

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

A Quarterly of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Spring 1968



**LA RAZA
on the MOVE**

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CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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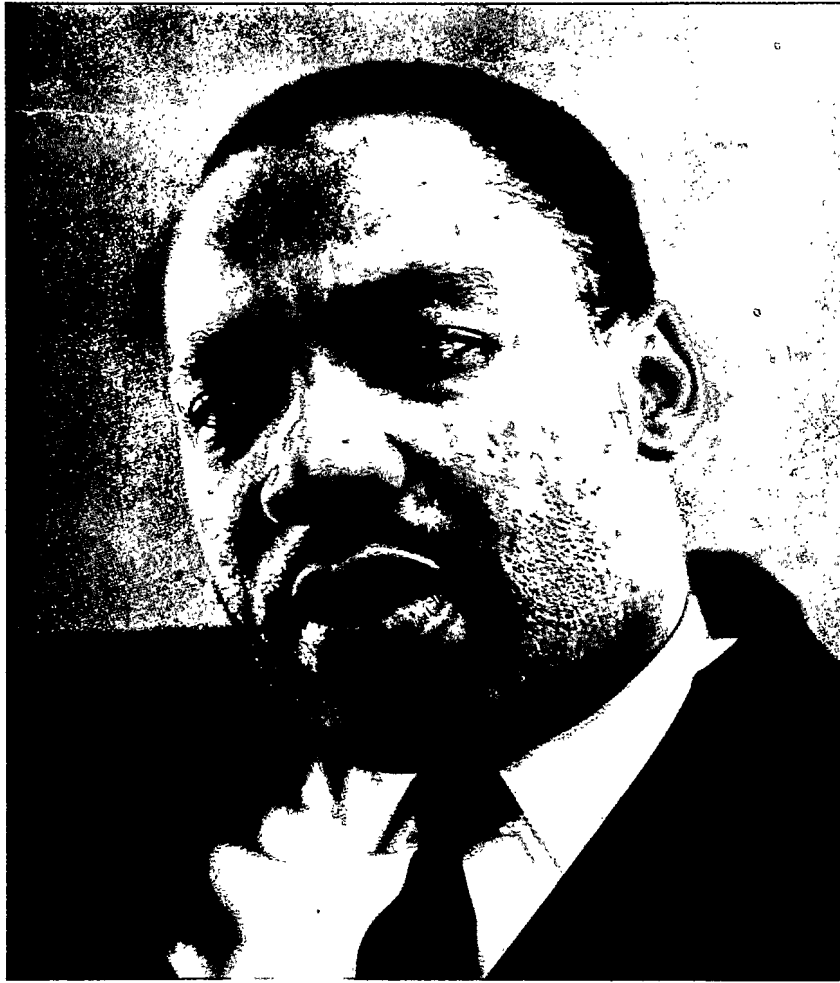
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Martin Luther King, Jr.

1929 — 1968

THE ONLY FITTING MEMORIAL to Martin Luther King, Jr., is a just nation. The responsibility for taking action to secure justice rests with government at all levels and with every white citizen in this land.

Appeals for order will be hollow and futile if this Nation and its leaders are not prepared to accompany them with action to remove the blight of deprivation and discrimination. No rationalization, not war, austerity, or economy, should be allowed to justify inaction on a program which must go far beyond the current civil rights bill to meet the needs of the poor and the disinherited—black and white.

There is no way to erase the shame and guilt which all of us must feel.

But we can give meaning to our own lives and to his if now at last we commit ourselves as a nation to achieving the goals for which Dr. King worked and sacrificed his life.

A Choice Must Be Made

THE ASSASSINATION of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the riots following his death occurred five weeks after the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders had told the Nation that white racism was the fundamental cause of the “explosive mixture” in the cities which ignited the riots of 1967. In its report, the Commission warned that Americans had not yet responded to the message of the 1967 riots; but that the country could still reverse the movement toward “two societies—one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

A month later, the Commission’s fears had become fact; its warnings tragically outdated. Or so it seemed.

However matters now stand in the cities, the most timely and important challenge posed by the Commission is unaltered: Will America choose to reverse the trend toward apartheid? How will the specter of continued violence, of unrelenting social tension, be exorcised? Will the Commission’s recommendations be pursued with affirmative, concrete action by the Congress, by Federal and State Governments, by local civic and police authorities?

To all these questions, Kenneth B. Clark, a Negro psychologist, who testified during a Commission hearing, would probably answer no. He depicted the Civil Disorders Commission efforts as “a kind of *Alice in Wonderland*” in which the same analyses, the same recommendations, the same inaction of former riot studies were being replayed. In the sense that the problems studied in the past have not changed except in scale and that the solutions technically remain the same and that the reaction of most Americans varied little, Dr. Clark’s imagery is disturbingly graphic.

The concept of a merely repetitious rendering of previous studies, however, is not entirely true of the Commission report. The Commission has declared that there has been no change in the basic causes or in the mood of violence which exploded into the riots of 1967 and that white racism is the root cause of a possible racial civil war in America. This combination of conclusions must be regarded as a radically unequivocating stand and most timely in its exposure of the forces now threatening to split the country into racial camps.

The senseless act of one man tragically emphasized the Commission’s contention. The reaction to the deed, in turn, displayed in stark reality the challenge that faces America.

The overwhelming tone of the Commission report, on the other hand, is Kafkaesque in its portrayal of a nation seemingly bent on plunging headlong into apartheid, despite the preponderance of evidence that a division of the races is accelerating in the cities and that national and individual commitment is necessary to slow, stop, and reverse the trend.

The Commission’s indictment of the racial attitude in America was clear:

- Nonwhite Americans have been denied adequate jobs, adequate schooling, decent housing, political representation, equal justice in the courts, and equal protection in the streets;
- Whites have fled the Nation’s cities for segregated suburbs, weakening the city’s tax base, and leaving a vacuum where the deprived and minority person could be racially and socially isolated;

- Business and industry have shifted from urban population centers, making jobs inaccessible if not unattainable for nonwhites and further undermining the economic base of the city;

- And, of major importance to the racial tension suffusing the white and black communities, white America has set the tone for violence, condoning police mishandling of the poor and exercising one standard of justice for whites, another for minorities.

The Commission detected a "widening gap between human needs and public resources, and a growing cynicism regarding the commitment of community institutions and leadership to meet these needs." Coupled with the establishment over the decades of the ghetto itself, and the compounding of injustices and indifference in the few months leading up to the summer of 1967, the Commission conclusion becomes inevitable. The Commission's unequivocal charge against white racism has cleared away the tangled rhetoric of the white or black separatists and laid bare for all Americans to see that the way of continued indifference to the problems of the poor, of the racially or culturally different, promises "seriously greater probability of major disorders."

Because the major targets of Negro rioting in 1967 were the symbols of white discrimination, white authority, white racism, the Commission pointed out that the riots were not "racial" in the sense that there was actual confrontation between Negro and white citizens. Generally, the ghetto had been effectively sealed off. First reports of early 1968 riots indicated that they were not substantially different from those of 1967.

There was no conspiracy of a local, national, or international nature behind the riots, the Commission reported. But its references to the growing buildup of armaments by city police forces, in itself provocative to the people of the ghetto for whom they are intended, and the arming by private citizens, both black and white, arouse the disheartening sense in the reader that the probability of organized and well-armed sniping, firebombing, even pitched street battles between the races, has increased. In Newark, where 23 persons were killed last summer—a white detective, a white fireman, and 21 Negroes, two of these children—"an almost hysterical purchasing of arms by both sides" has been reported by Police Director Dominick Spina; in Syracuse, a 30 percent increase in the sales of firearms over last year has been disclosed by the Onondaga County court clerk. The mood of violence has deepened; fear and anger have taken up arms.

Not only have conditions and attitudes altered little, if at all, since last summer, the Commission warned,

but in many areas the economic gap which was abysmal before the 1967 riots has widened; the ghetto has become more isolated, more sapped of its financial base, but also more aware of its own deprivation, of its own needs, and of the depths of its fury. The communications media, in turn, have added to the expanding chasm between deprivation and a decent way of life by intensifying the disparity, the Commission asserts, making the material possessions of affluent white America frustratingly attractive but beyond the reach of those in the ghettos.

The role of the black militants is viewed by the Commission as that of provocateur, exhorting a kind of latter-day Booker T. Washington separatism with a slightly different rhetoric but essentially similar program. Further, the black militants inciting revolt are placed in perspective as a parallel development to the white community's own militancy and separatist organizations.

The Commission abhors the trend toward fission of the Nation's people into "two societies—one black, one white—separate and unequal." It expresses optimism when it declares that the Nation can still turn back, the "movement apart can be reversed . . . choice is still possible."

"To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values," the Commission said. Not only will the division of the country into all-white suburbs and all-black core cities perpetuate the unrelenting racial friction and maintain society on the brink of violence, the Commission insists, but the "traditional ideals of individual dignity, freedom, and equality of opportunity" will be conclusively repudiated, and "we will not be able to espouse these ideals meaningfully to the rest of the world, to ourselves, to our children."

The Commission recommendations suggest that three basic attitudes be adopted in establishing new programs or reviving and strengthening old ones: that the programs be equal to the dimension of the problem; that they aim for a high impact immediately to close the gap between promise and performance; and that they encourage new initiatives to change the system of failure and frustration at its roots.

One set of figures underlines graphically the urgency of the problem: By 1985, the Commission projects, the population of Negroes in America's cities will have grown from 12.1 million to nearly 21 million; 2.7 million of this growth will be attributable to in-migration; 13 major American cities will be majority Negro, their suburbs majority white; the number of Negroes 15 to 24 years of age will rise by 1.6 million, that portion of the Negro community which is most subject to un-

employment, involvement in crimes of all sorts, and participation in civil disorders.

Dr. Clark, in referring to the *Alice in Wonderland* nature of riot studies, may have been recalling a scene in which the Queen of Hearts shouts, "Off with his head!" whenever anything goes wrong in her kingdom. The potential for such overreaction among law enforcement officials and the people, whether black or white, is a critical issue which touches every American. Overreaction, a dominant factor in the igniting of last summer's riots as the Commission disclosed, will still plague every city menaced by the possibility of riot. Precipitate action when the threat of a riot appears or when a potentially inflammatory incident occurs, may

lead to greater losses and injuries and eventually to self-destruction.

The Commission, because it reflected optimism and because it refused to soften its conclusions about America, provided the chance for a fresh start, for a reopening of the avenues of communication. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 is indicative of a concern for minority and deprived peoples, the Negro, the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican, the Appalachian white.

The Commission has urged all Americans to listen to the facts while there is time, but it is even more insistent that the time to act is now. Tomorrow may be too late. □

Police-to-People Primer

"A POLICEMAN'S LOT," Gilbert and Sullivan have put it, "is not a happy one."

Recent extensions of constitutional guarantees by the Supreme Court apparently have not eased the policeman's burden, but a handsize booklet published by the Connecticut Bar Association may help him meet the law's demands when he must act "in a moment of crisis, conflict and even, perhaps, violence."

Titled *The Police Officer and the Bill of Rights*, the 19-page handbook is being distributed to every law enforcement officer in the State of Connecticut. Using "shirtsleeve" English, the pamphlet focuses on the practical day-to-day problems related to the Bill of Rights which an officer of the law may encounter.

"Crucial Constitutional protections sometimes have been inappropriately viewed by some as roadblocks to law enforcement," the booklet points out. "Rather, the Bill of Rights is the path we all must follow to guarantee individual liberty for all."

Police conduct in situations of possible civil disorder are covered, for example, in the section dealing with the first amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly. The free expression of ideas under this law is referred to as "the safety valve of an open forum."

In regard to the equal protection of the laws under

the 14th amendment, the booklet states: "Laws must be enforced with an even hand. It is improper for police officers to use the law in selective fashion designed intentionally to discriminate against any particular individual or group."

Search and seizure provisions of the fourth amendment are given this down-to-earth treatment: "A man's home is really to be considered his castle as far as police intrusion is concerned"; and on due process of law under the fifth amendment: "The moment a police officer tries to overpower a suspect during questioning is the moment he runs the risk that any confession will be later voided in court."

The handbook is written with the intent of preventing injustice through the possible ignorance of the law on the part of the policeman and to assist him in achieving the "delicate balance" of knowing "the rights of the people with whom he deals and the limitations upon his own power." How a policeman looks upon his role and how he acts it out, the booklet asserts, "demonstrate, in the truest sense, the type of society we have fashioned."

The booklet was written by the Committee on the Administration of Criminal Justice of the Connecticut Bar Association with Stephen E. Ronai of Milford, a corporate and estate lawyer, its chairman. □



Negro Mayors: *First Hurrahs!*

POLITICAL POWER, that force generated in the ballot box, changed hands radically in historic encounters last November when for the first time since Reconstruction, two major cities with large Negro populations elected Negro mayors.

The long-term significance of these two events is still to be measured against concrete social gains, but they offer a promise of the potential for change inherent in the exercise of the ballot by minority peoples. Certainly, urban politics will never be the same.

Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio, 10th largest city in the Nation, and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., barely squeezed into the history-making role of big city mayors. Stokes, the great-grandson of a slave, eked out his victory with a plurality of 1,644 votes, or 0.6 percent of a total of 256,922 cast, while Hatcher swung his triumph on the margin of a 2 percent plurality.

The single factor of most far-reaching consequence in these mayoral victories is not that Negroes voted in such great numbers for a Negro candidate, but that enough white people voted for black candidates to assure the victories. Hatcher received 95 percent of the Negro vote and picked up 12 percent of the white electorate. Stokes not only had to muster 96 percent of the Negro vote but 19 percent of white ballots as well. Here is where the transfer of voting power was crucial.

With the emergence of two big city mayors (Washington, D.C.'s Commissioner Walter Washington, dubbed the "mayor" by news media and the White House, is a presidential appointee), some radical changes seem to be in store not only for future Negro politics but also in the characteristics of urban politics for years to come.

Despite the near-miss quality of their campaigns, in which only several hundred votes could have reversed the election results, Stokes and Hatcher proved that a Negro could win the mayor's seat of a large urban center even though Negroes were not in the majority. In that Cleveland and Gary have experienced civil turbulence, their feat is of major significance for the social development of the Negro masses.

It would be informative for a sociologist to assess the influence that the election of Edward W. Brooke, Republican, Massachusetts, to the U.S. Senate had upon the Boston race for mayor. Senator Brooke had breached a barrier which had stood since Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi had been elected to Congress in 1874.

In a campaign for the Boston mayoralty between two descendants of old Irish stock, Mrs. Louise Hicks, a staunch opponent of school integration during her years as a member of the Boston School Committee, lost by a close margin to a moderate politician, former secretary of state Kevin White.

In Mississippi, Robert Clark of Lexington was elected to the State house of representatives, the first Negro so designated in a century. Six other Negroes achieved corresponding victories on lower levels as county supervisors, justices of the peace, and constables.

There are 28 State senators, 112 State representatives, more than 160 city councilmen and more than 200 other Negro elected officials across the country. Most are Democrats although in about a dozen instances Republican Negro candidates gained city council or school board posts. Negro Republican votes figured in a number of GOP victories. Most notable of these was the

Kentucky gubernatorial election in which Louie B. Nunn received 38 percent of the Negro votes to become Kentucky's first GOP Governor in 24 years.

(A list of Negro elected officials compiled from various sources appears on page 35.)

With race a persistent and seemingly inevitable factor in cities having sizable Negro communities, what do these results presage for the Negro and white politician and for the people of the cities in which they will stage their struggles for the vote?

Kenneth B. Clark, president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., New York, addressed the National Conference of Negro Elected Officials in Chicago almost on the eve of the November elections. He said that the Negro aspiring to public office must campaign and project an image "as if America had in fact reached that stage of racial maturity where race and color are irrelevant and where a candidate would be judged and selected by the electorate in terms of his intelligence, competence, experience, and integrity."

If he stresses the race issue too heavily, Dr. Clark warned, the Negro candidate may lose the white vote to the "racism inherent in America," but if he modifies his stand on Negro principles, he may lose the Negro voter who may consider him a "traitor . . . willing to sell his own race down the river in order to enhance his chances of personal advancement."

In projecting a winning image, Stokes and Hatcher can serve as models for other Negro political aspirants, for they seem to have the formula for success. The questions of even greater moment now, however, are: Can they come through for the city as a whole, improve opportunity for the poor, the unemployed, the unskilled, the uneducated? Can their presence prevent the violent outbursts of past summers? To put the problem in its most rudimentary form, can the Negro mayor do any better than a white mayor?

One could assume, based on the Cleveland and Gary decisions and other election results, that Negro-white relations are improving, that the tensions which provoked the dozens of major and minor disorders last summer may have been dampened by these successes at the polls, that Negro people will not concentrate on a "white establishment" now that they have those of their own race in city hall. But, then, the opposite may be true.

Dr. Clark, in his Chicago address, made some pertinent remarks in this regard. Noting that the nihilistic brand of "black power" is "unquestionably a liability for the serious Negro politician," Clark argues that the Negro elected official can find a "formula whereby

there can be a reasonable working relationship with some elements of Negro nationalism," so that "while keeping the lines of communication as open as possible," he may "seek to discipline the constructive emotional and practical potentials of this movement."

Dr. Clark suggests that the Negro elected official could actually redirect the energy of the Black Nationalist movement toward good while attacking the hard core problems of poverty and discrimination. But he added a sobering thought: "The problems of the Negro elected official are compounded by the fact that he usually does not have the power to change the condition of the masses of Negroes merely because he is in office."

The consequence of having a Negro officeholder who cannot produce the results hoped for or foreseen by his constituents, Negro or white, suggests a situation much more crucial in terms of the loss of confidence among the masses of Negro people with the Negro politician and with the governing system as a whole, and among those whites who had also entrusted their votes to him.

