colors are phenomenal, but the realities of men are essence. When there exists unity of the essence, what power has the phenomenal? When the light of reality is shining, what power has the darkness of the unreal? If it be possible, gather together these two races—black and white—into one Assembly, and put such love into their hearts that they shall not only unite, but even intermarry. Be sure that the result of this will abolish differences and disputes between black and white. Moreover, by the Will of God, may it be so! This is a great service to humanity.

Mr. G. is at present in great happiness. . . . He will return to America very soon, and you, the white people, should then honor and welcome this shining colored man in such a way that all the people will be astonished.⁸²—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Endeavor that the black and white may gather in one meeting place, and with the utmost love, fraternally associate with each other, so that quarrel and strife may vanish from among the

white and the black. . . . There is no greater tie to bring about the affection between the white and the black than the influence of the Word of God.⁸³—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Let all associate, therefore, in this great human garden even as flowers grow and blend together side by side without discord or disagreement between them.⁸⁴—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

In their relations amongst themselves as fellow-believers, let them not be content with the mere exchange of cold and empty formalities often connected with the organizing of banquets, receptions, consultative assemblies, and lecture-halls. Let them rather, as equal co-sharers in the spiritual benefits conferred upon them by Bahá'u'lláh, arise and, with the aid and counsel of their local and national representatives, supplement these official functions with those opportunities which only a close and intimate social intercourse can adequately provide. In their homes, in their hours of relaxation and leisure, in the daily contact of business transactions, in the association of their children, whether in their study-classes, their playgrounds and club-rooms, in short, under all possible circumstances, however insignificant they appear, the community of the followers of Bahá'u'lláh should satisfy themselves that in the eyes of the world at large and in the sight of their vigilant Master they are the living witnesses of those truths which He fondly cherished and tirelessly championed to the very end of His days. . . .

Not by merely imitating the excesses and laxity of the extravagant age they live in; not by the idle neglect of the sacred responsibilities it is their privilege to shoulder; not by the silent compromise of the principles dearly cherished by 'Abdu'l-Bahá; not by their fear of unpopularity or their dread of censure can they hope to rouse society from its spiritual lethargy, and serve as a model to a civilization the foundations of which the corrosion of prejudice has well-nigh undermined. By the sublimity of their principles, the warmth of their love, the spotless purity of their character, and the depth of their devoutness and piety, let them demonstrate to their fellow-countrymen the ennobling reality of a power that shall weld a disrupted world.⁸⁵—Shoghi Effendi.

2) Intermarriage an aid to solution.

Colors are phenomenal, but the realities of men are essence. When there exists unity of the essence, what power has the darkness of the unreal? If it is possible, gather together these two races—black and white—into one Assembly and put such love into their hearts that they shall not only unite, but even intermarry. Be sure that the result of this will abolish differences and disputes between black and white. Moreover, by the Will of God, may it be so! This is a great service to humanity.⁸⁶—‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

In regard to your question concerning the nature and character of Bahá’í marriage. As you have rightly stated, such a marriage is conditioned upon the full approval of all four parents. Also your statement to the effect that the principle of the oneness of mankind prevents any true Bahá’í from regarding race itself as a bar to union is in complete accord with the Teachings of the Faith on this point. For both Bahá’u’llá and ‘Abdu’l-Bahá never disapproved of the idea of inter-racial marriage, nor discouraged it. The Bahá’í Teachings, indeed, by their very nature transcend all limitations imposed by race, and as such can and should never be identified with any particular school of racial philosophy.⁸⁷—Shoghi Effendi.

d. The challenge to America.

Therefore, the believers of God throughout all the republics of America, through the divine power, must become the cause of the promotion of heavenly teachings and the establishment of the oneness of humanity. Every one of the important souls must arise, blowing over all parts of America the breath of life, conferring upon the people a new spirit, baptizing them with the fire of the love of God, the water of life, and the breaths of the Holy Spirit so that the second birth may become realized.⁸⁸—‘Abdu’l-Bahá.

When the racial elements of the American nation unite in actual fellowship and accord, the lights of the oneness of humanity will shine, the day of eternal glory and bliss will dawn, the

spirit of God encompass and the divine favors descend.⁸⁹—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

May this American Democracy be the first nation to establish the foundation of international agreement. May it be the first nation to proclaim the unity of mankind. May it be the first to unfurl the Standard of the Most Great Peace.⁹⁰—'Abdu'l-Bahá.