With Hatcher and Stokes assuming only the first burdens of office, the question of their effect on the development of urban politics remains academic and speculative. How much power has actually been turned over to the Negro politician of the cities? The full extent is still to be measured, but it is not unlikely that individuals from all sides are already drawing up their own criteria with which to gauge the success and failure of these new Negro public figures.

Perhaps the kindest thing to be said in later months is that the Negro elected official has been given an equal opportunity to fail. But in the perspective of the possible violent consequences of failure, it may be of benefit to the whole country to consider the Negro elected official, not as someone with special powers over the electorate, including the Negro slum dweller, and over the problems of the city, but as an individual having to master the art of the possible in the face of the impossible.

Because race is of such basic importance and because the stakes are human lives, it becomes essential for all Americans to ponder fully what the writer meant who said that those who treat politics apart from morality will never understand either.

In other words, it is necessary that the surrender of the vote, as well as its capture, be considered on the basis of the common good, balanced by a realistic appraisal of what can be done, but with all due regard to what should be done. In these terms, the recent elections could constitute a first step forward toward that racial maturity of which Dr. Clark spoke.—A. R. □



*Dr. Ernesto Galarza
addresses La Raza
Unida Conference.*

La Raza—Today Not Mañana

LA RAZA, simply translated from the Spanish, means the race. But for a people seeking full realization of a personal and group identity as well as equality of rights and treatment in the United States, La Raza is becoming a rallying cry, merging the culture, the language, and the history of five million Mexican Americans into a social and political entity.

History has been made by Mexican Americans this past year by events which serve as guideposts to understanding the mounting drive for unity among these people who cherish the value of a heritage grounded in the history of two motherlands, both born in revolution, and of the birthrights of language and culture which have proven at one time a barrier and at another a safeguard in coping with the demands of a different and often conflicting American way of life.

Two major events which took place on the last weekend of October 1967, in El Paso, Tex., represent not only the culmination of recent efforts by Mexican American leaders but also a new starting point of opportunities in every field for La Raza.

One dominant theme—the concept of La Raza as a people striving for its rightful place as a contributing partner in American society—linked the two apparently diverse events which occurred that weekend: the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs convened in El Paso's most sumptuous settings and La Raza Unida Conference of grassroots organizations called together in the border town's worst slum barrio.

Four Cabinet members and directors of several Federal agencies "came to listen" in unprecedented

simultaneous hearings which covered major problem areas for the Mexican American: agriculture; labor; health, education, and welfare; housing and urban development; antipoverty; and economic and social development.

Coordinating the three-day event was the Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, a Washington-based agency established only five months prior to the hearings. Texas-born Vicente T. Ximenes, a past national president of the American G.I. Forum, had been sworn in as a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and as director of the Interagency Committee on June 9, four months before the El Paso hearings.

Any thoughts that Ximenes and his staff may have had of easing into their new roles were completely forgotten in the flurry of activity which followed the President's announcement setting a deadline only eight weeks away.

Among Mexican American groups, the proposed hearings precipitated immediate reactions. Various preliminary conferences were held all over the Southwest. Discussions and debates probably affected a more widespread portion of the Mexican American community than any previous issue. To understand this reaction clearly as well as to assess more concretely the value of the hearings and conference for the Mexican American, the context of prior events in which the President's request was made must be recalled.

For all of its special importance as an event without precedent, the El Paso convocation of Cabinet members and the several hundred Mexican Americans invited to attend must be viewed in the wider perspective of the Mexican American, the "chicano", as he calls himself, enduring the evolutionary process of group identification through recognition and acceptance of a common heritage, of common goals, even if not of methods by which to achieve them. This process, truly a "movement" in its own right, is capturing daily the imagination of more chicanos as it awakens in them an awareness of the need for personal involvement and commitment to this "cause."

The Mexican American, no less than the advocate of Black Power here in America or the fighter for independence in the emerging nations of the world, is caught up in a revolution that is sweeping the world through which people are striving to become a cohesive and self-assertive force so as to participate and help shape the processes and trends of local, national, and international policy and opinion.

Mexican Americans are moving from a position in which they were considered by the dominant culture

as a predictable, subservient social mass, the harmless and pliable descendants of a conquered people, into a demanding, implacable force, valuing their cultural and historical heritage and their language as priceless birthrights from which spring their present energy and drive toward a better life and a full sharing in the American dream of equality for all men.

This quest for equality was mirrored at El Paso in the fact that two events, reflecting the major aspects of the "movement," were taking place at the same time, and in many instances involved the same people, and yet, despite any apparent conflict, established the same goals. If the hearings were, as one Interagency staff member put it, "an opportunity from which the best and the worst can be expected," they were also the catalyst for what may be the most important outcome of those three days when La Raza met in El Paso.

To Mexican Americans familiar with the verbal turmoil of the past two years, the phrase "White House Conference" quickly incites heated debate. Chicano groups through their leadership reacted vigorously when in the fall of 1965, preplanning sessions for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" were convened but excluded consideration of the problems of the Mexican American as well as chicano participation. A Washington, D.C., group, the National Organization for Mexican American Services, among others, wrote the President at that time, criticizing the proposed conference. In his reply, the President suggested that he would call a similar conference dealing with the problems of the Mexican American in the not too distant future.

In March 1966, 50 Mexican Americans walked out of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) conference in Albuquerque, N.M., charging that the session was "rigged" with too tightly structured speeches and how-to meetings, leaving little time for discussing concrete employment needs and solutions. The group also charged the EEOC with discrimination because no Mexican American was a member of the Commission. An ad hoc committee, composed of some of the 50 who walked out in Albuquerque, coalesced to press for a growing list of demands including a White House Conference on the Mexican American, the appointment of a Mexican American to the EEOC, increased employment of Mexican Americans by Federal agencies, inclusion in the June 1966 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," and a meeting of Mexican American leaders with the President.

The chicano coalition threatened to picket the June 1966 White House Conference, but in May the President eased the tension when he met privately with five

prominent Mexican American leaders of large and well-organized groups. The five were Bert Corona of Oakland, Calif., president of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA); Roy Elizondo of Houston, president of the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO); Augustin Flores of Riverside, Calif., past president of the American G.I. Forum; Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi, Tex., founder of the G.I. Forum, and Judge Alfredo Hernandez of Houston, past president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

A sub-task force was set up shortly after this meeting involving representatives of various agencies to lay groundwork for a conference. In September 1966, David North, formerly with the Department of Labor, was detailed to direct the work of a small staff of the Committee on the White House Conference on Mexican American Affairs. In September 1967, he was officially transferred from the Department of Labor to the Interagency directorship.

Given an official address and office space and with staff borrowed from other agencies, the committee achieved Cabinet-level status on June 9 and changed its name as well. The Secretaries of Agriculture, of Labor, of Health, Education, and Welfare, and of Housing and Urban Development, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Ximenes were named by the President to comprise the Cabinet Committee on Mexican American Affairs.

The advent of the El Paso hearings apparently did not smooth nor allay the objections of many chicano individuals or groups. A Los Angeles newsletter, *Carta Editorial*, put the question bluntly: "Is this the White Conference? Or is this meeting being held in lieu of such a Conference?" *La Raza*, an East Los Angeles barrio newspaper, displayed bitter sarcasm when it devoted the front page of its prehearings edition to describing "the newest game: El Paso . . . different from any other game in that it has no rules."

Young chicano militants, meeting in Albuquerque the weekend before the hearings, formed a national organization, established an information center in Los Angeles, and planned as their first major action the picketing of the hearings. In early October, more than 200 Mexican Americans convened at Camp Hess Kramer near Los Angeles to draw up a list of grievances and proposed solutions to present at the hearings. The MAPA board of directors, however, voted 58 to 5 to boycott the hearings. Al Pena, a city commissioner in San Antonio, Tex., had publicly criticized the hearings and threatened to boycott the proceedings but relented to head a delegation to El Paso. The tension and bitterness which had begun to crystallize into for-

mal action in the fall of 1965 was reaching a peak by the time the hearings were called to order on Friday morning, October 27.

Ximenes, evaluating the hearings shortly after they had been concluded, stressed their nature as a series of hearings and not as a conference. He pointed out that much conflict arose because of confusion on this point. "There was no need for resolutions since the Cabinet head was sitting in front of you with no bureaucrats in between," he said. "It was our main objective that for the first time we would get Cabinet-level directors, including the Civil Service Chairman, to come together to hear the Mexican American. These people usually come to talk, not to listen," he noted.

"Now we should be able to tell anybody what can be accomplished immediately or on a long term basis," he said. "No one had given the Mexican American credit for any intelligence," the EEOC Commissioner remarked, but it has now been proven, he added, that the Mexican American "can conduct Cabinet-level hearings and present good information."

Realizing that when the President called the El Paso hearings "we were not going to have a White House Conference" of the kind held in June 1966, Ximenes relates that he attended several conventions of major Mexican American organizations to explain the nature of the hearings. He recalls that at the last such meeting he attended, before the MAPA State membership in Riverside, "I put the question before them: do you want such a hearing?—and I got a good reaction."

As for the possibility of the much sought after White House Conference, Ximenes declined to speculate but added: "When the agency was created, the President said that the Cabinet members and I would hear the problems and seek solutions concerning the Mexican American. As chairman of the Interagency I had particular interest because the job given us by the President was very specific." In line with the President's mandate, he said, "Hearings are ten times better than any conference especially if we can get the Cabinet people to attend. There is ten times more promise in these hearings than in a conference."

Echoing the concern of most Mexican Americans, whether they were critical of the hearings or not, Ximenes suggested that within the next few months, the real impact of the hearings would become apparent. Effects of the hearings on department policies, both in hiring practices and in providing programs and services to the Mexican American, should develop to an appreciable extent in six months at least, he said.

The Interagency itself, meanwhile, was to develop a list or scorecard based on specific recommendations made during the hearings and on commitments made

by government officials. "The things asked of the department people are not unreasonable," Ximenes said. "Many require merely rules and regulations." By late January, a memorandum had been submitted to the President summarizing the El Paso hearings and restating in general terms the suggested solutions provided by the hearing participants.

An early return on one Cabinet hearing at which John Macy, Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, presided, was the appointment of Richard L. Romero of Denver, Colo., as director of the U.S. Civil Service Commission's Equal Employment Opportunity Project. Ximenes attributed the appointment to remarks made by Judge Hernandez and Armando Quintanilla of San Antonio, Tex., drawing attention to specific problems in the employment of Mexican Americans within the Civil Service agency itself. The Department of Housing and Urban Development also recently set up a task force to step up hiring of Mexican Americans.

In the final moments of the 90th Congress, a Bilingual Education Act was passed as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967. Results from this new legislation are still many years away from fruition but its passage represents the first recognition by Congress of the basic need for bilingual instruction in many of the Nation's schools.

Besides this major undertaking of followthrough on the hearings, the Interagency will continue to implement its three basic functions which Ximenes says are: to redirect old programs, to create new programs, and "to hear the mexicano." Most attention is being focused on the first and third areas, Ximenes admits, where there is "a lot of redirecting to do" of many agency programs whose personnel are not aware of the "unique" needs of Mexican Americans. He believes that the Interagency serves as "a sympathetic ear" for the mexicano to which he can voice a complaint, seek direction on how he can gain redress, apply for jobs or be referred for job openings, and even get assistance in obtaining funds for specific projects.

Commenting on a major problem area brought up frequently during the hearings, Ximenes suggested that the Interagency should not be the only source for Mexican Americans to air their grievances or to seek assistance. "Mexican Americans are needed in all agencies," he said. "Services and personnel should be incorporated into each department" to fulfill the Federal agency's responsibility in understanding and meeting chicano needs and problems, he explained.

Ideally, that would take care of the Mexican American's problems: Increase job opportunities and job training programs, open up labor union apprenticeship programs, promote bilingual and bicultural instruction

in schools heavily attended by Spanish-speaking children and change attitudes in both the public and private sectors toward the Mexican American.

But, the chicano, as events in El Paso bear out, is a realist.

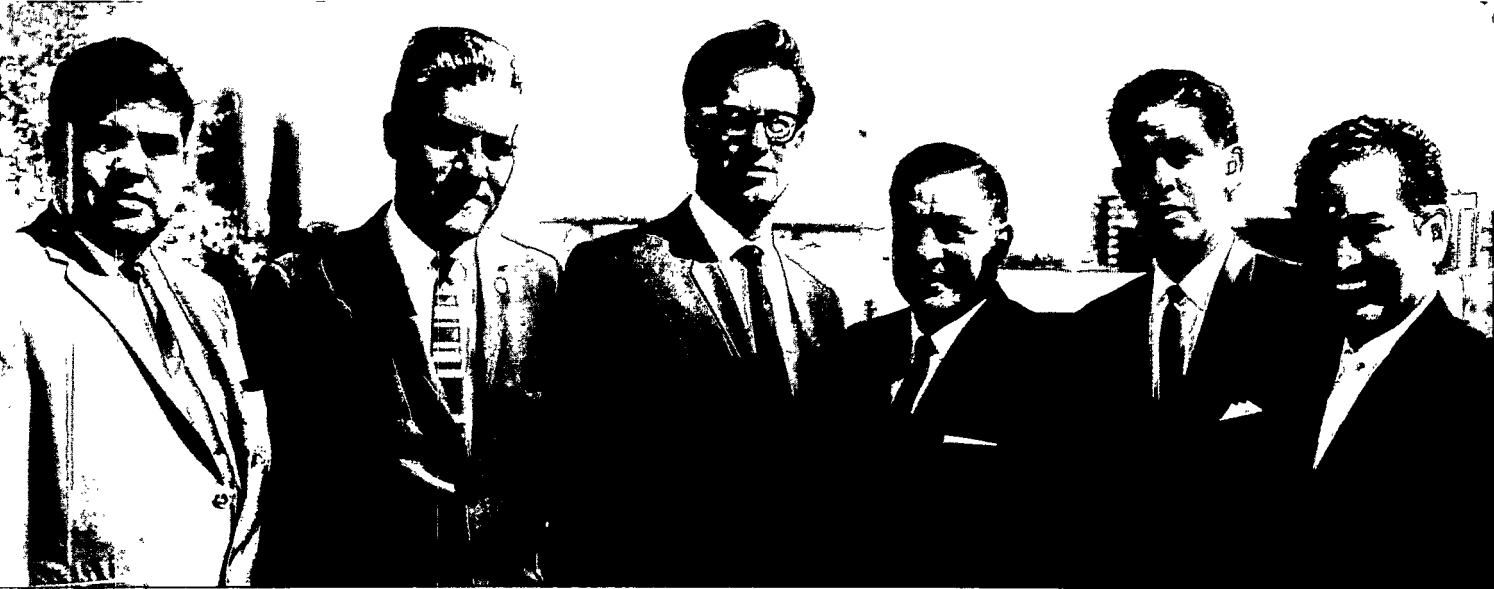
While witness after witness presented his case and was duly recorded, a radical turn was being taken in the Mexican American movement. A conference, La Raza Unida, functioning much like a political rally, with oratory, slogans, cheering, and even a march through downtown El Paso, covered the same issues and problems that were being discussed in the hearings but without the sophisticated programing. Nevertheless, La Raza Unida Conference centered on what may be the most important issue for the Mexican American to resolve—and which only he can resolve—the quest for unity.

On the surface, it would seem that the two events were in conflict, but in reality they complemented each other. Commissioner Ximenes, informed by the conference planners of their intent to conduct a separate conference noted that "the group didn't hurt us, it didn't want to and stated so. . . . We had a series of hearings; the other group attempted to have a conference whereby an organization could be established, that's fine. There were other meetings as well, of legislators and educators, which didn't detract from the hearings."

A deep significance can be read in Ximenes' words since frequently militant factions of a minority group might be expected to resort to physical means to disrupt such proceedings. On the contrary, some of the major protagonists of La Raza Unida Conference, which barrio people called "la verdadera conferencia," read their own incisive papers before Federal officials then boycotted the rest of the sessions.

Among chicanos who rejected invitations from the Interagency Committee but came to El Paso to exert strong roles in the conference were Corona, MAPA president, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, head of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice. Of those invited who did not come to El Paso at all, the one whose absence was most significant was Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in Delano, Calif., considered by many chicanos as the leading figure in the rise of Mexican American aspirations. Making up the majority of La Raza Unida participants were people of the barrio.

Presiding at La Raza Unida Conference was Dr. Ernesto Galarza, of San Jose, Calif., economist, author, and farm labor organizer whose efforts date back to the mid-1940's. A Mexican American, whose face and hands bore the marks of long hard hours and years in the fields described Dr. Galarza as "el apostol de



The leaders of five major Mexican American organizations presided over the October hearings in El Paso, Tex. They were from the left: Luis Tellez, American G.I. Forum; Alberto Pinon, Community Service Organization; Mario Vasquez, Mexican American Unity Council; Vicente Ximenes, member of Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission and director of the Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs; Robert Ornelas, League of United Latin American Citizens; Roy Elizondo, Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations.

los campesinos," the apostle of the fieldworkers.

Only last April, Dr. Galarza had asserted at a conference on legislation before more than 500 Mexican Americans in Sacramento, Calif., that the mexicano must "imitate and beat the Anglo politician at his own game." His comments on the El Paso hearings echo this political orientation, for he noted that the hearings had "gotten together a lot of people who wanted the opportunity of exchanging ideas and enabled some of us to report on what was happening within the Mexican American community in general." La Raza Unida Conference provided "a stimulus for many people and insights into how the national Administration operates, something they wouldn't have gotten if the hearings hadn't been held," he said. Galarza, as others at the conference, attacked the "Administration's point of view and technique" in setting up the hearings. Chicano criticism, he said, centered on three main contentions: that the presence of two Presidents in El Paso for the signing of the Chamizal Treaty drew national attention away from the hearings; that the hearings themselves permitted only a minimum of audience participation; and that invitations had excluded the poor and youth to the degree that these groups were forced to resort to demonstrations before being allowed to participate. On the first point, the fact was cited that Saturday morning hearings were abruptly cancelled so that participants could be bused to the International Airport where President Johnson and President Gustavo

Diaz Ordaz of Mexico addressed them.

Characterizing the hearings as a political maneuver, Galarza said: "At issue is whether the Interagency Committee is merely a label and Ximenes a front for Johnson or whether we can count on them—right now my feelings are entirely negative."

With a new agency to develop, Ximenes had been "entitled to a fair chance," Galarza said, adding; "I was opposed to a boycott of the hearings and I think the papers presented were excellent and made an impressive indictment of the injustice existing in the areas covered." The conference, picketing, and demonstrations that did occur, he pointed out, "show how much tension exists among Mexican Americans."

"The White House Conference is not a dead issue," Galarza believes, "but I have no idea what the White House intends to do. Fundamentally, when we get through all the gestures and all the loud noises, we're saying 'close the doors to the ghettos.' If the young people are cut off and not listened to, and if the administration keeps trying to suppress the poor, I can predict how they will react. If the Administration had the brass to try the kind of moves they pulled on people like myself and representatives of 50 other organizations, I hate to think of what they will try on people in the ghetto."

A direct result of La Raza Unida Conference, Galarza reported, was the formation of the Southwest Council for Mexican Americans which is seeking funds to pro-

vide what he believes the conference participants were in most urgent need of: "machinery to unify and to communicate."

What the Cabinet hearings lacked in color and drama, La Raza Unida Conference made up for and surpassed. Two general sessions were held on Friday and Saturday in the parish gym of Sacred Heart Catholic Church, located in "El Segundo," the south El Paso barrio where adobe shack and brick tenement conditions rival the worst urban slums in the Nation. In vigorous, resounding speeches, orators expressed frustrations, anger, and bitterness, but all of the speakers called for unity. Each gave the same basic message, of the urgent need to unite and to demand the rights due the Mexican American and solutions to his problems on the chicano's terms.

As never before, the voices of young people were raised, insisting on their rights and for increased opportunities particularly in education and employment. They showed little patience with the efforts of the veteran chicano leaders. One youth, José Angel Gutierrez of San Antonio, president of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) which manned picket lines from the start of the hearings along with about five other youth organizations, challenged the crowds in the barrio gym: "We are going to march and you can join us. But if you don't, you will be left behind." Another, Phil Castruita of the United Mexican American Students at California State College, remarked matter of factly: "The young chicanos see this conference (the hearings and La Raza Unida) as the last chance you older chicanos have to come through. If nothing happens from this you'll have to step aside or we'll walk over you."

Still another student, John Garcia of San Jose State College, who represented the Mexican American Student Association (MASA), spoke passionately of his sense of identity with the Mexican American culture, indicating that it had only recently begun to inspire his loyalty and commitment to the cause of La Raza. Speaking in Spanish, he declared: "We want our rights, not as gifts from the whites but as citizens. We have to stand up against injustices and demand they be stopped. You must let youth speak because the problems of the mexicano are not just the problems of the old people." He concluded that a new realization and acceptance of themselves as Mexican Americans were being generated in young chicanos like "a fire . . . a fire that will not go out."

UMAS, MASA, and another activist group, the Brown Berets, can be credited with inspiring student walkouts on March 5 at five dominantly Mexican American high schools in East Los Angeles. The three groups had issued a 15-point set of grievances in Feb-

ruary demanding removal of fences around Garfield High, inclusion of Mexican American history and culture in textbooks, easing of crowded conditions, and new schools. Planned for but spontaneously set off at Garfield when students rebelled at the cafeteria's lunch menu, the walkouts triggered student-police clashes, arrests, picketing, sit-ins by parents, and emergency school board sessions.

It is apparent in retrospect that the El Paso hearings brought into sharp focus the external problems facing the Mexican American and disposed high government officials to help alleviate them by, at the very least, "rules and regulations." But even more, it now appears that the hearings served as a catalyst to crystallize for the mexicano the pattern of internal difficulties underlying the more obvious issues: Lack of communication, lack of group awareness, lack of political "clout," lack of clear definitions of purpose and methods of operation, along with the need for coalitions with other minority groups for common objectives.

In a preamble to La Raza Unida Conference, the proclamation is made that "the time of subjugation, exploitation and abuse of human rights of La Raza in the United States is hereby ended forever. . . ." The conference "affirms the magnificence of La Raza, the greatness of our heritage, our history, our language, our traditions, our contributions to humanity and our culture . . . pledges to join with all our courageous people organizing in the fields and in the barrios. We commit ourselves to La Raza, at whatever cost."

These same aspirations were evident in and out of hearing rooms in conversations which pondered La Raza, in terms of "brown power" and "chicano power." There were buttons in evidence, too, with the most popular ones, an orange button showing a Mexican sombrero and crossed bandoleras (cartridge belts) reminiscent of the 1910 revolutionists in Mexico, another with the words, "Adequate programs and funds for Our People First then Viva Johnson," and the red button bearing the black eagle of "La Huelga," the farm labor organizing movement.

The hearings themselves provide a detailed rendering of the countless difficulties obstructing Mexican American aspirations throughout the Southwest and, perhaps of great surprise to most people, in good-sized chicano communities wherever Mexican Americans have settled, usually dropping out of the migrant stream, in places such as Chicago, Ill.; East Chicago, Ind.; East St. Louis, Ill.; where large "pueblos" exist; and in smaller communities in Wisconsin, Kansas, Indiana, Nebraska, Iowa, Michigan.

Maclovio Barraza of Tucson, Ariz., executive board member of the Mining, Mill & Smelter Workers Union,

spoke first before Undersecretary of Labor James Reynolds and Assistant Secretary Stanley Ruttenberg, substituting for Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz who had to remain in Washington on personal business. (Barraza dropped out of the rest of the sessions, devoting his time to the La Raza Unida Conference. On Saturday he was chosen to act as temporary chairman of the Southwest Council.)

"Whatever other reasons many may have for distrusting the intentions of this conference," he told the Labor officials, "perhaps the most central is that we Mexican Americans are very disappointed with the performance of all levels of government. In spite of the many studies and voluminous reports, the many conferences and the big promises, we have yet to see any significant evidence of the kind of action needed at all levels of government to correct the legitimate grievances of our people." Citing recent civil rights measures, the antipoverty and medicare programs and a mine safety bill as promising avenues for the Mexican American, he added:

"But what the Mexican American is saying is: It's not enough and it barely touches the many problems that beg attention. Our people are saying that before we shout Viva Johnson, there better be a Viva la gente mexicana program. There must be a bridge built immediately between the well-intentioned promises and some real positive action." Perhaps no other speaker spoke as strongly on the nature of the hearings nor pinpointed more forcefully key employment problems. Barraza called for inclusion of farmworkers under the National Labor Relations Act and under the Fair Labor Standards Act, abolition of section 14b of the NLRA (the "right to work" provision), recruitment of Mexican Americans for Federal jobs, stronger enforcement of equal employment statutes by the EEOC, and evaluation of apprenticeship and training programs by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Standards.

Barraza declared: "Along with the other disadvantaged people, the Mexican American is growing more and more restless. He's patient but it's running out. He may soon be forced to seek dramatic alternatives to his patience—alternatives that seem to bring more generous responses from government than obedient restraint in face of adversity and injustice." El Paso, itself, he said, has been described as a "powder keg . . . which could explode into violent riots far more intense than those of Watts, Detroit, or other cities."

Data presented by Hector B. Abeytia, of Fresno, Calif., then State director of the OEO-funded Manpower Opportunities Project in California, showed that according to 1960 census figures, Mexican Americans

represent the largest minority group in the State, 9.1 percent of the population. Yet Mexican Americans completed fewer years in school than the next largest minority group, held fewer Federal jobs, generally set unemployment rates two percentage points greater than Anglos, enrolled less than half the numbers of Anglos or Negroes in Manpower Development Training programs, and were hired by federally financed contractors at a rate far below their proportion in the State.

Abeytia cited three "realities" under which MDT programs must be formulated: (1) Mexican Americans are at the bottom rung, (2) the bottom rung is continually being replenished by new poor from Mexico, (3) two permanent cultures—Mexican and Anglo—coexist in the Southwest. Strongest criticism of the commuter or green card worker situation along the United States-Mexico border came from Henry Muñoz, Jr., director of Equal Opportunity, Texas AFL-CIO, and Robert Sanchez, a McAllen, Tex., attorney. Muñoz called it "a national scandal that U.S. citizens who work for as little as 25 cents along the Texas-Mexican border have to compete with 90,000 Mexican-Alien green card commuters in all job classifications—this is the primary cause of unemployment and underemployment." In support of their charges, Judge Philip M. Newman of the Los Angeles Municipal Court stated that the Immigration and Naturalization Service "has established the fiction of the commuter without any statutory authority. . . . Their rational has been 'to equate employment with domicile.'" Enforcement of the Alien Registration Receipt card (form I-151) by insisting on actual residence in the United States or terminating a holder's card after allowing a reasonable period for establishing residence, was viewed by the speakers as a "humane solution" to the problem.

A detailed analysis of the problems of chicano youth was presented by Sal Ramirez, director of the South El Paso Boys Club Juvenile Delinquency Project. Median age of the Mexican American population is 20 years, he said, and because 80 percent of all Mexican Americans live in cities, young Mexican Americans are consequently city dwellers, too, he indicated. "Inadequate educational preparation, low socioeconomic status, limited monetary resources, cultural conflict, language barrier, prejudice, and discrimination," he stated, are obstacles which abort their chance for gainful employment, and "its subsequent benefits for social mobility, advancement, achievement, and recognition."

He suggested that work programs pertaining "more directly to the post-placement performance of the individual" and "geared to the existing labor market,"



would be of greater aid than "a proliferation of 'stop-gap' employment programs." He concluded that "it is the responsibility of the Mexican American and the Anglo American population segments to find solutions to community problems. . . . The opening of new horizons, new opportunities, cannot wait for another generation of Mexican American youth to join and increase the ranks of the disadvantaged."

One of the most controversial issues of the day, the land grant conflict in northern New Mexico, drew the attention of four main speakers in the hearings on agriculture presided over by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman.

The most controversial figure in a highly publicized case, Reies Lopez Tijerina, was absent from this hearing. The leader of the Federal Alliance of Land Grants, as his northern New Mexico organization was originally called, had not been invited to participate in the hearings but he came to El Paso anyway. At the time of the hearings, the 41-year-old Tijerina was facing trial in Las Cruces on five charges related to a takeover of the Echo Amphitheater campgrounds in Rio Arriba County, N.M., in October 1966, by a band of Spanish Americans. On November 11, 1967, Tijerina and four members of the Alliance, recently renamed the Federation of Free City-States, were convicted on at least one

Two of the most forceful personalities in the militant Mexican American movement lead a march to a La Raza Unida conference in El Paso. Beside a banner carrier is Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, chairman, Crusade for Justice, Denver, Colo., and third from right, Reies Tijerina, president, Federal Alliance of Free City-States, Albuquerque, N.M. with his brother, Ramon, at his right arm, his wife, and another brother, Anselmo, on his left.

count each. On December 15, the Alliance leader, convicted of assaulting two Forest Service officers, was sentenced to two years in prison. The decision is on appeal.

Tijerina, a Texan by birth, still faces another trial on charges filed following a raid of the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse on June 5. All the facts have still to be sifted out but basically Tijerina and 18 of his followers were charged with armed assault on a jail after occupying the courthouse, wounding or beating three officers, and taking two persons as hostages. At a preliminary hearing on January 29 in Santa Fe County District Court, kidnapping charges were reduced to false imprisonment, all charges dropped against 10 Alianzistas while the rest, including Tijerina, were bound over for trial but released on bail.

To La Raza Unida audience which included one man who wildly strummed a guitar as he approached the microphone, Tijerina said: "Reform of the land started on June 5 in Tierra Amarilla. Fear is gone in New Mexico as of June 5. We have learned from those militants [black power militants] that the government respects nothing more than power. We need a spark to fire our movement—that spark is not communism but justice," he declaimed. "Without union, we will continue to keep getting the powdered milk of services. We must unite and fight for justice, not justice in books, but justice in our culture, our language, and in the land. We have discovered the valor that is in the land and in justice," he concluded.

During the hearing on economic and social development conducted by John Macy and attended by Ximenes and William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Dr. Clark Knowlton, chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Texas at El Paso, stated:

"Until [Spanish Americans] as a people, experience the physical return of all or a good part of the land taken from them or receive what they define as an adequate compensation, the deeply rooted burning emotions of resentment and of having suffered historical injustice will continue to exist. The poisonous abscesses of alienation, rejection of Anglo American society, and poverty . . . should be lanced. If they are not, the accelerating

slide of the Spanish Americans toward rural violence cannot be halted," he said.

A laissez faire policy, he stated, would perpetuate the serious conditions of poverty in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. "Outmigration will continue to send out of the region hundreds of poorly educated, unskilled, semi-aculturated workers to add to the social problems of our larger cities. It is far easier to struggle with the problems of rural New Mexico and southern Colorado than it is with the problems of the large slums and ghettos."

Professor Knowlton, long a student of Spanish history and culture in the Southwest, declared: "Time is running out. The land issue has reached a crisis point. If it is not resolved soon, Spanish American desperation will increasingly find an outlet in violence."

Conflicting viewpoints underlie the New Mexico land issue, stated Tomas C. Atencio, associate director of the Colorado State Migrant Council in Boulder, Colo. "Land tenure and land use are perhaps the most prominent areas in which conflict between the government bureaus and the native population of northern New Mexico exist. The traditional subsistence stock farmer continues to perceive that the land surrounding his community that was there for his ancestors, is there for him to enjoy. Forest Service officials have informed him to the contrary and have imposed procedures consistent with their own priorities," he said.

Fiscal obligations for 1968 in Colorado provide \$242,868 for range and revegetation but more than \$2.4 million for recreation facilities, and in New Mexico \$240,753 for range and revegetation but \$1.2 million for recreation, with similar differences to be found in California, Arizona, and Texas, he reported. Atencio suggested a thorough reexamination of Forest Service programs and services with the purpose of evaluating them according to the culture and values of the Spanish surname American.

In the same Cabinet hearing, Dr. Sabine Ulibarri of the University of New Mexico, insisted that the Spanish cultural heritage of the Southwest should be preserved and nurtured through the use of the Spanish language in the schools as well as instruction in the culture, the history, and social contributions of Spanish-speaking people to America.

The Federal Government "has a responsibility to support daring, imaginative, and possibly ridiculous research" to find solutions to the social problems of the Southwest, said Ralph Guzman, a member of the faculty of California State College at Los Angeles and formerly assistant director of the Mexican American Study Project sponsored by the University of California at Los Angeles. He added that government must "dare to trust

the poor to direct their own lives, dare to trust them to administer programs, to establish direction, and to make decisions.”

Bilingual education for the Mexican American child was the major focus in the Health, Education, and Welfare hearing held by John W. Gardner, at that time Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds must be earmarked for specific programs dealing with the Spanish-speaking child from preschool years through college, a number of speakers asserted. For example, Dr. Julian Nava, member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, suggested that curricula should be revised “to give proper attention to Hispano-Mexican contributions to Western civilization and America.” He suggested that precollege aid be given Mexican American students and that admission policies be modified to admit youths who may not meet formal academic standards but show potential and motivation to complete college studies.

“A militancy for higher education” was advocated by Priscilla S. Mares of Denver, Colo., executive director of the Latin American Educational Foundation, to promote the desire and the ability of Mexican Americans to attend college. She cited Weld County, Colo., as having not only one of the lowest income levels of Spanish surname families in the State but also the lowest median school year level of 15 counties with large Spanish surname populations—six years. From 50 to as high as 80 percent of Spanish surname adults in most counties of the State had not advanced beyond the eighth grade, she added.

Augustin Flores of Riverside, Calif., past president of the American G.I. Forum, delivered a paper before the Housing and Urban Development hearing headed by Secretary Robert C. Weaver which covered four major areas of concern to Mexican Americans. On financing, Flores suggested the lowering of loan requirements to more realistic levels, adjustment of financing requirements to cost-of-living demands of the target area, and the lowering of interest rates and extension of loan periods. On personnel, he cited the need for bilingual Mexican American staff. On policy, he urged participation of people in target urban renewal areas to determine their wishes. On research, he suggested formation of a national advisory committee on housing needs of Mexican Americans and provision of adequate research grants to document these needs.

The relationship of education and employment needs to substandard housing conditions was shown by Lorenzo A. Chavez, an attorney of Albuquerque, N. M. Citing statistics from a study of Bernalillo County, N. M., in 1966, by Philip Reno, he pointed out that of 10 census tracts surveyed having large Spanish

surname representation, families with less than \$3,000 annual income ranged from 20–46 percent, adults with less than 8 years schooling from 23–60 percent, and percentage of substandard housing from 15–69 percent. Unemployment ranged from 4.7 percent to 14.5 percent.

Jose Morales, Jr., of New York, Puerto Rican Community Development Project executive director, reported on the mounting problems in housing faced by the more than 600,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City alone where the number of low-rent apartment units has been steadily decreasing.

Carlos Truan of Corpus Christi, an attorney, added: “Programs should be geared to helping not only the children, but the parents as well. Head Start is good, but the adult poor wants dignity and worth today, not 20 years from now!” Involvement of the poor in decision making processes of Community Action Programs was an essential ingredient of the antipoverty campaign and must be preserved, Truan said.