C. Further world-wide suffering needed to fuse peoples.

The process of disintegration must inexorably continue, and its corrosive influence must penetrate deeper and deeper into the very core of a crumbling age. Much suffering will still be required ere the contending nations, creeds, classes and races of mankind are fused in the crucible of universal affliction, and are forged by the fires of a fierce ordeal into one organic commonwealth, one vast, unified, and harmoniously functioning system. Adversities unimaginably appalling, undreamed of crises and upheavals, war, famine, and pestilence, might well combine to engrave in the soul of an unheeding generation those truths and principles which it has disdained to recognize and follow. A paralysis more painful than any it has yet experienced must creep over and further afflict the fabric of a broken society ere it can be rebuilt and regenerated.⁹¹—Shoghi Effendi.

The world is, in truth, moving on toward its destiny. The interdependence of the peoples and nations of the earth, whatever the leaders of the divisive forces of the world may say or do, is already an accomplished fact. Its unity in the economic sphere is now understood and recognized. The welfare of the part means the welfare of the whole, and the distress of the part brings distress to the whole. The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh has, in His own words, "lent a fresh impulse and set a new direction" to this vast process now operating in the world. The fires lit by this great ordeal are the consequences of men's failure to recognize it. They are, moreover, hastening its consummation. Adversity, prolonged, world-wide, afflictive, allied to chaos and universal destruction, must needs convulse the nations, stir the conscience of the world, disillusion the masses, precipitate a radical change in the very conception of society, and coalesce ultimately the dis-

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jointed, the bleeding limbs of mankind into one body, single, organically united, and indivisible.⁹²—Shoghi Effendi.

D. Bahá'u'lláh's plan for a New World Order essential to final achievement of unity.

For Bahá'u'lláh, we should readily recognize, has not only imbued mankind with a new and regenerating Spirit. He has not merely enunciated certain universal principles, or propounded a particular philosophy, however potent, sound and universal these may be. In addition to these He, as well as 'Abdu'l-Bahá after Him, has, unlike the Dispensations of the past, clearly and specifically laid down a set of Laws, established definite institutions, and provided for the essentials of a Divine Economy. These are destined to be a pattern for future society, a supreme instrument for the establishment of the Most Great Peace, and the one agency for the unification of the world, and the proclamation of the reign of righteousness and justice upon the earth.⁹³—Shoghi Effendi.

IV. Bahá'í Guardian Calls for Vigorous Action to Bring to the World the Kingdom of God.

A. Guardian states nature of problem in America.

1. Gravity of race prejudice in America.

2. Most challenging issue for Bahá'ís in America.

As to racial prejudice, the corrosion of which, for well nigh a century, has bitten into the fibre, and attacked the whole social structure of American society, it should be regarded as constituting the most vital and challenging issue confronting the Bahá'í community at the present stage of its evolution. The ceaseless exertions which this issue of paramount importance calls for, the sacrifices it must impose, the care and vigilance it demands, the moral courage and fortitude it requires, the tact and sympathy it necessitates, invest this problem, which the American believers are still far from having satisfactorily resolved, with an urgency and importance that can not be over-estimated. White and Negro, high and low, young and old, whether newly converted to the Faith or not, all who stand indented with it must participate in, and lend their assistance, each according to his or her capacity, experience, and opportunities, to the common task of fulfilling

the instructions, realizing the hopes, and following the example, of 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Whether colored or non-colored, neither race has the right, or can conscientiously claim, to be regarded as absolved from such an obligation, as having realized such hopes, or having faithfully followed such an example. A long and thorny road, beset with pitfalls, still remains untraveled, both by the white and the negro exponents of the redeeming Faith of Bahá'u'lláh. On the distance they cover, and the manner in which they travel that road, must depend, to an extent which few among them can imagine, the operation of those intangible influences which are indispensable to the spiritual triumph of the American believers and the material success of their newly-launched enterprise.⁹⁴—Shoghi Effendi.

B. Guardian declares deeds must show Bahá'í freedom from prejudice.

1. Example for deeds as set by 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Let them call to mind, fearlessly and determinedly, the example and conduct of 'Abdu'l-Bahá while in their midst. Let them remember His courage, His genuine love, His informal and indiscriminating fellowship, His contempt for and impatience of criticism, tempered by His tact and wisdom. Let them revive and perpetuate the memory of those unforgettable and historic episodes and occasions on which He so strikingly demonstrated His keen sense of justice, His spontaneous sympathy for the down-trodden, His ever-abiding sense of the oneness of the human race, His overflowing love for its members, and His displeasure with those who dared to flout His wishes, to deride His methods, to challenge His principles, or to nullify His acts.⁹⁵—Shoghi Effendi.