Daniel R. Lopez, East Los Angeles Service Center director, recommended the multiservice center format as a proven means of providing coordinated agency services to the poor. He called for full appropriation of requested funds for the war on poverty, continued centralization of OEO programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity, more flexibility for local poverty agencies in the use of funds, and legislation to permit component agencies of service centers to share costs of intake operations on a prorated basis.

Census surveys for 1960 and 1965 in the East Los Angeles area showed an increase of from 66.1 percent to approximately 76 percent in the Spanish surname population out of a total of 228,000, Lopez noted. The influx, attributed by Lopez largely to former farmworkers, “further aggravated . . . the dangerously overcrowded conditions of already poor housing” conditions that “defy the imagination.”

Poverty conditions in an area such as East Los Angeles, Lopez said, are illustrated by health district figures: TB case rate, 31.6 percent as compared to 20.6 percent in Los Angeles County; TB death rate, 6.2 percent to 2.8 percent for the county; syphilis case rate, 122.7 percent above 1958 figures to 88.7 percent for the county.

The direction and speed of the Mexican American movement is still difficult to gauge at this moment. Indications since the Cabinet hearings and La Raza Unida Conference give the general picture of a people reevaluating and regrouping. But no one is taking the challenge offered by the El Paso event lightly.

Efforts of the Interagency Committee and of proponents of La Raza Unida so far indicate that yet another period of debate and of action is in the offing.

Both elements should serve as a yardstick and a spur to each other. The Interagency has its program of watchdogging agencies and advising government departments on the Mexican American.

Keeping La Raza Unida on the move, the Southwest Council met in Tucson in mid-December on the same weekend that various chicano youth groups were conferring in El Paso. A meeting stressing legislative and political involvement was held in January in San Antonio, Tex., two others in March in Laredo, Tex., and Sacramento, Calif., and will be followed by other meetings soon in other Southwest States.

It was Corky Gonzales of Denver, Colo., before a La Raza Unida session, who called for a declaration of independence for the Mexican American. "We have to start judging our lives with new values," he said. "The Anglos consider us conquered citizens, but we are not second class citizens. We must declare that our rights under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo be recognized, that the educational system be changed and include bilingual teaching and the history of the Mexican American. Que viva la raza y la revolucion!"

Gonzales refers in his statement to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which was formulated in 1848 to conclude the war between the United States and Mexico. Provisions in the document, especially Articles 8, 9, and 10, treat of the political or civil and land rights

of the Mexican people who remained to become American citizens within the new boundaries established by the treaty. Many Mexican American leaders have publicly called for the Federal Government to live up to those provisions and trace many of the troubles confronting Mexican Americans today to violations of that treaty.

The conclusion of Maclovio Barraza in his speech before the Cabinet hearing on labor is perhaps the best summation of the challenge which the chicano—and the Nation—faces: "Our government and our institutions are confronted with a challenge to meet the crisis in our own country. The Mexican American is eager to make this Nation faithful to its democratic tenets.

"If we accept this challenge as an opportunity to perfect our way of life, we will succeed in making this Nation and the world a better place for all people. If we continue to be blinded by prejudice and selfishness of a few, do we deserve the place of world leadership that destiny has thrust upon us? We must start now towards our avowed national goals. Mañana is too late." □

ARMANDO RENDON

Mr. Rendon is an associate editor of the Civil Rights Digest. He formerly worked as a newspaper reporter in Sacramento, Calif.

Congressional "Si" on Bilingualism

BILINGUAL SCHOOLING, "so desperately needed in this country," gained recognition in the 90th Congress as a major educational problem facing America through the enactment in December 1967 of the Bilingual Education Act, as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967.

However, a request for only a sixth of the \$30 million appropriation authorized by Congress for fiscal 1969 in the President's education message in early February may have put a serious crimp in the development of programs to meet the numerous and diverse problems presented by the language barrier among American citizens.

Chief beneficiary of the new legislation, passed in the closing hours of the 1967 session, should be the Spanish-speaking people of the United States who comprise the largest group in the Nation whose dominant language is other than English.

As originally proposed by Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, D-Texas, Senate bill 428, the first Federal measure of its kind, emphasized the learning difficulties of Mexican American children in the Southwest. Subsequent floor debate and conference committee discussion resulted in the inclusion of the bill as a part of the ESEA package and with more extensive coverage of other non-English-speaking groups.

Seven House bills had been proposed similar to Senator Yarborough's. Those offered by Representatives Augustus Hawkins, D-California; Edward Roybal, D-California; and James Scheuer, D-New York, in particular, led to a widening of the bilingual education concept to include, for example, the French-speaking communities in Louisiana and at the Canadian border, American Indians, and persons of Oriental descent in California and Hawaii.

Speaking before the Senate, Senator Yarborough

pointed out that the traditional teaching methods had failed to solve the special problems of the more than 750,000 school-aged children of Mexican American descent in Texas and that the bilingual bill would "provide Federal assistance to local school districts in establishing and operating bilingual programs to create a more feasible transition into our schools for these children." Bilingual education would develop a child literate in both his mother tongue and English, he said. "In my own State of Texas, the average number of years of school completed for Anglos is 10.8 years, for nonwhite 8.1 years but only 4.7 years for the Spanish surname from Spanish-speaking families," the Texas Senator added.

Representative Carl D. Perkins, D-Kentucky, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, related to his colleagues that the conference committee which worked out the final version of the ESEA bill, had generally followed the provisions of the Bilingual Education bill reported out of his committee earlier in the session. The conference had "wisely provided" the Office of Education with advance planning time for the administration and implementation of a program "so desperately needed in so many States in this country."

Armando Rodriguez, chief of the Mexican American Unit in the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, expressed optimism for the opportunities now offered for the Spanish-speaking child. He noted that the new law draws national attention to the values of bilingualism and focuses for the first time on the problems facing the non-English-speaking child attending or soon to enter a classroom where English has been the only language of instruction.

A major benefit of the measure, Rodriguez said, is the provision for teacher preparation which should bring about a significant increase in the number of

teachers who are prepared to instruct the non-English-speaking child.

Although of the five Southwestern States—Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas—only California has enacted a law which explicitly permits instruction in a language other than English, opportunities do exist to utilize the new Federal law without jeopardizing State law, Rodriguez said.

Before funding is approved for a Title VII proposal, the law requires that it will serve primarily children 3 to 18 years old of low academic achievement and from families of less than \$3,000 annual income. Title VII programs will operate directly under the Commissioner of Education through local school districts, universities or colleges, or other educational agencies.

No money has been appropriated as yet of the \$30 million which was established by the Act as the target figure for fiscal 1969, the first operative year of the new legislation. Funds are being sought by the administration and Office of Education to formulate administrative and operating procedures, but practically speaking, the first pilot program would not be able to start until September 1968.

Besides the basic bilingual classroom program and preservice and inservice teacher training programs authorized by the act, the following other programs are suggested:

Instruction in the history and culture associated with the language; school and home relations programs; preschool classes; adult education programs especially for parents of children in bilingual schooling; courses for dropouts or potential dropouts; programs conducted by accredited trade, vocational or technical schools; and any other programs fostering the purposes of the title. □

Priorities for the Nation

THE DAY-TO-DAY STRUGGLE for existence in the ghetto is now familiar to many Americans previously unaware or unconcerned with life in America's city slums through a booklet recently published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Using a narrative-type approach, with people of the ghetto "telling it like it is" in their own words, *A Time to Listen . . . A Time to Act*, describes firsthand the frustrations and deprivations of the urban slum dweller.

Unlike other Commission reports, the urban study made no specific recommendations for legislation. The Commission does conclude, however, that the problems stemming from racial discrimination and from poverty "must become the Nation's first priority."

This major proposition, highlighted by news media across the country, has created a concern and interest in the problems of the ghetto among students, businessmen, educators, sociologists, urban planners, legislators,

and from organizations of all kinds and of every religious persuasion, not to mention those national groups with a known civil rights and/or antipoverty history. Written requests to the Commission for the booklet have exceeded 30,000 while the overall distribution has topped 60,000.

At recent national conferences, hundreds of copies of the Commission report have been distributed in addition to the thousands of copies mailed to individuals and organizations. Among the conferences which requested copies of the report were the Eastern, Midwest and Pacific regional conferences of the American Sociological Association; the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools; the American Society for Public Administrators (a special luncheon on city problems); the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials; the Department of Classroom Teachers (National Educational Association); the National Association of Social Workers; the League of Women Voters; the National Council of Jewish Women; the John LaFarge Institute; the National Council of Christians and Jews; the National Federation of Settlement and Neighborhood Houses, and the National Council of Churches.

The report received favorable editorial comment in the Nation's news media. The Danbury, Conn., News-Times, for example, called it "a valuable document" which should be read "by every legislator, by holders

of public office who have anything at all to do with health, housing, employment, education, discrimination and the like, and by any individual concerned with the Nation's most serious domestic problem." The New Republic echoed this view by stating that the report "should be compulsory reading for all Congressmen."

Testimony included in the report was extracted from Commission hearings in four metropolitan areas and State Advisory Committee open meetings in 11 cities during 1966 and 1967. When the report was released, William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the Commission, stated that it was prompted "in large measure by the Commission's belief that many white Americans simply do not comprehend the situation that confronts Negroes, Mexican Americans, and other minority groups in the ghetto."

The problems stemming from race and poverty will not be solved until they are made "the Nation's first priority" nor will they be resolved, the Commission warns, by initiating a "search for culprits or conspirators, or for solutions which do not cost money or effort." Summing up its reaction to the report, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch took a cue from the booklet title: "Federal Government has the interstate authority, the national responsibility, and the powers of leadership to deal with America's division—if it finds time to listen." □

A rose is a rose is a . . .

"Dr. Miller, I have stood an awful lot from you and your teachers without yelling half as loud as most of the taxpayers in this city. But there is a limit to your foolishness. When you sent home William's census card for correction, you certainly hit a new low. You listed William as a Caucasian. I want you to know that both William and his father are white Americans and so am I, and we go to church regularly. Personally, I think you are probably a Caucasian yourself."

Letter read by DR. BRUCE MILLER, Superintendent of Riverside Unified School District, at the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity.

Conference Reflects Struggle for Equal Opportunity in Schools



NO PROBLEM FACING this country is of more significance than the failure of the education system to provide meaningful educational opportunity for all its young people.

On that premise, the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity opened last November in Washington. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which sponsored the Conference, invited superintendents, school board members, parents, teachers, legislators, labor leaders, students, civil rights activists, education critics, professors, and community leaders from all over the country for the three-day meeting to discuss "Problems and Programs for Change."

While the almost 1,000 conferees basically agreed that the education system is failing, they differed sharply on what it will take to remedy that failure. The Conference not only reflected the growing public concern with the educational crisis in this country but also brought out the conflicts and tensions among those committed to reforming the school system. Billed in advance as a meeting which would emphasize programs for action rather than academic discussion, at times the Conference became a forum for frustrations and a debate on alternative approaches and disputed priorities.

The debate was urgent and the frustrations real, for in spite of growing criticism, court decisions, legislation, Federal programs and official studies, this Nation's public schools are not improving.

Indeed, in many aspects the schools are getting worse. The evidence cited at the Conference included a U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report of February 1967 which documented that racial isolation of American schoolchildren is increasing. Since the Supreme Court declared in its landmark decision of 1954 that racially separate education is intrinsically inferior, an entire generation of school children has passed through a system becoming ever more segregated.

Growing dissatisfaction with the schools has been demonstrated by a number of recent events. In various cities, parents have organized boycotts and kept their children out of school; students have initiated protests and sit-ins; teachers have struck, not only for higher salaries but also, in some cases, over curriculum content and methods of instruction; private citizens have brought lawsuits against school systems, charging unequal treatment and disparity of funding.

In addition to direct action and local confrontation, increasing nationwide interest in the schools has been evidenced by the successful sales records of numerous books written by teachers, students of education, and social critics deploring the state of education in America. Time magazine recently noted this "flurry of books complaining that U.S. public schools stifle, rather than stimulate, the natural joy that children should find in learning." The studies range from Paul Goodman's, "Compulsory Mis-education"—the title of which sums up the author's verdict—to Jonathan

Kozol's "Death at an Early Age," subtitled "The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools."

While there was general accord on the basic issue—inequality of educational opportunity—which had brought the conferees together, the clash of priorities and alternative approaches was central to the Conference from the beginning. The conflict between advocates of integration and those who favor compensatory education was raised in the opening address of John Fischer, president of Teachers College, Columbia University. Fischer warned that concentration on desegregation efforts tends to ignore and sacrifice those children already crippled by educational deprivation, those for whom integration will come too late. Although agreeing with the Civil Rights Commission's report, "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," that compensatory programs do not show evidence of much success, Fischer stated it would nevertheless be indefensible to dismiss the concept as useless.

Dr. Fischer—along with others, including Harold Howe II, U.S. Commissioner of Education—suggested that both desegregation and compensatory programs are needed. Needless to say, this did not settle the dispute. Advocates of immediate crash programs of compensatory measures pointed to the lack of progress toward desegregation. They called for upgrading ghetto schools and were impatient with continuing discussion of the numerous techniques leading to desegregation. Students in inferior schools must not be ignored, they said, while the halting struggle for desegregation continues.

In the opinion of those who would establish desegregation as the first priority, on the other hand, compensatory education could become the modern equivalent of "separate but equal." As a first step, they contend, desegregation of the schools is a more effective means of raising achievement levels. Truly compensatory efforts, it was emphasized, can be accomplished only in an integrated setting. Immediate compensatory programs without desegregation, however, may become rationalizations for delay and serve to perpetuate racial separation.

In addition, desegregation exponents insist, racial and economic mix is itself compensatory, not only for the deprived ghetto student but also for the "advantaged" child. It is too often overlooked that children in the "better" schools—mostly white, mostly middle class, mostly suburban—are also handicapped by an isolated setting: Deprived of social, economic, and racial variety, they are ill prepared to function in a pluralistic, democratic society.

There were elements of this basic conflict between

desegregation and compensatory programs in other divisions of opinion at the Conference. Administrators, planners, and social scientists emphasized long-range, massive designs for accomplishing desegregation. Plans ranged from busing children and redrawing school boundaries to elaborate educational parks and campus school plans. These latter programs would require urban-suburban cooperation or even consolidation.

A large proportion of parents and grassroots people at the Conference were not only a little skeptical about such ideas, they were impatient with any proposal which would take years to accomplish. As one participant stated: "What good is a campus plan which will take 5 or 10 years? We're in a hurry; our children are desperate."

It was a similar sense of urgency which led essentially the same group of parents and activists to call for local or neighborhood control of schools. Advocates of local control had seen quite enough delay and had heard too many promises from officialdom—Federal, State, and local. They had become involved in the schools but had been unable to cause changes that would benefit their children. They therefore wish to remove their schools from the present controlling superstructure and run them themselves. They feel no alternative is open to them and feel forced to a position which has been labeled basically separatist.

Closely related to this sentiment was the position of some conferees who pronounced the entire system so encumbered with its own defects that it couldn't be saved. This group suggested completely independent alternatives to the present public schools which would, in effect, compete with the constituted system. They had little patience with talk of reform, restructuring, or revision by present policymakers.

An extension of this position was held by a relatively small number of conferees who urged violent alternatives. They considered the schools so destructive to their children and their anger and alienation were so complete, that they exclaimed a polemic of devastation and disruption.

These, then, were the major divisions among the conferees: desegregation versus compensatory education, long-range planning versus immediate action, restructuring of the system to provide adaptability to local needs versus absolute local control, reformation and revision of the system qualitatively versus alternative competing systems of education. Generally, school officials, planners, representatives of government, social scientists advocated the first of each pair of alternatives; parents, civil rights activists, students most often favored the latter choice in each case. There was, however, a considerable blending of position, with

individuals from both broad groups agreeing on particular issues.

Also, various people arrived at similar positions for different reasons. Basically, the reasoning was grounded on a consideration either of principle or of practicality. Some advocated a position because they believed it superior in principle to the alternative; others advocated the same position, because they believed the alternative practically unattainable. The following example depicts the mixture of motives: Compensatory education is supported by an unusual alliance of militant Negroes who want control of their own neighborhood schools, white conservatives who seek to prevent integration, and pragmatists of both races who foresee no practical hope of desegregation in the immediate future.

What bound the conferees together were varying degrees of concern for the children of this Nation who—for a number of reasons—are not receiving educational justice. Divisions on specific issues depended to some degree on their interpretation of the past and their confidence in the future. Those who felt a great sense of emergency charged that planners and theorists were lost in grandiose designs which amounted to gradualism, that they were insensitive to the outrageous injustices of the present. Officials and professionals relied on traditional processes and planning and seemed to fear that proposals for immediate action were either impossible or regressive—perhaps even dangerous.

One side presented elaborate plans, well-researched studies, and the other continually proclaimed the sickness of the schools, as if in the hope that the Nation would eventually listen and respond with a commitment to massive action.

One group, Mexican Americans and their supporters, picketed the Conference to protest the indifference of the Nation—and more specifically, the Conference itself—to the unique educational problem of the bilingual-bicultural child. Having demonstrated their point, the pickets returned to the sessions to argue specifics and debate priorities.

There was diversity of opinion on virtually all issues from teacher attitudes to the cost and effectiveness of busing, but it cannot be said that the Conference consisted only of division and dissension. Although the mood of frustration was dominant, it was largely a dispute among friends. One conferee noted that he was in a lonely, seemingly hopeless struggle for better schools

in his own community, and it was heartening to find hundreds of people who shared his basic concerns. And even the airing of frustrations served as a healthy emotional release.