2. Stimulation to growth of Cause.

As this problem, in the inevitable course of events, grows in acuteness and complexity, and as the number of the faithful from both races multiplies [white and negro], it will become increasingly evident that the future growth and prestige of the Cause are bound to be influenced to a very considerable degree by the manner in which the adherents of the Bahá'í Faith carry out, first among themselves and in their relations with their fellow-men,

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those high standards of interracial amity so widely proclaimed and so fearlessly exemplified to the American people by our Master 'Abdu'l-Bahá.⁹⁶—Shoghi Effendi.

3. Hall-mark of a true Bahá'í.

I direct my appeal with all the earnestness and urgency that this pressing problem calls for to every conscientious upholder of the universal principles of Bahá'u'lláh to face this extremely delicate situation with the boldness, the decisiveness and wisdom it demands. I cannot believe that those whose hearts have been touched by the regenerating influence of God's creative Faith in His day will find it difficult to cleanse their souls from every lingering trace of racial animosity so subversive of the Faith they profess. How can hearts that throb with the love of God fail to respond to all the implications of this supreme injunction of Bahá'u'lláh, the unreserved acceptance of which, under the circumstances now prevailing in America, constitutes the hall-mark of a true Bahá'í character?

Let every believer, desirous to witness the swift and healthy progress of the Cause of God, realize the twofold nature of his task. Let him first turn his eyes inwardly and search his own heart and satisfy himself that in his relations with his fellow-believers, irrespective of color and class, he is proving himself increasingly loyal to the spirit of his beloved Faith. Assured and content that he is exerting his utmost in a conscious effort to approach nearer every day the lofty station to which his gracious Master summons him, let him turn to his second task, and, with befitting confidence and vigor, assail the devastating power of those forces which in his own heart he has already succeeded in subduing. Fully alive to the unailing efficacy of the power of Bahá'u'lláh, and armed with the essential weapons of wise restraint and inflexible resolve, let him wage a constant fight against the inherited tendencies, the corruptive instincts, the fluctuating fashions, the false pretences of the society in which he lives and moves.⁹⁷—Shoghi Effendi.

4. Unlimited demonstration of belief in human unity.

Freedom from racial prejudice, in any of its forms, should, at such a time as this when an increasingly large section of the

human race is falling a victim to its devastating ferocity, be adopted as the watchword of the entire body of the American believers, in whichever state they reside, in whatever circles they move, whatever their age, traditions, tastes, and habits. It should be consistently demonstrated in every phase of their activity and life, whether in the Bahá'í community or outside it, in public or in private, formally as well as informally, individually as well as in their official capacity as organized groups, committees and Assemblies. It should be deliberately cultivated through the various and every-day opportunities, no matter how insignificant, that present themselves, whether in their homes, their business offices, their schools and colleges, their social parties and recreation grounds, their Bahá'í meetings, conferences, conventions, summer schools and Assemblies. It should, above all else, become the keynote of the policy of that august body which, in its capacity as the national representative, and the director and co-ordinator of the affairs of the community, must set the example, and facilitate the application of such a vital principle to the lives and activities of those whose interests it safeguards and represents.⁹⁸
 —Shoghi Effendi.

5. Responsibilities of both white and Negro.

A tremendous effort is required by both races if their outlook, their manners, and conduct are to reflect, in this darkened age, the spirit and teachings of the Faith of Bahá'u'lláh. Casting away once and for all the fallacious doctrine of racial superiority, with all its attendant evils, confusion, and miseries, and welcoming and encouraging the intermixture of races, and tearing down the barriers that now divide them, they should each endeavor, day and night, to fulfill their particular responsibilities in the common task which so urgently faces them. Let them, while each is attempting to contribute its share to the solution of this perplexing problem, call to mind the warnings of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and visualize, while there is yet time, the dire consequences that must follow if this challenging and unhappy situation that faces the entire American nation is not definitely remedied.

Let the white make a supreme effort in their resolve to contribute their share to the solution of this problem, to abandon once and for all their usually inherent and at times subconscious