While those generally satisfied with the present school situation must have welcomed the dispute over details among the advocates of change, evidence that a widening range of citizens is becoming involved portends brighter prospects. If the Conference is any indication, there are increasing numbers of individuals—and not only parents who have a direct interest in the quality of the schools—who are knowledgeable and who are not only willing to become involved but are demanding that they be allowed to participate.

Furthermore, the Conference indicated that there are more school officials and administrators than ever before who are willing to talk about the faults of the system. Some officials admitted their responsibility, some accepted blame, some reported proudly on the accomplishments and innovations in their own schools. To be sure, there were administrators in attendance who were not advocates of change, but as more than one conferee stated, the simple fact that so many from the public education establishment attended the Conference at all had to be viewed as encouraging.



Emotions run high as parents join in discussion of ghetto schools.



A California high school student explains her ideas in the workshop "What Students Perceive."

The exchange of ideas and the search for solutions at the Conference began with the "success" stories of some school officials. Reports of progress came from systems which had attacked the problem of educational inequality and could point to some achievement. All schools reporting effective efforts were pleased with the outcomes. Although evaluations of student achievement levels varied, officials reported no detrimental effects on academic performance; one school district cited evidence that the achievement levels of Negro students rose after desegregation. No schools experienced any mass exodus of white students from the schools following desegregation, and officials from reporting schools stated their intention to continue and broaden their efforts.

Lessons learned in Berkeley, Calif., as that city progresses towards desegregation, were presented by Superintendent Neil Sullivan. First of all, said Sullivan, there must be commitment to and support for the concept of school integration by the administration and the school board. (The choice of words is significant. Integration is qualitative, having to do with affirmative acceptance of individuals of different races and classes. Desegregation connotes mere quantitative mixing or racial balance. It can be inferred, then, that Sullivan means that a commitment to the concept of integration is required to accomplish desegregation.) Also, there must be community involvement and what he described as a climate of openness. With these prerequisites, a

school system can voluntarily desegregate without a court order or the compulsion of violence or boycotts.

Berkeley, with a school population almost half Negro, has completed desegregation only in its secondary schools. The school board has voted to desegregate elementary schools this September. Sullivan concluded that Berkeley had accomplished some desegregation and that it was now ready to approach the concept of integration: "If our society is to function effectively, its members must learn to live together. Schools have a vital role to play in preparing citizens for life in a multiracial society. The Berkeley experience offers hope that integration can be successfully achieved."

School officials from St. Paul, Minn., emphasized that whatever plan is followed or technique used, community involvement is paramount. Dr. Jean Anderson, consultant to the St. Paul Public Schools, stated that such citizen involvement was also a matter of efficiency: "We have found out that community participation in any kind of venture is rewarding and is worthwhile. It gets the job done." In addition to providing for discussion of the program for desegregation with individual parents, the St. Paul School Board invited "some 25 community organizations in the city" to "get together and decide how we were going to implement this plan."

Dr. Gregory Coffin, superintendent of the Evanston, Ill., schools, presented what he termed a "cookbook" approach to desegregating that city's schools. Using



a comprehensive set of graphs and charts, Dr. Coffin traced the calm, businesslike manner in which Evanston progressed.

Evanston's school board decided to eliminate de facto segregation—"not to just desegregate all-Negro schools," Coffin pointed out, because "the board recognized the fact that an all-white school is a segregated school and therefore a harmful environment for boys and girls just as is an all-Negro school." A citizens' commission was formed, "not to make another study . . . one of the techniques for stalling is to have another study . . . but to draw up a plan of action." Finally, said Coffin, the people of Evanston, impressed with the candid and practical-minded actions of officialdom, "took an increased sense of pride in the fact that their community was doing something to solve its problem, that it wasn't looking elsewhere for solutions, nor was it waiting for a forced kind of solution, but was taking some initiative. And this community pride swept out in an ever-expanding ring."

For Chapel Hill, N.C., school desegregation has been accomplished through gradual steps; by 1966 a freedom of choice plan had resulted in desegregation of all but two schools. Then, displeased with subsequent problems of overcrowding in some schools and inadequate transportation facilities, the school board redrew geographic attendance zones which would solve these problems while maintaining racial mix. Dr. Wilmer S. Cody, superintendent of Chapel Hill City Schools, outlined the further steps being taken, now that full desegregation had been achieved: The wide range of student ability in the classroom is being met by more individualized instruction, rather than ability group-

ing; and the anxiety of teachers who have never before taught integrated classes is being dealt with in a series of special teacher institutes and through counseling.

It is significant that all school systems reporting were small or medium sized: White Plains, N.Y.; Providence, R.I.; Riverside, Calif.; Englewood, N.J., in addition to those already mentioned. No major American city could be included among those having made marked advances toward desegregation, although Pittsburgh is committed to some very encouraging long-range plans. School officials from these relatively small cities which had made a beginning were proud of their accomplishments, but they were careful not to boast too much. "You didn't hear us say that we were a success story," Superintendent Carroll F. Johnson of White Plains, responded to a questioner, "We have a lot of things going, and we will take 'A' for effort, but that's all."

Despite these encouraging reports, many conferees were disillusioned with the existence of real possibilities for change. On more than one occasion they vented their frustration on officials from other cities, asking them why they had not done more. When a method or technique of change was noted, some conferees were quick to protest that such a method would not work in their own communities. If it was suggested that more money or a superintendent committed to desegregation was required, participants responded that they already knew that—what they wanted to know was how to get more money or how to find and hire a dedicated superintendent.

Administrators were generally criticized for obstructing change, yet there were school officials at the Conference who were impatient about improving education

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard University, helps lead discussion on alternatives to public schools. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, far left, director of the Metropolitan Applied Research Corp., looks on.

and were ready to accept their responsibility for lack of progress. Lowell Smith, principal of a desegregated elementary school in Syracuse, N.Y., called for administrators to counter criticism by embarking on an energetic course of action. Smith reminded administrators that they must accept a good deal of the blame for inferior schooling and pointed out that were they in industry, their jobs would be threatened. No industry would tolerate an operation in which 70 percent of the products did not measure up to par, he said, "and yet 70 percent of our kids are not achieving. If we were an industry we'd be out of business. And in industry, they don't fire the janitors; they start at the top."

The teaching profession, too, received its share of criticism. Teachers were accused not only of neglecting their leadership responsibility in the struggle for equal opportunity in education but also were characterized by some conferees as a major impediment to smooth transition to desegregation. In a session on teacher training and retraining, it was noted that teachers' attitudes are largely the attitudes of society and that training was needed which would help teachers overcome widely held misconceptions and prejudices, particularly those based on race and economic class.

At least one educator charged that teachers are not only ill trained to teach in inner-city ghettos or integrated situations, they are not doing so well with other students either. "A teacher is a teacher," said Principal Seymour Gang of New York City, "and his job is to understand and teach his children, whether they suffer from the pathology of Harlem or the pathology of Park Avenue." Charging that the blame for underachievement is misplaced, Gang added: "There is no such thing as children who are two years behind in their reading. What we have, rather, are schools that are two years behind in *teaching* children to read."

A college freshman, ill prepared in a ghetto school but with enough determination to attend college on a scholarship, described his continuing problem with teacher misunderstanding: "They still talk above our heads. I ask for help, and they lay on these 20-30 syllable words, and I'm left there with my mouth open. I ask for help, and they close the door on me. The teacher just gets hired and just comes to work and just goes home, and the students are left to survive the best they can."

His statement received general approval from the

more than 60 students in the workshop, "What Students Perceive." The students attending the Conference came from all over the country—Negroes, Mexican Americans, and whites, most of them from desegregated schools. There were some student leaders from racially isolated schools.

Given free rein in their discussion, the students launched into an intense dialogue about their schools, teachers, American society in general, adults in particular. The adults are the ones who mess things up, they agreed; students have relatively little trouble with integration, but white parents transmit their bigotry to their children.

Rosalinda Mendez, a Los Angeles student, described with emotion how poorer minority groups are given inferior buildings and inferior instruction and are told, in so many words, that they themselves are inferior. "We're all in the same bag—bad education," concluded Richard Mitchell, "We are getting nothing from the school." And another student added, "There is no love in the schools. Often schools eliminate the future of the students."

The young conferees were not content to generalize but carried on a sophisticated discussion of ability grouping, textbooks which excluded any mention of minorities, teacher indifference, inadequate curricula, and white parents who fought school integration "with the most powerful weapon in America—money."

"I think more important than only physical integration," sixth-grader Jim Coleman said, "is the complete revision of the educational system." Another student lamented, "Students today have to realize that we can't depend on grownups very much." Constructive ideas were discussed, including a proposed student program in a California high school to provide housing for teachers near the school so they could gain familiarity with the students' environment. But that idea had been vetoed by the school principal. Most of the students were disillusioned with the possibility of change or improvement.

Similar to the students' disappointment with adults was the dissatisfaction which adults expressed about the Federal Government role in fostering educational quality and equality. After U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II asserted that he could guarantee that civil rights provisions and desegregation guidelines would be vigorously administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there was some skepticism. "We've heard the same old thing before," Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S.J., dean of the Boston College Law School, complained, "When are they going to stop talking and do something?" Many agreed with the opinion of John Wayne of Peoria, Ill., that "certain

agencies within the Federal Government have weakened our overall movement by making a lot of promises and doing nothing.”

In the clinic on Federal laws, practices, and policies as instruments for change, it was apparent that many conferees were unsure of the Federal position and programs. Furthermore, explanations of the Government's role by U.S. Office of Education officials were ambiguous. Conferees deplored the lack of cooperation and assistance by Federal representatives. The only consensus attained in the session was a vague agreement that “continuous pressure should be brought to bear on the Federal bureaucracy.”

But what was emphasized more than government action—Federal, State or local—was involvement of parents and local citizens in improving the schools. A Brooklyn minister, Rev. Milton Galamison, underscored the feeling of the participants in the workshop on parental involvement: “No matter how many innovations we bring into these declining school systems . . . there will never be any real achievement, no real teaching and no real learning, unless parents are involved in the process of educating their children.”

The Conference covered a vast range of issues and provided the opportunity for gaining a familiarity with subjects which effective involvement requires. Conferees met a rigorous schedule. There were, during the three-day meeting, 59 separate workshops, seminars, and clinics on topics ranging from urban-suburban cooperation to State laws. Conferees discussed school financing and team teaching, metropolitan desegregation plans, and teacher retraining. Participants heard three major addresses and were presented 25 papers written especially for the Conference by educators, sociologists, psychologists, and urban planners. They were offered nine educational films and inspected hundreds of books of a multiracial nature displayed by 32 publishers of school materials. They examined a series of charts and graphs on nationwide school segregation and student achievement. They were shown examples of children's art work from schools in New York, Chicago, and Berkeley.

Through it all, the mood of divisiveness and pessimism was tempered by examples of slight progress and agreement on ultimate goals. While it is impossible to evaluate precisely the impact of the Conference, it did make evident to all who would heed that the Nation's schools are in a distressing state and that nothing short of massive action will remedy our educational crisis.

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, in the concluding session of the Conference, put the concern for better education in



Conferees vie for attention as packed workshop session considers education problems.

the context of the larger struggle for social, economic, and political justice. “We must realize,” said Rustin, “that the school problem cannot be separated from the housing problem, cannot be separated from the job problem, cannot be separated from the health problem, because they are inextricably entwined.” Having gone through a period of moral concern, he said, the struggle for equal opportunity is now a political one. Political power can only be gained by minority groups through unity among themselves and political alliances with other interest groups.

Rustin said that it must not be forgotten that our schools are brutalizing children of all the poor, two-thirds of whom are not black, so more attention should be concentrated on economic class and common causes which exist among poor people of different races. The goal must be nothing short of quality education for *all* American children; therefore, debate about whether integration or quality should come first is wasteful, divisive, and drains off energy from what should be the basic posture.

On the topic of local or neighborhood control, Rustin pointed out that good schools require money, and since Negroes alone cannot provide that money, fully autonomous black public schools under black control would hardly be feasible even if they were desirable. He emphasized political action rather than separatism and pointed to the need for a positive program for social change.

A Detroit school teacher, Mrs. Zelline Richards, who said she came to the Conference “to enrich my thinking, rather than to entrench my position,” called for conferees to “resolve to return to your communities and stimulate parental concern and activities to improve schools and to use whatever means necessary to achieve these ends.”

The Conference ended without consensus on priorities or programs. While many model plans and a myriad of solutions were suggested, the fundamental problem is effecting the changes necessary to attain educational equality and excellence. Conferees were convinced that the necessary ideas and formulas and plans already exist but that they are not being implemented because of a lack of public commitment. As George Neagu from South Bend, Ind., put it, "We know what should be done. We've been trying to get our community and our school board to do what should be

done. We already know that children are being penalized by unequal opportunity, and we are convinced that integration is beneficial to all races. It's the people who don't believe this who should be here—but they aren't. □

ERBIN CROWELL, JR.

Mr. Crowell, an associate editor of the Civil Rights Digest, is a former teacher and has been a member of the Department of Housing and Urban Development intergroup relations staff.

An "Equal" Chance Isn't Equal

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS and desegregation plans must be merged, and any debate on the value of one concept over the other decided in favor of the child, the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children has declared.

Unequal education to promote equal opportunity, to assist the child who has been racially isolated and economically deprived must become "a matter of deliberate public policy", the 12-member Advisory Council told the President and Congress in its first annual report released late in January.

Compensatory education programs under Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act have generally failed to achieve their objective of assisting the educationally disadvantaged child as required in the law. In fact, the overall impression conveyed by the report is that by and large compensatory projects have failed because they were founded on a system of education which has usually yielded in the face of obstacles to desegregation and relied too much on techniques and programs which have fundamentally been incapable in recent years of providing adequate instruction for most students, let alone the minority child.

Strong criticism was expressed of the tendency among ESEA funded programs to involve as many children as possible "even if with only minimal results." School systems have been so intent on reaching large numbers of children that they doubled the number of participants even though there was no concomitant increase in funds. Although Title I expenditures increased in fiscal 1967, the average allocation per child actually declined from \$175.37 in 1966 to \$164.66 in 1967.

Concentration on smaller groups of children for the

purpose of demonstrating successful compensatory techniques which could later be expanded to include larger groups was recommended as an essential aspect of future programs. The first annual report of the Council, authorized by the act to study, evaluate, and make recommendations to the President and Congress on Title I programs, was based on an analysis of 116 Title I projects, representing one-third of all expenditures, in 60 cities of 39 States. (Further information from State by State studies received at the end of 1967 are still forthcoming according to the report, but apparently would not substantially alter the Council's conclusions.)

A wide disparity of effectiveness among the hundreds of ESEA programs had been found which would be of major import in reaching consensus as to where and how money would be spent to achieve the best results from compensatory schooling.

And directly to the point, the Council asserted that the objectives of compensatory programs themselves would have to be reexamined if that disparity is to be reduced, an undertaking which should concern "the most intelligent among our progressional educators."

A few programs had been innovational, the report said, but in most cases, money continued to be spent "on the expansion of old curricula that are already blind alleys, or on glamorous equipment which local officials deem necessary but which may do little to improve the quality of learning."

Although the focus of ESEA programs is on children from economically deprived or culturally different backgrounds, in practice the programs failed to go beyond the standard teaching methods of learning by rote and failed to make audiovisual materials relevant to the children's day to day experiences.

—Few programs attempted to integrate the three major approaches to guiding and stimulating learning: Skill acquisition (learning by rote), subject matter (study of general areas; e.g., literature or history), conceptual or process-oriented study (data collecting, problem solving, hypothesizing).

—Field trips, it was learned, were utilized by about a fourth of the projects, but few of these seemed to have actually integrated the field work into the curriculum.

—Although class size was smaller in 99 of the 116 programs surveyed than non-Title I classes in the same schools, the reduction usually was by not more than one or two students.

Possible hazards in utilizing certain other approaches were referred to in the report: Individualized instruction, while commendable, would be “pointless” if the child’s personal situation and problems were not known, and thus would not really benefit the child; ability grouping, instigated for the sake of small-group instruction, could perpetuate the isolation which cultural and economic backgrounds had already effected before the child stepped into the classroom.

Teacher involvement in decision making for the design and planning of ESEA programs was generally lacking but appeared to be a vital aspect in maintaining morale and program quality. The Council suggested that the combination of administrator and teacher in developing a program would best serve the special needs of the disadvantaged child. In this regard, the Council also called for inservice training components in sensitivity training and group dynamics, an aspect which, although generally included in most programs, was found to be too short and too limited in content.

No headway at all had been made in involving the parent in the child’s learning process: In only two of the 116 projects was any effort made to draw parents into the role of reinforcing classroom efforts and motivating the child at home. A widespread and intensive effort to involve parents in the education process was strongly recommended by the Council which stressed that the parent was “a hitherto untapped resource of support that could prove as productive as the most devoted efforts to revise curriculums, add new materials, and improve teaching techniques.”

In this vein, the report pointed out that other criteria might exist of greater relevance to the minority group child’s world than simply the tradition-bound standard of reading up to grade level: “We should perhaps be more concerned with such relatively uncharted fields as creativity, motivation for achievement, and awareness of the varied world of adult work and female roles in family and society.”

Unequal educational opportunity should be a hallmark of any programs related to the isolated or economically deprived child, the Council said in an accompanying paper which formalized the Council’s position on the issue. The Council paper relies heavily upon an address by John H. Fischer, a member of the advisory group and president of Teachers College, Columbia University, which was presented at the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity sponsored in Washington last November by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

America was reminded that it has long provided “special education” programs to physically and mentally handicapped persons but that there are millions “who suffer the handicaps of sustained deprivation and neglect, much of it due to racial discrimination”, who are in need of special advantages in order to develop their potential. Racial isolation, poverty, and educational neglect have affected not only Negro Americans, but Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Appalachian white families as well.