sense of superiority, to correct their tendency towards revealing a patronizing attitude towards the members of the other race, to persuade them through their intimate, spontaneous and informal association with them of the genuineness of their friendship and the sincerity of their intentions, and to master their impatience of any lack of responsiveness on the part of a people who have received, for so long a period, such grievous and slow-healing wounds. Let the Negroes, through a corresponding effort on their part, show by every means in their power the warmth of their response, their readiness to forget the past, and their ability to wipe out every trace of suspicion that may still linger in their hearts and minds. Let neither think that the solution of so vast a problem is a matter that exclusively concerns the other. Let neither think that such a problem can either easily or immediately be resolved. Let neither think that they can wait confidently for the solution of this problem until the initiative has been taken, and the favorable circumstances created, by agencies that stand outside the orbit of their Faith. Let neither think that anything short of genuine love, extreme patience, true humility, consummate tact, sound initiative, mature wisdom, and deliberate, persistent, and prayerful effort, can succeed in blotting out the stain which this patent evil has left on the fair name of their common country. Let them rather believe, and be firmly convinced, that on their mutual understanding, their amity, and sustained cooperation, must depend, more than on any other force or organization operating outside the circle of their Faith, the deflection of that dangerous course so greatly feared by 'Abdu'l-Bahá, and the materialization of the hopes He cherished for their joint contribution to the fulfillment of that country's glorious destiny.⁹⁹—Shoghi Effendi.

6. Principle of minority treatment.

To discriminate against any race, on the ground of its being socially backward, politically immature, and numerically in a minority, is a flagrant violation of the spirit that animates the Faith of Bahá'u'lláh. The consciousness of any division or cleavage in its ranks is alien to its very purpose, principles, and ideals. Once its members have fully recognized the claim of its Author, and, by identifying themselves with its Administrative Order,

accepted unreservedly the principles and laws embodied in its teachings, every differentiation of class, creed, or color must automatically be obliterated, and never be allowed, under any pretext, and however great the pressure of events or of public opinion, to reassert itself. If any discrimination is at all to be tolerated, it should be a discrimination not against, but rather in favor of the minority, be it racial or otherwise. Unlike the nations and peoples of the earth, be they of the East or of the West, democratic or authoritarian, communist or capitalist, whether belonging to the Old World or the New, who either ignore, trample upon, or extirpate, the racial, religious, or political minorities within the sphere of their jurisdiction, every organized community, enlisted under the banner of Bahá'u'lláh should feel it to be its first and inescapable obligation to nurture, encourage, and safeguard every minority belonging to any faith, race, class, or nation within it. So great and vital is this principle that in such circumstances, as when an equal number of ballots have been cast in an election, or where the qualifications for any office are balanced as between the various races, faiths or nationalities within the community, priority should unhesitatingly be accorded the party representing the minority, and this for no other reason except to stimulate and encourage it, and afford it an opportunity to further the interests of the community.¹⁰⁰

—Shoghi Effendi.

C. Guardian urges confirmation of specific races to enrich Bahá'í community life.

Let any one who feels the urge among the participators in this crusade, which embraces all the races, all the republics, classes and denominations of the entire Western Hemisphere, arise, and, circumstances permitting, direct in particular the attention, and win eventually the unqualified adherence, of the Negro, the Indian, the Eskimo, and Jewish races to his Faith. No more laudable and meritorious service can be rendered to the Cause of God, at the present hour, than a successful effort to enhance the diversity of the members of the American Bahá'í community by swelling the ranks of the Faith through the enrollment of the members of these races. A blending of these highly differentiated elements of the human race, harmoniously interwoven into the

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fabric of an all-embracing Bahá'í fraternity, and assimilated through the dynamic processes of a divinely-appointed Administrative Order, and contributing each its share to the enrichment and glory of Bahá'í community life, is surely an achievement the contemplation of which must warm and thrill every Bahá'í heart.¹⁰¹—Shoghi Effendi.

D. Guardian describes design of unity in coming World Order.

The unity of the human race, as envisaged by Bahá'u'lláh, implies the establishment of a world commonwealth in which all nations, races, creeds and classes are closely and permanently united, and in which the autonomy of its state members and the personal freedom and initiative of the individuals that compose them are definitely and completely safeguarded. This commonwealth must, as far as we can visualize it, consist of a world legislature, whose members will, as the trustees of the whole of mankind, ultimately control the entire resources of all the component nations, and will enact such laws as shall be required to regulate the life, satisfy the needs and adjust the relationships of all races and peoples. A world executive, backed by an international Force, will carry out the decisions arrived at, and apply the laws enacted by, this world legislature, and will safeguard the organic unity of the whole commonwealth. A world tribunal will adjudicate and deliver its compulsory and final verdict in all and any disputes. . . . A mechanism of world inter-communication will be devised. . . . A world metropolis will act as the nerve center of a world civilization, the focus towards which the unifying forces of life will converge and from which its energizing influences will radiate. A world language will either be invented or chosen from among the existing languages and will be taught in the schools. . . . A world script, a world literature, a uniform and universal system of currency, of weights and measures, will simplify and facilitate intercourse and understanding among the nations and races of mankind. In such a world society, science and religion . . . will harmoniously develop. The press will . . . cease to be mischievously manipulated by vested interests, whether private or public, and will be liberated from the influence of contending governments and peoples. The economic resources of the world will be organized, its sources of raw materials will

be tapped and fully utilized, its markets will be co-ordinated and developed, and the distribution of its products will be equitably regulated.