Even if desegregation were to take place overnight, many children would still be in great need of compensatory schooling, the Council pointed out, and to dismiss the concept of compensation as useless would be “indefensible.” It cited as further evidence, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, “Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,” and the Office of Education study, “Equality of Educational Opportunity,” both of which found that even though compensatory programs as now conceived promise little toward counteracting the effects of isolation and deprivation, they must not be abandoned.

The tendency to resort solely to the development of compensatory procedures in the face of many obstacles to desegregation must be overcome, the report added. “The Council warns that this course is fraught with danger. To isolate children on racial, economic, or any other basis, is to deprive them of a most potent source of motivation for learning which the democratic mix of our public schools has always provided.”

A few compensatory school programs have been dramatically promising, but most of the Nation’s efforts had been so perilously ineffective, the Council cautioned, that the task of education of the poor would require a generation or more to achieve and substantially greater allocations of funds to finance over the years ahead.

After a little more than a year of experience in a national effort, the Council concluded, the surface of the task facing America’s schools had been “only lightly scratched.” □



EEOC's Image

Remedy for Job Discrimination?

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION, (EEOC) the object of wide criticism since its creation in 1964, is out to fashion for itself a new public image. According to Clifford L. Alexander Jr., a former White House special assistant who was appointed Chairman of EEOC by the President in 1967, that new image will result from a "campaign of aggressive action."

EEOC is charged with the enforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits employment discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. Given a broad mandate "to endeavor to eliminate . . . unlawful employment practice," the Commission did not receive comparable enforcement powers. It was granted the authority to cooperate with existing fair employment agencies, offer technical assistance to employers, conciliate disputes, make studies and release them to the public, and, in certain cases, recommend intervention by the Attorney General.

Further, EEOC must defer for 60 days to State or local agencies where an enforceable fair employment practices law exists. Currently, this deferment applies in 30 States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed by the President in July of that year; Title VII provided one year leadtime to the first group of employers to be affected by

the Act. It became effective in July 1965 for employers of 100 or more workers. In successive years, the law's coverage has been extended to employers of 75 or more, 50 or more, and, by mid-1967, 25 or more. Any employer with a Federal contract of \$50,000 or more is also covered.

EEOC was to consist of five Commissioners, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. No more than three could be from the same political party. The first Commission Chairman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., was not sworn in until May 1965. Appointed for a two year term, Roosevelt resigned one year later to run for Governor of New York.

Samuel C. Jackson, a practicing attorney in Kansas at the time of his appointment and one of the original Commissioners still serving, believes that Commission critics have not taken into account the tremendous hardships which have plagued EEOC from the beginning. The public, says Jackson, seems to have assumed that EEOC possessed enforcement authority which it simply did not have, and critics condemned the Commission for failing to use powers which it in fact was never granted.

In addition, states Commissioner Jackson, no one realized how much EEOC was penalized by the delay in appointing the members of the Commission. Not only

does a new agency need time to develop a concept of itself and its duties, Jackson points out, but administrative procedures need to be devised, and staff recruited, hired, trained, and organized.

As it happened, there was no time for appropriate recruitment and selection of staff; the Commission was forced to issue a plea to other agencies to transfer or lend investigators and other personnel. Most of the new employees lacked experience in dealing with employment discrimination. The staff of investigators who were to probe charges of prejudicial treatment received about one week's training before the law became effective.

The Commission was immediately inundated with complaints by individuals charging employment discrimination. If the new agency was concerned about defining the most effective approach to the fulfillment of its duties, it was obvious what the aggrieved expected. In the first year, the undertrained and incomplete staff of the Commission received 8,854 complaints. Of the cases which were not deferred to State and local fair employment agencies, 3,773 were recommended for investigation. A backlog quickly developed.

A series of changes of leadership—even, at times, a lack of it—did not help matters. EEOC has twice operated without a Chairman and for a time with only three Commissioners. For more than a year, it had only four Commissioners. (Elizabeth Kuck of International Harvester Co. in Chicago has been designated to complete the term of Aileen Hernandez, whose position had been vacant since November 1966. Nominated and confirmed by the Senate in January 1968, Miss Kuck took office in March.)

Commissioner Jackson recalls that the new agency may have lacked experience and time for training and organization, but it did not lack advice. "Advisers divided primarily on the issue of whether enforcement of the law through provisions of compliance with recourse to the courts was as preferable as wholesale efforts going under the label 'affirmative action,' including greater emphasis on working with business and industry on voluntary programs."

The debate, which was being carried on within as well as outside the Commission, was made largely academic by the overwhelming response of people asking assistance. Even as it attacked the tremendous caseload, Jackson emphasizes, the Commission nevertheless sought to avoid perpetuating a single, monolithic approach to its task of eliminating employment discrimination.

"Discrimination is becoming less often an individual act of disparate treatment flowing from an evil state of mind," continues Jackson. "Discrimination is more institutionalized—the application of a system of per-

sonnel selection, assignment, promotion, layoff, transfer, or discharge. We at EEOC have reasoned that it is unlawful practice to fail or refuse to hire, to discharge or to compensate unevenly, or to limit, segregate, and classify employees on criteria which prove to have a demonstrable racial effect. There are personnel procedures which although not discriminatory on their face, nor necessarily in their application, lend themselves to discrimination."

On the basis of this reasoning, EEOC compiled and issued "Guidelines on Employment Testing Procedures" in 1966. The pamphlet points out that employers may be inadvertently excluding qualified minority applicants through inappropriate testing procedures. In consultation with a panel of psychologists, EEOC developed guidelines designed "to provide employers with a scientifically sound, industrially proven, and equitable basis for matching manpower requirements with human aptitudes and abilities."

Another example of the broader approach to the problem of employment discrimination was the EEOC sponsored public forum on the textile industry in the Carolinas in early 1967. A number of the larger textile employers, the principal textile trade association, State and local government agencies, labor unions, and civil rights and educational organizations were invited to participate. The Commission had found an underutilization of Negro workers in the industry and used the forum to provoke public discussion and promote programs of voluntary compliance.

At a meeting with drug industry officials, which EEOC sponsored jointly with the Federal Drug Administration in October 1967, it was reported that Negroes constituted only 5.3 percent of drug industry employees and only 1.8 percent of white-collar workers. Drug companies were urged to recruit minorities voluntarily to avoid the time-consuming complaint process.

EEOC provides grant funds to State and local fair employment organizations for affirmative action projects designed to increase minority employment. By the end of 1967, the Commission had issued grants totaling \$700,000 for 40 projects in 23 States. It was announced in October 1967 that 14 of the most recent projects had at that time yielded an average of about 100 jobs each for minority workers.

One of the major research activities of EEOC is the collection of minority employment statistics based on forms (EEO-1) submitted by every business in the United States with more than 100 employees. The forms show the sex and ethnic (white, Negro, and Spanish surname) breakdown of employees. The information is confidential as to particular firms. Figures on unions and apprenticeship programs are also received.

On the basis of EEO-1 information, EEOC compiles city and industry surveys. The Commission decided upon a public hearing to spotlight a recent study of white-collar employment in New York City. The hearing provided "new image" publicity for EEOC as well as emphasis for the statistical study it released.

For the statistical study, white-collar employers were divided into categories of major financial firms, the communications industry, and the 100 largest corporations with headquarters in New York City. The statistics were damning. The study presented a statistical portrait of racial exclusion or, at best, tokenism in white-collar job classifications. Negro and Puerto Rican representation at white-collar levels was found to be scandalously low. Out of a total of 810,630 white-collar jobs surveyed, Negroes held only 6.3 percent of these positions; Puerto Ricans, 3.1 percent. Negroes represent 18 percent and Puerto Ricans 10 percent of the New York City population.

More than one-fourth of all companies reporting had no Negro employees at all, and 43 percent had no Negroes in white-collar positions. Almost a third of the major companies studied did not have a single Puerto Rican employee; 45 percent had no Puerto Ricans in white-collar jobs. Discrimination is even more apparent in the top white-collar positions—officials and managers: There are Negroes in only 1.7 percent of those positions; Puerto Ricans in only 1.1 percent.

Not only is New York City a white-collar town—59 percent of all workers in the city were in that category in 1965—but the white-collar sector is also the most rapidly growing part of the labor force, and it was pointed out that the scarcity of white-collar candidates is growing. The New York Regional Plan Association forecasts 10,000 to 20,000 new "office jobs" a year in Manhattan's central district (south of Central Park) alone.

Representatives of business who testified at the hearings said they had been trying to find qualified minority workers, but couldn't. This plea was discounted by two factors: First, public employers have not experienced this difficulty. Negroes represent about 20 percent of both Federal and municipal white-collar employment in the New York City area. Second—and even more significantly—there is a marked variation among specific companies in the utilization of minorities in white-collar jobs. One major corporation reported that a third of its clerical staff is Negro, and another company reported a clerical work force which was 18 percent Puerto Rican. As Chairman Alexander pointed out, these figures effectively destroy the argument by some segments of the business community that qualified minority workers don't exist or cannot be found.

In addition to the presentation of its studies, the Commission heard testimony from industry and corporation officials and from individuals complaining of job discrimination. Witnesses appeared voluntarily: the Commission has no subpoena power. Furthermore, EEOC is prohibited by law from releasing statistics on specific companies. Individual witnesses were contacted through outside sources; none of the complainants had filed official complaints with the Commission.

The value of voluntary testimony by industry officials is difficult to ascertain. The Commissioners are presented with a perplexing situation, for the purpose of the hearing is to arouse public concern by demonstration of the extent of employment injustice. Yet Commissioners would probably hesitate to attack or embarrass voluntary witnesses, because they would have—comparatively, at least—better records. Companies with the poorest minority employment records or those which practice exclusion would not be likely to subject themselves to public questioning.

Not surprisingly, then, questioning of company representatives was mostly polite and restrained. Only occasionally did the interrogation become aggressive, usually when industry spokesmen volunteered employment figures so dissatisfactory, so disconcerting, that they could not be ignored by the commissioners.

John H. Mortimer, the New York Times' director of personnel and industrial relations, expressed the newspaper's equal opportunity policy, but employment figures appeared not to measure up to the Times' editorial position. Chairman Alexander pursued this disparity.

Mr. ALEXANDER. You say that as an opinion maker, the New York Times on its editorial pages vigorously promotes equal opportunity. When did this start? Twenty or thirty years ago?

Mr. MORTIMER. I would guess so.

Mr. ALEXANDER. When did the Times hire its first Negro reporter?

Mr. MORTIMER. I don't know. At least ten years ago.

Mr. ALEXANDER. And how many Negro reporters do you have now?

Mr. MORTIMER. Three.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Three out of how many at the Times?

Mr. MORTIMER. About 200.

Mr. ALEXANDER. How many Negro officials and managers do you have at the Times?

Mr. MORTIMER. Just one.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Just one? Out of how many?

Mr. MORTIMER. It's hard to tell—around 220.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Do you have any Puerto Rican reporters?

Mr. MORTIMER. I don't believe so.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Any Puerto Rican managers or officials in a city that is 10 percent Puerto Rican?

Mr. MORTIMER. None.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Let's go back to the initial page of your statement. I wonder if you might want to retract item four: "As an employer, we try to practice what we preach."

Mr. MORTIMER. No, I certainly would not.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I think from what we have heard here today that perhaps you want to put a future tense in there, but there isn't any clear indication in this record you have given us that you are practicing what you preach.

By the end of the four-day hearing, the Commissioners had heard testimony from some 20 corporate witnesses and four individuals who had experienced discrimination. The most relevant information in the testimony was the disclosure by some companies of their ambitious recruiting and work-training programs operated specifically for minorities. But the Commission staff presented the most germane information in its four reports.

The exercise was dramatic, and the hearing received wide press coverage. Pleased with the response to the meeting, Alexander stated that the Commission intended to return to New York in one year to examine progress. "What we've heard is a lot of paper compliance, paper pledges, and future intentions," Alexander concluded, "but very little in the way of solid accomplishments."

The final afternoon of the hearing was devoted to a roundtable discussion with about a dozen representatives of civil rights organizations, human relations commissions, and minority groups. The discussion was largely ignored by the press, but participants raised several points which deserve consideration.

Dore Shary, the movie producer and chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, complained that many people are fed up with hearings, studies, research. The problems are well known, he said, it's action that's required. Most discussants agreed.

Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, complimented the commissioners for making public the incontrovertible fact that there is a "rigid pattern of exclusion" of minorities in the white-collar industry of New York City. What is more significant, said Hill, is the fact that this is true in a State which passed one of the first State fair employment laws more than 20 years ago. The city, also, has had a law prohibiting discrimination in hiring for more than 20 years. In addition, there have been Executive orders against dis-

crimination, and many voluntary programs have been instituted.

Voluntary programs don't work and never have, Hill stated. He called Plans for Progress, the voluntary partnership of business and government designed to erase employment discrimination, "a monumental hoax" on the American public. He cited as evidence EEOC's own statistics on the 100 largest corporations: 46 of those corporations which belonged to Plans for Progress had a poorer record of minority employment than the remaining 54 firms. "The meaning is clear," said Hill, "that voluntarism doesn't work and is simply a substitute for enforcement."

Furthermore, Hill went on, laws against discrimination are not enough, because the laws are not enforced. Neglecting aggressive enforcement has resulted in what Hill called "administrative nullification" of the law. Hill urged EEOC to proceed with its complaint and investigation powers against the subject New York companies.

As long as the government continues to do business with companies that discriminate, the government is in effect subsidizing racial discrimination, said Hill. He called for immediate cancellation of government contracts with recalcitrant companies.

Jose Morales, executive director of the Puerto Rican Development Project, agreed with Hill that only enforced compliance with the law would work. He emphasized: "Good will is not going to make it. As long as we depend on good will, we'll continue to hear this 'Gee whiz—Little Orphan Annie' talk from corporations about how they just can't find qualified minority group members."

The points raised in this discussion are highly relevant to EEOC's effectiveness as a government agency. The Commission must consider the history of voluntary efforts and enforcement policies. It is true, as Commissioner Jackson has said, that to pursue a single approach to a multifaceted problem is inappropriate; it is also possible that overreliance on any one approach may obscure another. Specifically, there are some observers who fear that EEOC may pursue affirmative, voluntary measures and attempts to enhance the Commission's public image at the expense of its investigation-conciliation enforcement program.

There are signs which tend to substantiate this fear. Alexander has said that the Commission will gain a more "favorable image" by "deemphasizing the investigation and conciliation backlog." And while the Commission claims to have the backlog of individual complaints under control, it is actually continuing to grow; EEOC has only recently begun to cut down the rate of increase of that backlog.

Alexander announced that in September 1967, for the first time, EEOC completed action on more cases than it received. What this meant in actual numbers is that the investigation backlog was reduced from 1,663 at the end of August to 1,631 at the end of September. The backlog continued to grow each succeeding month until the end of the year, when an "inventory adjustment" in a regional office dropped the figure to 1,491.

In addition, there is another, separate backlog. After a case has been investigated, the report goes to the Commissioners to be reviewed for probable cause ruling. If probable cause is found, conciliators enter negotiations with the respondent company. The backlog of conciliations in process has been growing more rapidly as a result of the increasing number of investigations completed. Conciliations pending rose from 281 in July 1967 to 428 by the end of the year.

It is also significant that while the Commission issued a press release indicating that the backlog is being reduced, its budget projections suggest quite a different trend. The Commission is asking for an increase in funds which would almost double its appropriation and almost triple its staff, as well as open as many as eight more regional offices. The basis for the increased funds and staff is EEOC's projection of an investigation backlog of 1,900 and conciliation backlog of 1,400 by the end of this fiscal year.

Another and more subtle hazard is that EEOC's major emphasis concerning investigation and conciliation has been in terms of numbers, volume, and increased production. There is a danger that, if not carefully watched, such an emphasis could bring about a deterioration in the quality of conciliation agreements. If conciliators feel pressure to complete more agreements, they may be more likely to accept weak or "soft" settlements.

Michael Sovern, in his study, "Legal Restraints on Discrimination in Employment," finds that attempts to avoid protracted negotiations, or to speed up the process, often result in a "soft settlement." Sovern, a Columbia University professor, considers these soft settlements to be one of the fundamental reasons that State employment agencies are largely ineffective. Attempts to reach a quick settlement frequently lead agencies to settle many cases on extremely poor terms.

A soft settlement is one which requires little of the respondent employer. For example, a company charged with refusing to hire for discriminatory reasons may obtain an agreement in which it merely promises to "consider" the complainant for the next available opening. Official agencies have been able to arrive at more comprehensive conciliations, including an award of

back pay, agreement to hire immediately, or even an agreement by the company to launch an affirmative recruiting and training program for minorities.

The easiest kind of agreement to obtain is not the kind of agreement which will lead to an eradication of employment discrimination. Some conciliation settlements require no more than consideration of the complainant and a promise to display a nondiscrimination poster. Such agreements ultimately do more harm than good. The complainant will have learned that he gains little from complaining; the respondent will have learned that there are no penalties for discriminating.

The experience of a single employer is likely to become common knowledge in the trade. A settlement becomes an object lesson, and a weak one will lead other employers to lightly assume the risk that one day they too will have to post posters, issue instructions, and promise to do what the law requires of them anyway.

As Sovern points out, conciliation agreements must go beyond the specifics of the case on which they are based if conciliation methods are to have any viable effect on practices of discrimination. If the emphasis with respect to conciliation proceedings is largely a matter of production and volume, the likelihood is greater that soft settlements will be more frequent.

Another loose measure of the Commission's emphasis on and confidence in the complaint-investigation-conciliation procedure is the use of the Commissioner complaint. The filing of Commissioner complaints may result from four general situations. In the course of an investigation, nonalleged violations may be found to exist; a Commissioner may file on the newly discovered violation. In some cases, individuals do not lodge complaints because they fear reprisal, and a Commissioner may intercede. Commissioners may also have outside, unofficial sources of information on which to base a charge. Finally, the compliance unit of EEOC studies investigation reports and other statistics to discover patterns of discrimination which are not apparent in individual charges.

Up to the end of 1967, individual Commissioners had filed a total of 397 Commissioner charges. But it is highly significant that three Commissioners—two of whom are no longer with the Commission and one whose term expires this year—account for 375 of those charges or more than 94 percent.

It is true that EEOC's conciliation efforts are weakened by the fact that if conciliation fails, the only resource for the complainant—unless the Department of Justice intervenes in his behalf—is to institute a private suit in the courts. A private lawsuit is cumbersome, time consuming, and expensive, and under present circumstances, a recalcitrant employer might well

refuse to conciliate in hopes that the employee would not bring a lawsuit or that, if he did, the suit could be tied up in court for years.

EEOC is asking that the lawsuit procedure be eliminated, and a bill now awaiting Senate consideration would empower the Commission to issue cease-and-desist orders in its own right. Supporters of cease-and-desist powers for EEOC contend this additional authority is needed to make conciliation efforts effective. The main value of cease-and-desist, it is asserted, would not be in actual use, but as a potential threat which would pressure employers into stronger conciliation agreements. The administration supports the measure granting the additional authority (it remained silent on such proposals in 1965 and 1966), and a similar bill passed the House in 1966, so prospects look reasonably favorable.

Assistance from another quarter of the Federal Government is anticipated. EEOC may refer to the Department of Justice cases which show reasonable cause for prosecution on the grounds of pattern discrimination. As of January 1968, EEOC had referred 54 such cases, of which six were prosecuted by Justice. Only 14 cases have been prosecuted under section 707 of the 1964 law, but increased activity can be expected. Stephen

Few Minority Employees in REA Program



MINORITIES HOLD LESS than 4.5 percent of the jobs in cooperative associations and private companies receiving loans from the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), an agency of the Department of Agriculture. An REA study shows that most of the minority work force is concentrated in the lower paying job classifications.

The employment review, reflecting job patterns in 96 percent of the more than 1,800 active REA borrow-

Pollak, new head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, has promised more emphasis on employment discrimination cases. It has been estimated that one-third of Division's attorneys' time will be devoted to employment cases.

Assuring the Negro and other minorities full economic citizenship will be a long and complicated undertaking. While all forms of discrimination contribute to the economic plight of the Nation's minority population, and while programs to attack all vestiges of racial injustice should be carried on, nothing will succeed unless the fight against job discrimination succeeds at the same time. The opening of public facilities, improvement of education, the acquisition of job skills—these will all amount to little more than an irony if employers and unions are left free to turn men away because of their race.

Literally hundreds of Federal, State, and municipal agencies now possess powers—however limited—which can be invoked against racial discrimination in employment. The viability and success of the Federal prohibition against employment discrimination will depend on its aggressive administration by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.—E.C. □

ers, revealed that only about 1 percent of the highest rated jobs are held by minority group employees. Of the 5,840 officials and managers reported, there is only one Negro. Nine out of 10 Negro employees are listed in the three lowest paying job categories.

An official of REA says that the agency staff is conscious of minority group employment problems among REA borrowers and that while an increase in minority group employment is expected, the rate of that increase merits serious consideration. The official's statement followed the report on employment patterns in co-ops and companies receiving more than \$400 million annually in loans which finance the expansion of electric and telephone service to nearly 9 million rural families.

While Negro employees are primarily limited to jobs classified as operatives, laborers, and service workers, the majority of American Indian and Spanish surname employees hold office and clerical or skilled craftsmen positions. Listed as officials and managers are 28 American Indians and 33 Spanish Americans. The few co-ops located on Indian reservations or in areas of Spanish American concentration account for the greater number of those minorities in managerial posts.

Minority group employment in REA electric and telephone cooperatives*

Job categories	Total all employees	Total minority	Percent minority	Negro	Oriental	American Indian	Spanish surname
Officials and managers.....	5, 840	68	1. 16	1	6	28	33
Professionals.....	1, 024	6	. 58	1	2	3	0
Technicians.....	2, 219	40	1. 8	6	8	9	17
Salesworkers.....	1, 141	9	. 78	2	1	3	3
Office and clerical.....	12, 578	211	1. 67	34	13	56	108
Craftsmen (skilled).....	14, 452	364	2. 51	125	9	90	140
Operatives (semiskilled).....	4, 367	304	6. 96	244	0	16	44
Laborers (unskilled).....	3, 184	648	20. 35	543	2	23	80
Service workers.....	1, 575	433	27. 49	391	3	6	33
Total.....	46, 380	2, 083	4. 49	1, 347	44	234	458

* Report covers 1,779 of 1,846 active borrowers for which information had been obtained as of November 16, 1967.

Roster of Negro Elected Officials

The following list of Negro elected officials is compiled from information furnished by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, published recently in the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *Political Participation*, and from records maintained by the National Democratic Committee and the Republican National Committee. In all but a few instances, the officials named here have been elected since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

THE SOUTHERN STATES

ALABAMA

Mayor
 TRIANA:
 Clyde Foster
 HOBSON CITY:
 J. R. Striplin
 City Council
 TRIANA:
 David Barnes
 Mrs. Jessie Bennie
 Joe Fletcher
 William Griffin
 HOBSON CITY:
 Lee Young
 C. R. Atkinson
 Charles Dumas
 A. Snow
 Charles Staton
 TUSKEGEE:
 William Peterson
 Dr. Stanley Smith
 Dr. T. S. Williams
 School Board
 GREENE COUNTY:
 Rev. Peter Kirksey
 MACON COUNTY:
 Dr. Charles Gomillion
 Mrs. Elizabeth Richardson

Board of Revenue
 MACON COUNTY:
 Rev. V. A. Edwards
 Harold Webb
 Tax Collector
 MACON COUNTY:
 L. A. Locklair
 County Coroner
 SUMTER COUNTY:
 James R. Weatherly
 Justice of the Peace
 MACON COUNTY:
 William Allen
 William Childs
 Sheriff
 MACON COUNTY:
 Lucius Amerson

ARKANSAS

School Board
 BRADLEY COUNTY, BANKS
 DISTRICT:
 Shuley Lovett
 CHICOT COUNTY, EUDORA:
 Mrs. Mable Allen

COLUMBIA COUNTY,
 WALKER:
 T. L. Story
 John Holmes
 Louis Copers
 CONWAY COUNTY, EAST
 SIDE:
 R. E. Hemphill
 J. D. Hammond
 Cain Crockran
 Ladell Morris
 Sammie Criswell
 JEFFERSON COUNTY,
 COUNTY DISTRICT:
 Frank Hunter
 C. W. Olloway
 Jethro Fair
 DOLLARWAY:
 Arthur Miller
 LINWOOD:
 J. C. Hamilton
 Dennis Curry
 DeArthur Grice
 SHERRELL:
 Mrs. Minnie Macklin
 WABBASEKA:
 James Sims
 Andrew Walker
 BARNES:
 C. W. Olloway
 LITTLE RIVER COUNTY,
 ASHDOWN:
 Donald Mills
 NEVADA COUNTY, OAK
 GROVE:
 Ira Tidwell
 Oscar Johnson
 Aaron Thompson
 Ivory Murphy
 Syble Dockery
 PHILLIPS COUNTY, HELENA:
 Frank Jordan

PULASKI COUNTY, LITTLE
 ROCK:
 T. E. Patterson
 SEVIER COUNTY, COUNTY
 DISTRICT:
 D. B. Bell
 Earl Austin
 Mervin Bell
 R. C. Cravens
 Joe Walls

FLORIDA

City Commission
 VERO BEACH:
 William Blackshear
 MIAMI:
 Mrs. Athalie Range
 DANIA:
 Boisy Waiters
 MELBOURNE:
 Nathaniel Nicloas
 City Council
 DAYTONA:
 James Huger
 JACKSONVILLE:
 Mrs. Sallye Mathis
 Mrs. Mary Singleton
 Oscar Taylor
 Earl Johnson
 LAWTEY:
 Robert Scott
 RIVERA BEACH:
 Bobbie Brooks
 F. Malcolm Cunningham
 DELRAY BEACH:
 O. F. Youngblood
 FORT PIERCE:
 Jackie Kenoe
 School Board
 VERO BEACH:
 Walter Jackson
 Civil Service Board
 JACKSONVILLE:
 Charles Simmons, Jr.

GEORGIA

State Senate
FULTON COUNTY:
Leroy Johnson
Horace Ward
State Representative
FULTON COUNTY:
William Alexander
Julian Bond
Benjamin Brown
J. C. Daugherty
Rev. J. D. Grier
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
John Hood
MUSCOGEE COUNTY:
Albert Thompson
RICHMOND COUNTY:
R. L. Dent
County Commissioner
HANCOCK COUNTY:
James Smith
LIBERTY COUNTY:
Earl Baggs
McINTOSH COUNTY:
Henry Curry
City Council
AUGUSTA:
David Albert
B. L. Dent
Rev. C. S. Hamilton
Board of Aldermen
ATLANTA:
Q. V. Williamson
School Board
ATLANTA:
Dr. Horace Tate
Dr. A. C. Yancey
HANCOCK COUNTY:
Robert Ingram

LOUISIANA

State Representative
ORLEANS PARISH:
Ernest Morial
Mayor Pro Tem
GRAND COTEAU:
Peter Smith
School Board
EAST CARROLL PARISH:
F. J. Atlas
IBERVILLE PARISH:
J. W. Holmes
WEST FELICIANA PARISH:
Raymond Minor
Alvin White, Jr.
City Council
GRAND COTEAU:
Russel Richard, Sr.
John Bobb, Jr.
Alderman
CROWLEY:
Harry Lee Fusillier
Joseph Pete
MARINGOUIN:
Reed Greene
Police Jury
ASCENSION PARISH:
Raymond Julien
EAST CARROLL PARISH:
Watson Sanders
Rev. O. L. Virgin
ST. JAMES PARISH:
Oliver Cooper

St. JOHN THE BAPTIST
PARISH:
Rudolph Sorapuru
St. MARY PARISH:
Joseph M. Davis
Anderson Yancy
WEST FELICIANA PARISH:
Eddie Davis
Ledell Mackie
Nathaniel Smith, Sr.
Constable
NATCHITOCHE PARISH:
Larry Barthazar
POINTE COUPEE PARISH:
Thomas Nelson
St. JAMES PARISH:
Anatole Monconduit
St. JOHN THE BAPTIST
PARISH:
Roland Adams
Joseph Borne
St. LANDRY PARISH:
Morris Barnes
St. MARY PARISH:
Ernest Metz
Leonard Tardy
Justice of Peace
NATCHITOCHE PARISH:
Joseph Delphin
POINTE COUPEE PARISH:
Wesley Albert
Charlie Harris
St. JAMES PARISH:
Felton Ceazar
Oliver Cooper
Isaac Garritt, Jr.
St. JOHN THE BAPTIST
PARISH:
Whitmore Gordan
Harvey Schexnayder
St. MARY PARISH:
Anderson Broussard
Stanley Johnson

MISSISSIPPI

State Representative
HOLMES COUNTY:
Robert Clark
Mayor
MOUND BAYOU:
Wesley Liddell
Vice Mayor
MOUND BAYOU:
Herman Johnson
Councilman
MOUND BAYOU:
R. W. Jones
Mrs. Sally Griffin
Mrs. L. A. Reed
Rev. C. L. Woodley
Constable
ADAMS COUNTY:
Sandy Nealey
CLAIBORNE COUNTY:
Leander Monroe
HOLMES COUNTY:
Griffin McLaurin
ISSAQUEUNA COUNTY:
Melvin Smith
JEFFERSON COUNTY:
Earlie Lott, Sr.
MARSHALL COUNTY:
McEwen Walker
Supervisor
BOLIVAR COUNTY:
Kermit Stanton

CLAIBORNE COUNTY:
William Matt Ross
JEFFERSON COUNTY:
Sylvester Gaines
WILKINSON COUNTY:
Rev. David Wells
Chancery Clerk
CLAIBORNE COUNTY:
Mrs. Geneva Collins
School Board
JEFFERSON COUNTY:
Robert Williams
Coroner
MARSHALL COUNTY:
Osborn Bell
Justice of the Peace
ADAMS COUNTY:
Rev. W. S. Scott
CLAIBORNE COUNTY:
Alexander Collins
COAHOMA COUNTY:
Rev. Dan Ferguson
Charles Jones
ISSAQUEUNA COUNTY:
Matthew Walker
JEFFERSON COUNTY:
Mrs. Martha Lee
Willie Thompson
MADISON COUNTY:
U. S. Rimmer
MARSHALL COUNTY:
James Malone

NORTH CAROLINA

City Council
SOUTHERN PINES:
Felton Capel
WINSTON-SALEM:
C. C. Ross
Carl Russell
DURHAM:
John Steward
C. E. Boulware
LUMBERTON:
Rev. E. B. Turner
RALEIGH:
Clarence Lightner
CHARLOTTE:
Fred Alexander
WINTON:
J. Ely Reid
School Board
HERTFORD COUNTY:
Howard Hunter

SOUTH CAROLINA

County Board of Directors
BEAUFORT COUNTY:
Leroy Brown
Dave Jones
Booker Washington
City Council
BEAUFORT:
Joseph Wright
RICHLAND COUNTY:
Richard Johnson
Freddie Campbell
SUMTER COUNTY:
William Jefferson
CHARLESTON COUNTY:
St. Julian Devine

Road Commission
WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY:
Paul Murray
Magistrate
RICHLAND COUNTY,
GADSDEN PRECINCT:
Mrs. Hattie Sims
HOPKINS PRECINCT:
Joseph Stroy

TENNESSEE

State Representative
SHELBY COUNTY:
A. W. Willis
J. O. Patterson
Russell Sugarman
DAVIDSON COUNTY:
M. G. Blakemore
Mrs. Dorothy Brown
KNOX COUNTY:
Robert Booker
City Council
NASHVILLE:
Mansfield Douglas
John Driver
Robert Lilliard
Z. Alexander Looby
Harold Love
Robert Scales
MEMPHIS:
Fred L. Davis
James Netters
County Court
FAYETTE COUNTY:
Gladys Allen
Herbert Bonner¹
William Hazlitt
Sherman Perry
Mrs. Geraldine Johnson
Charlie Minor
Cooper Parks
SHELBY COUNTY:
Jesse Turner
H. T. Lockhard²
HAMILTON COUNTY:
Rev. Robert Richards
School Board
LAUDERDALE COUNTY:
Albert Lockard
SHELBY COUNTY:
Blair Hunt
Magistrate
HAYWOOD COUNTY, NINTH
DISTRICT:
Dan Nixon
A. D. Powell

TEXAS

State Senate
HARRIS COUNTY:
Miss Barbara Jordan
State Representative
HARRIS COUNTY:
Curtis Graves
DALLAS COUNTY:
Joseph Lockridge³
City Council
MALAKOFF:
I. W. Brown
PORT ARTHUR:
Arthur Guidry
SAN ANTONIO:
Rev. S. H. James

¹ Elected but never seated.

² Now the Governor's administrative assistant.

³ Deceased, May 3, 1968.

HUNTSVILLE:
Scott Johnson
HEARNE:
John Miles
WACO:
Dr. G. H. Radford
School Board
HOUSTON:
Asberry Butler
DALLAS:
Dr. Emmett Conrad
BEAUMONT:
William Taft
PORT-ARTHUR:
A. Z. McElroy
LA MARGUE:
George Drake
CROSBY:
Wilber Eagleton

VIRGINIA

State Representative
RICHMOND:
W. Ferguson Reid
City Council
RICHMOND:
B. A. Cephas
Henry Marsh III
Winfred Mundle⁴
PORT ROYAL:
Embria Byrd
Oliver Fortune
PETERSBURG:
H. E. Fauntleroy
Joseph Owens
TAPPAHANNOCK:
Ernest A. Gaines

22 OTHER STATES

ARIZONA

State Senator
PHOENIX:
Clovis Campbell
Representative
PHOENIX:
Leon Thompson
Ethel Maynard
Constable
PHOENIX:
Johnnye Greene

CALIFORNIA

State Senator
LOS ANGELES:
Mervyn Dymally
State Representative
SAN FRANCISCO:
Willie Brown, Jr.
BERKELEY:
John Miller
LOS ANGELES:
Bill Green
Leon Ralph
Yvonne Brathwaite
City Council
COMPTON:
Lionel Cade
Douglas Dollarhide

FREDERICKSBURG:
Rev. Lawrence Davies
DUMFRIES:
John Wilmer Porter
PURCELLVILLE:
Basham Simms
MIDDLEBURG:
Charles Turner
Sheriff
CHARLES CITY COUNTY:
James Bradby⁵
County Clerk
CHARLES CITY COUNTY:
Mrs. Iona Adkins
Board of Supervisors
SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY:
S. O. Sykes
NANSEMOND COUNTY:
Moses Riddick, Jr.
School Board
HAMPTON:
William Cooper
RICHMOND:
Dr. Thomas Henderson
LYNCHBURG:
Charles Hutchenson
PORTSMOUTH:
David Muckler
NEWPORT NEWS:
Dr. Waldo Scott
Justice of Peace
GREENSVILLE:
Murtell Owens
Garland Faison

LOS ANGELES:
Tom Bradley
Gilbert Lindsay
Billy Mills
BERKELEY:
Ron Dellums
Wilmont Sweeney
SAN BERNARDINO:
Norris Gregory
VALLEJO:
Lewis Brown
RICHMOND:
Bernard Evans
George Livingston
RIDGECREST:
Weldon Jules
OAKLAND:
Joshua Rose
SEASIDE:
Stephen Ross
BAKERSFIELD:
S. Del Rucker
SACRAMENTO:
Milton McGee
City Clerk
COMPTON:
Doris Davis
Board of Education
LOS ANGELES:
James Jones

BERKELEY:
W. Hazaiiah Williams
SAN FRANCISCO:
James Stratton
OAKLAND:
Barney Hilborn
RICHMOND:
Terry Hatter
SAN DIEGO:
George Smith
School Board
COMPTON:
Jardine Wilson
Wendel Handy
Matthew Jenkins
Walter Tucker
SACRAMENTO:
Dr. George Stewart
SAN MATEO:
Mrs. Mary Joe Howell
MILPITAS:
Gilbert Brooks
School District Board
COMPTON:
Dr. William Payne
Jessie Robinson
(Compton Elem.)
Lewis Roach
Orville Anderson
Alzue Thompson
(Willowbrook Elem.)
Mary Carr
Carrie LeeDobie
Roscoe Stevenson
Preston O'Neil
(Enterprise Elem.)
Dr. Ross Miller
(Union High)
PALO ALTO:
Horace Anderson
(Palo Alto Unified)
Harry Bremond
(Ravenswood City
Elem.)
MENLO PARK:
Andrew White
(Ravenswood City
Elem.)
LOS ANGELES:
Morris Ewing
Lillie Sherman
(Willowbrook Elem.)
John Lewis
(Enterprise Elem.)