National rivalries, hatreds, and intrigues will cease, and racial animosity and prejudice will be replaced by racial amity, understanding and co-operation. The causes of religious strife will be permanently removed, economic barriers and restrictions will be completely abolished, and the inordinate distinction between classes will be obliterated. Destitution on the one hand, and gross accumulation of ownership on the other, will disappear. The enormous energy dissipated and wasted on war, whether economic or political, will be consecrated to such ends as will extend the range of human inventions and technical development, to the increase of the productivity of mankind, to the extermination of disease, to the extension of scientific research, to the raising of the standard of physical health, to the sharpening and refinement of the human brain, to the exploitation of the unused and unsuspected resources of the planet, to the prolongation of human life, and to the furtherance of any other agency that can stimulate the intellectual, the moral, and spiritual life of the entire human race.

A world federal system, ruling the whole earth and exercising unchallengeable authority over its unimaginably vast resources, blending and embodying the ideals of both the East and the West, liberated from the curse of war and its miseries, and bent on the exploitation of all the available sources of energy on the surface of the planet, a system in which Force is made the servant of Justice, whose life is sustained by its universal recognition of one God and by its allegiance to one common Revelation—such is the goal towards which humanity, impelled by the unifying forces of life, is moving.¹⁰²—Shoghi Effendi.

APPENDIX

- A. References for Section I quotations.
- B. Bibliography and biography.
- C. References for Section II quotations.
- D. Bahá'í Bibliography.

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D. BAHÁ'Í BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

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'Abdu'l-Bahá: *America's Spiritual Mission* (teaching letters revealed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá to the American Bahá'is, 1916-1917), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1936. *Some Answered Questions* (edited by Laura Clifford Barney), Fourth Printing, Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1930. *The Promulgation of Universal Peace* (discourses of 'Abdu'l-Bahá delivered in America in 1912), Vol. I (pp. 1-232), Executive Board of the Bahá'í Temple Unity, 1921-1922; Vol. II (pp. 233-467), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 1925. Volumes I and II combined, Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1939. *The Wisdom of 'Abdu'l-Bahá* (from addresses delivered in Paris, 1910-1911), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 1924; out of print, refer to Bahá'í Archives Committee, National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'is of the United States and Canada, Wilmette, Ill. *Racial Amity* (excerpts from utterances of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá), compiled and published by M.H. and M.M., 1924; out of print, refer to Bahá'í Archives Committee. *The Star of the West*, Vols. XI and XIII, Bahá'í News Service, Chicago, 1920-1923. Tablet quoted in *A Heavenly Vista*, by Louis G. Gregory; out of print, refer to Bahá'í Archives Committee. 'Abdu'l-Bahá was the eldest son of Bahá'u'lláh and the appointed Exemplar and Interpreter of His father's Teachings. He suffered exile with Bahá'u'lláh. After His release in 1908 during the Young Turk Revolution, He visited Europe and America, where He spoke in churches, synagogues and schools. 'Abdu'l-Bahá explained and exemplified for the western world the life of universal morality and spiritual brotherhood.

Shoghi Effendi (Rabbaní): *The Advent of Divine Justice* (general letters to American Bahá'is, Dec. 25, 1938), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1939. Bahá'í Administration (general letters), Fourth Edition, Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1941. The World Order of Bahá'u'lláh (successive general letters, Feb. 27, 1929 to March 11, 1936), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, New York, 1938. *The Promised Day Is Come* (general letter to American Bahá'is, March 28, 1941), Bahá'í Publishing Committee, Wilmette, Ill., 1941. *Bahá'í News*, No. 90 (March, 1935), (quoting letter from Shoghi Effendi), National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'is of the United States and Canada, Englewood, N. J., March, 1935. Shoghi Effendi, grandson of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, was appointed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá in His *Will and Testament* as the first Guardian of the Bahá'í Cause. He is the Interpreter of the Bahá'í Teachings and at the present time guides the evolution of the Bahá'í Administrative Order and the progress of Bahá'í teaching throughout the world. His letters explain the tremendous import of world turmoil and show the broad outlines of the emerging world civilization.

¹ The books named in this bibliography include only ones from which quotations were taken for this compilation.

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