COLORADO

State Senator
DENVER:
George L. Brown
State Representative
DENVER:
Daniel Grove
Judge, District Court
DENVER:
James Flanigan

CONNECTICUT

State Senator
HARTFORD:
Boce Barlow, Jr.
State Representative
HARTFORD:
Lorenzo Morgan
Leonard Frazier

NORWALK:
Otha Brown
NEW HAVEN:
Bruce Morris
City Council
NEW HAVEN:
Mrs. Augusta Bishop
William Gray
Noah Perry
STEMPFORD:
Ralph Lockhart
STAMFORD:
Jerry Walden
MERIDAN:
Ray Neal
State Treasurer
WATERBURY:
Gerald Lamb
City Treasurer
NEW HAVEN:
Mrs. Ella Scantlebury

DELAWARE

State Senator
WILMINGTON:
Herman Holloway
State Representative
WILMINGTON:
Oliver Fonville
Reese Hammond
City Council
WILMINGTON:
Napoleon Gupton
Wade Hampton
Samuel Moon
Howard Moore

ILLINOIS

State Senator
CHICAGO:
Fred J. Smith
Cecil Partee
Charles Chew
Richard Newhouse, Jr.
State Representative
CHICAGO:
Otis Collins
Corneal Davis
James Carter
Harold Washington
Melvin McNairy
Isaac Sim
Calvin Smith
Lewis Caldwell
Raymond Ewall
EAST ST. LOUIS:
Kenneth Hall
City Council
CHICAGO:
Kenneth Campbell
George Collins
William Harvey
Claude Holman
Ralph Metcalf
Robert Miller
A. A. Rayner
William Shannon
William Cousins, Jr.
Wilson Frost
EAST ST. LOUIS:
Ester Saverson
URBANA:
Frederick Walden
Lloyd Carter, Jr.
CHAMPAIGN:
Richard Edwards

⁴ Elected vice mayor by city council.

⁵ Deceased, March 24, 1968.

Judge, Circuit Court
COOK COUNTY:
Archibald Carey, Jr.
Myrtle Stryker
Earl Strayhorn
William S. White
Glenn Johnson
(Associate Judge)

Board of Commissioners
CHICAGO:
Kenneth Wilson
Mrs. Josephine Sneed
Cyrus Coulter

Magistrate
CHICAGO:
George Blakey
Ernest Green
Richard Gumbel
Earl Neal
Maurice Pompey
George Leighton
(Circuit Court)
James Walton
(Circuit Court)

Judge
CHICAGO:
Mark E. Jones
Edith Sampson
Edwin Hatfield
Alvin Turner
Willie Whiting
James Crosson
Sidney Jones
(Associate)

INDIANA

State Senator
INDIANAPOLIS:
Patrick Chavis, Jr.
City Council

GARY:
Mrs. Jesse Mitchell
Cleo Wesson
Quentin Smith
Dozier Allen

EAST CHICAGO:
James Dent
James Lee Thomas

INDIANAPOLIS:
Thomas Sleat

LAWRENCEBURG:
John Todd

FORT WAYNE:
John Nuchlos

County Recorder
MARION COUNTY:
Mrs. Henri Gibson

Mayor
GARY:
Richard Hatcher

IOWA

State Representative
DES MOINES:
A. June Franklin

Judge
DES MOINES:
Luther Glanton
WATERLOO:
William Parker

KANSAS

State Representative
KANSAS CITY:
James Davis
Clarence Love
WICHITA:
Billy McCray
County Commissioner
KANSAS CITY:
Cordell Meeks

KENTUCKY

State Senator
LOUISVILLE:
Georgia Davis
State Representative
LOUISVILLE:
Mae Street Kidd
Hughes McGill
City Council
LOUISVILLE:
Dr. Albert Harris
Mrs. B. Reynolds

MARYLAND

State Senator
BALTIMORE:
Verda Welcome
Clarence Mitchell III
State Representative
BALTIMORE:
Isaiah Dixon
Lena K. Lee
Calvin Douglas
Troy Brailey
Floyd Adams
Joseph Chester
Victorine Adams
MT. RAINIER:
Arthur King

City Council
BALTIMORE:
Robert Douglass
Dr. Emerson Julian
Henry Parks

Judge
BALTIMORE:
Robert Watts

MASSACHUSETTS

State Representative
BOSTON:
Royal Bolling
Michael Haynes
Franklin Holgate
City Council
ROXBURY:
Tom Atkins

MICHIGAN

State Senator
DETROIT:
Basil Brown
Coleman Young
Arthur Cartright
State Representative
DETROIT:
James Bradley
George Edwards
Daisy Elliott
Rosetta Ferguson
David Holmes
Raymond Hood
Matthew McNeeley
Jackie Vaughn

LANSING:
James Del Rio
City Council
DETROIT:
Rev. Nicholas Hood
LANSING:
Joel Ferguson
MT. CLEMENS:
L. C. Williams

Mayor
FLINT:
Floyd J. McCree
YPSILANTI:
John Burton
SAGINAW:
Henry Marsh
State Board of Education
DETROIT:
Dr. Charles Morton
Judge, U.S. Circuit Court
DETROIT:
Wade H. McCree, Jr.
County Clerk

CALHOUN COUNTY:
Marcus Gray
County Auditor
DETROIT:
Richard Austin
Board of Education
DETROIT:
Dr. Remus Robinson
Judge, Recorder's Court
DETROIT:
Elvin Davenport
Magistrate
DETROIT:
Mrs. Geraldine Ford

MISSOURI

State Senator
ST. LOUIS:
T. D. McNeal
State Representative
ST. LOUIS:
James Troupe
Raymond Howard
Deverne Calloway
John Conley
Elsa Hill
Franklin Payne
Johnny Aikens
Russell Goward
KANSAS CITY:
Henry Ross
Leon Jordan
James Wilson
Harold Holliday

City Council
ST. LOUIS:
Edna Brown
Joseph Clark
DeWitte Lawson
Mrs. Ernestine Hinton
Nathaniel Rivers
Waymen Smith
Lawrence Woodson
KANSAS CITY:
Earl Thomas
Judge, Circuit Court
KANSAS CITY:
Bruce Watkins

School Board
KANSAS CITY:
Louis Clyner
KANSAS CITY:
Dr. John Ramos

Magistrate
ST. LOUIS:
Frank Bledsoe
John Harvey

NEBRASKA

State Senator
OMAHA:
Edward Danner

NEW JERSEY

State Representative
NEWARK:
Ronald Owens
George Richardson
JERSEY CITY:
Addison McLeon
TRENTON:
S. Howard Woodson
City Council
NEWARK:
Irwin Turner
Calvin West

RAHWAY:
Dr. Adam McDaniels
ENGLEWOOD:
Vincent Tibbs
EAST ORANGE:
Alfred Brown
Harold Smith
William Holt
Thomas Cook
JERSEY CITY:
Fred Martin

CAMDEN:
William Jenkins
Board of Freeholders
EAST ORANGE:
Albert Colier
County Recorder
EAST ORANGE:
Mrs. Madeline Williams

Essex County Surrogate
NEWARK:
James Abrams
Director Freeholder
NEWARK:
Charles Mathews

NEW YORK

State Senator
NEW YORK:
Basil Paterson
BROOKLYN:
William Thompson
BRONX:
Ivan Warner

State Representative
NEW YORK:
Mark Southall
Charles Rangel

BROOKLYN:
Bertram Baker
Shirley Chisholm
Samuel Wright
JAMAICA, LONG ISLAND:
Kenneth Browne

BRONX:
Edward Stevenson
BUFFALO:
Arthur Eve

City Council
NEW YORK:
J. Raymond Jones
BROOKLYN:
J. Daniel Diggs

BUFFALO:
Delmar Mitchell

SPRING VALLEY:
Bernard Charles

President, Manhattan
NEW YORK:
Percy Sutton

Judge
NEW YORK:
Herbert Evans

Judge, Civil Court
MANHATTAN:
Andrew Tyler

BROOKLYN:
James Shaw

District Leader
BROOKLYN:
Thomas Fortune
Josephine Bravo

NEW YORK:
Eva Neil
Edrie Archibald
Hulan Jack
Margaret Cox
Archie Long
Geraldine Daniels
Jannie Norfleet
Henrietta Brown
Hilda Stokely
Lillian Upshur

JAMAICA:
Guy Brewer
Isadora Rogers

OHIO

State Senator
CINCINNATI:
Calvin Johnson

CLEVELAND:
M. Morris Jackson

State Representative
CLEVELAND:
Thomas Hill
Larry Smith
Troy Lee James

CINCINNATI:
William Bowen
William Mallory

COLUMBUS:
Phale Hale

DAYTON:
J. C. McLin, Jr.

City Council
CLEVELAND:
John Armstrong
James Bell
Virgil Brown
Craft Carter, Jr.
Charles Carr
George Forbes
Warren Guillian
Leo Jackson
John Kellogg
George White

CINCINNATI:
Myron Bush

AKRON:
Edward Davis

LONDON:
Allen Freeman

MANSFIELD:
Ozie Hill

XENIA:
James Henry

YOUNGSTOWN:
H. Peter Starks

BELLEFONTAINE:
Louis Ratleff

URBANA:
Wendell Stokes

Mayor
CLEVELAND:
Carl Stokes

School Board
MARYSVILLE:
Clifford Brown

CINCINNATI:
Calvin Conliff

SPRINGFIELD:
Douglas Gardner

Judge
CLEVELAND:
Theodore Williams
Paul White

TOLEDO:
Robert Franklin

OKLAHOMA

State Senator
OKLAHOMA CITY:
E. Melvin Porter

State Representative
OKLAHOMA CITY:
Archibald Hill, Jr.
A. Visnaio Johnson

TULSA:
Curtis Lawson

PENNSYLVANIA

State Senator
PHILADELPHIA:
Herbert Arlene

State Representative
PHILADELPHIA:
Ulysses Shelton
Paul Lawson
Earl Vann
Susie Monroe
Sarah Anderson
Julius Emmerson

PITTSBURGH:
Leroy Irvis
Theodore Johnson

City Council
PHILADELPHIA:
Tom McIntosh
Edgar Campbell
Charles Durham
Georgie Woods

PITTSBURGH:
James Jordan

Judge
PHILADELPHIA:
Juanita Stout

Judge, Allegheny County
PITTSBURGH:
Warren Watson

Magistrate, Common Pleas Court
PITTSBURGH:
Homer Brown

Controller
PITTSBURGH:
Lorenzo Hill

WASHINGTON

State Representative
SEATTLE:
Samuel Smith

WISCONSIN

State Representative
MILWAUKEE:
Lloyd Barbee

City Council
MILWAUKEE:
Mrs. Vel Phillips

County Board of Supervisors
MILWAUKEE:
Isaac Coggs
Calvin Moody

School Board
MILWAUKEE:
Cornelius Golightly



Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America, by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton. New York: Random House, 1967. 198 pp.

Indicates the irrelevancy of existing political attitudes and institutions, the need for Negroes to organize their own political ideology, and the contribution to be made to racial progress by an understanding of the means and implications of Black Power.

The California Oath Controversy, by David P. Gardner. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. 329 pp.

An account of the University of California Loyalty Oath Controversy which asserts that hostility toward scholarship and intellectual freedom and public suspicion of scholars engaged in free inquiry and independent thought was abetted and strengthened by proponents of the oath.

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics, by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967. 389 pp.

A vivid and compassionate history of the struggle of Southern Negroes to gain self-respect and the ballot in the 1960's with particular emphasis on the voter registration campaign of 1962-64 and the civil rights movement.

Freedom and the Court: Civil Rights and Liberties in the United States, by Henry J. Abraham. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. 335 pp.

Examines the historical development of the basic freedoms of individuals and of the community as a whole, and of the role of the judiciary in the evolution and implementation of essential civil rights and liberties.

Images of the Negro in American Literature, by Seymour L. Gross and John E. Hardy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. 321 pp.

Examines the patterns of tradition and convention in the literary depiction of the Negro and individual authors whose works dealing with Negroes have been both complex and substantial enough to demand special critical attention.

The Indian: America's Unfinished Business, compiled by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle and others. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 236 pp.

Contains the final report of the investigations of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian and recommendations made concerning the Indian's tribal government, economic development, education, health, legislation, and policies which impede their assimilation.

Indians of the United States, by Clark Wissler. Revised by Lucy Wales Kluckhohn. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966. 336 pp.

Outlines the history and culture of all tribes of the American Indian from prehistoric times to the present as well as past and present struggles.

The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary, by George Breitman. New York: Merit Publishers, 1967. 169 pp.

Discusses the changes in Malcolm X's thinking and philosophy, his split with Muhammad, the Black Muslim leader, as well as materials that are missing or muted in his "Autobiography."

The Long Freedom Road: The Civil Rights Story, by Janet Harris. Foreword by Whitney M. Young, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967. 140 pp.

A history of the civil rights movement and the Negro's struggle for first-class citizenship, including notable milestones such as the Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The Middle-Class Negro in the White Man's World, by Eli Ginzberg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967. 182 pp.

Through personal interviews with high school and college students, in the North and South, Negro youths reveal their educational and career aspirations, their race-consciousness and sociopsychological development, as well as their attitude toward the civil rights movement.

The Negro Almanac, compiled and edited by Harry A. Ploski and Roscoe C. Brown, Jr. New York: Bellwether Publishing Co., Inc., 1967. 1012 pp.

Provides factual information on the Negro's significant contributions to the development of America, including historical biographies, economic statistics, and cultural developments.

The New Indians, by Stan Steiner. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. 348 pp.

Excellent reporting on contemporary Indian attitudes—the new Indian is generally alienated by what he is told should "civilize" him, he is horrified at things being done to him and being done for him, and he is rebelling against the indifference and exploitation of the white man.

The Ordeal of Desegregation: The First Decade, by Reed Sarratt. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. 374 pp.

A journalistic account of desegregation in public education during the decade between the Supreme Court decision and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom, by Paul Jacobs. New York: Random House, 1967. 298 pp.

Detailed descriptions of how minority people and the poor are treated by the institutions society has organized to serve them, based on interviews, documentation, and firsthand observations.

Ready To Riot, by Nathan Wright, Jr. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968. 148 pp.

Reassesses the real needs of the black people in the Nation's cities and asserts that "status" and the ability to achieve equitable power relationships with those who have been controlling them are more fundamental needs than poverty programs, urban renewal, job training, "integration," or public welfare.

Rivers of Blood, Year of Darkness: Rebellion in the Streets, the First Full Story of America's Long Hot Summer of Hate, by Robert Conot. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1967. 497 pp.

A comprehensive study of the Watts Riot, including causation, realities, and effects, based on interviews, discussions, firsthand observations, and examination of documents and records.

Toward Creating a Model Urban School System: A Study of the Washington, D.C., Public Schools, by A. Harry Passow. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967. 593 pp.

Contains the final reports of 33 task forces, their findings, and recommendations to plan a model school system for Washington, D.C.

Triumph in a White Suburb: The dramatic story of Teaneck, N.J., the first town in the Nation to vote for integrated schools, by Reginald G. Damerall. Introduction by Robert J. Havighurst and Neil V. Sullivan. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1968. 351 pp.


A record of how antidiscrimination laws were invoked and are enforced in a formerly all-white suburb, how the elimination of racial discrimination progressed, and how the white majority learned to accept and, in many instances, even welcome its Negro neighbors.

Where Do We Go From Here? Chaos or Community, by Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Harper & Row, 1967. 209 pp.

A chronology of the origin and techniques of the nonviolent revolution led Martin Luther King, Jr., and the gains made in the civil rights movement.

Halls of Ivy

The education park or campus plan—a clustering of classrooms and facilities which would draw students from a wide geographic area, insuring racial and economic variety in the student body—is appraised in a recent Civil Rights Commission booklet.

The Commission recently received a request for the study, "Education Parks"—from a gardening consultant. 

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

John A. Hannah, *Chairman*

Eugene Patterson, *Vice Chairman*

Frankie M. Freeman

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

Robert S. Rankin

William L. Taylor, *Staff Director*

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial

of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress; and,
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.