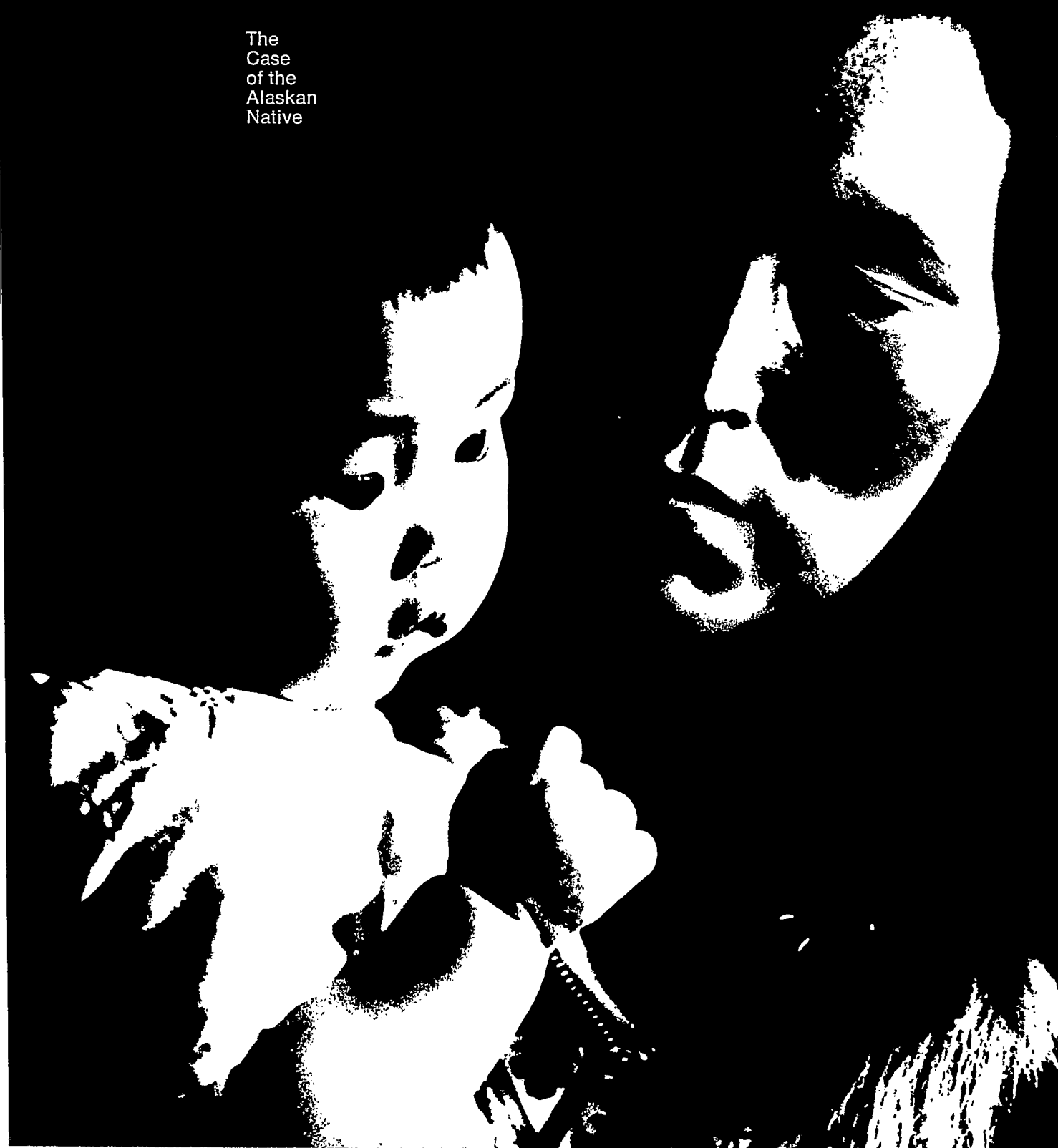
CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

A Quarterly of the U. S. Commission on Civil Right/Summer 1969

The Case of the Alaskan Native



CIVIL RIGHTS
DIGEST
Vol. 2, No. 3 Summer 1969

In this issue:

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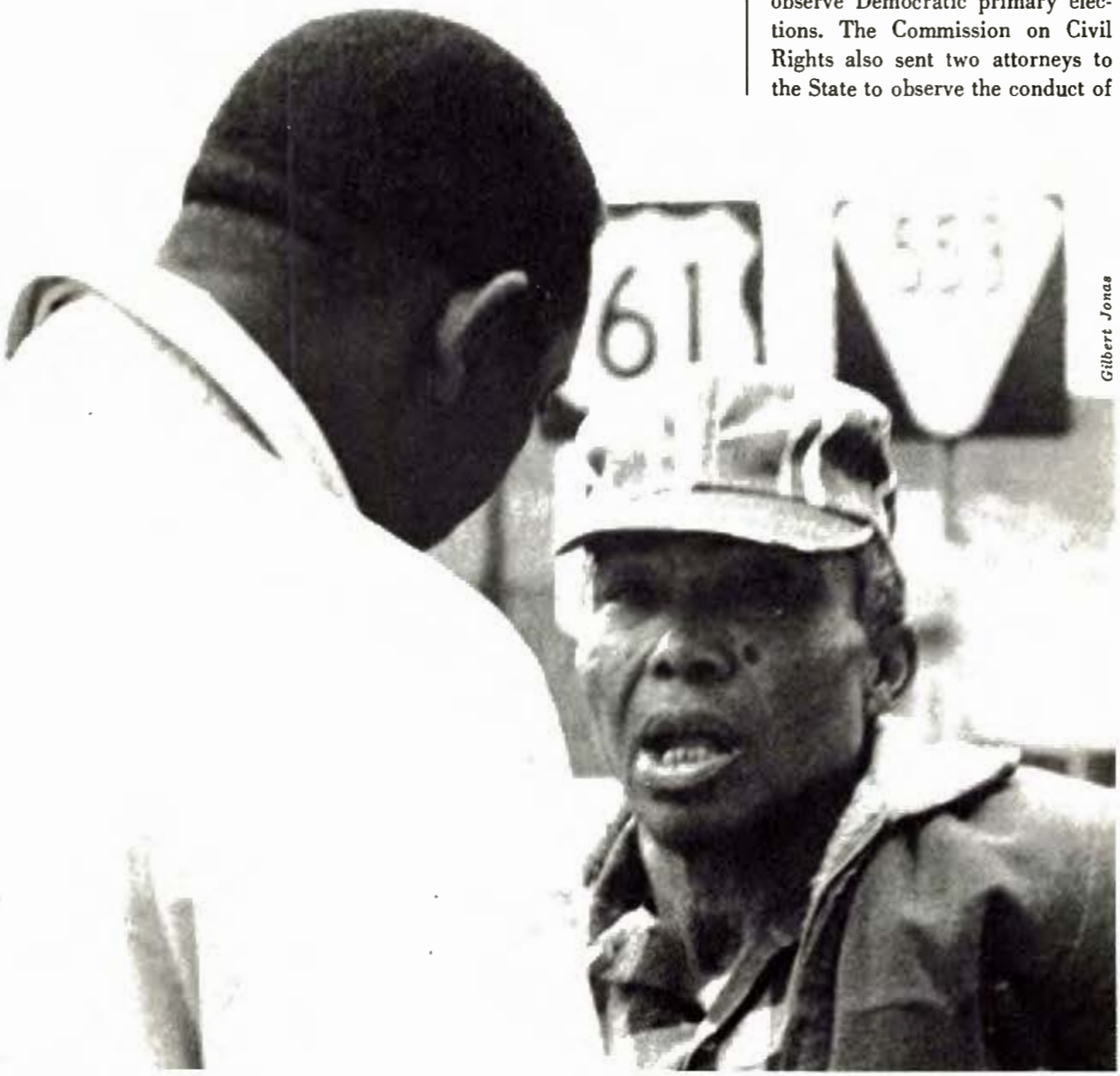
WHEN VOTING RIGHTS ARE DENIED

On August 5, 1970, various sections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are scheduled to expire unless Congress moves swiftly to extend the Act. One of the key provisions scheduled to expire authorizes the Attorney General to send Federal observers to oversee the conduct of elections in States covered by the Act.

On May 13, 1969, such observers were sent into a number of cities and towns in Mississippi to observe Democratic primary elections. The Commission on Civil Rights also sent two attorneys to the State to observe the conduct of



Gilbert Jonas

the elections and speak to black candidates and their supporters. The black candidates interviewed agreed on one point—not one black candidate in a county where Federal observers were present believed the election would have been run in an honest manner were it not for the presence of those observers.

There has been widespread publicity concerning the victory of Charles Evers, field secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi, who became the first black mayor of a biracial town in the State of Mississippi since Reconstruction. There are, however, 250 other cities and towns in Mississippi. Reportedly, more than 140 black candidates ran in the May 13 Democratic primary for offices in over 40 towns and cities in Mississippi and another 20 to 50 ran as independents in the June 1969 general election in an additional dozen cities or towns.

Of the nearly 200 black candidates, however, less than 30 won municipal offices—mostly as aldermen—after a runoff primary and a general election. Thus in three out of four municipalities no black candidates even ran for office. A look at a few of the elections in towns where black candidates ran may be instructive as to why so few ran and why so few won in a State which is 43 percent black.

Charles Evers' victory in Fayette, for example, has been cited as evidence that no longer is the black man politically repressed in the South. But what were the ingredients for victory in Fayette?

First, Mr. Evers was a national civil rights leader running in a small town of around 2,000. He had played an important role in Senator Robert Kennedy's drive for the Presidency in 1968 and is presently National Committeeman of the Mississippi Democratic Party.

Of the 750 registered voters, 490 were black. A Federal registrar was in Fayette in March to list unregistered voters. Federal observers were present to watch the conduct of the election. Representatives from the three major television networks were in Fayette, and large numbers of out-of-state newsmen descended on the town several days prior to the election.

The Sunday before the election, 10 out-of-state lawyers and a large number of college students arrived in town for last minute campaigning. It was no miracle that Evers won; it is amazing that anyone ever doubted that he would win.

The elections in other towns, however, are probably more indicative of the problems faced by black candidates running for office in Mississippi.

In the small community of Woodville, population slightly over 1,800, 56 miles southwest of Fayette, white reaction against the black candidates began long before election day. Several candidates who had held jobs either with the school system or the county believe they lost their jobs as a result of their seeking elective office or because they were actively involved with the NAACP. Their contracts were not renewed after their involvement became common knowledge.

A black candidate in Woodville stated that people were still afraid to register to vote in Wilkinson County. (As an example of the fear that still exists in the Woodville area, he noted that when three college students from Michigan State University, who served as poll watchers for black candidates during the election, had to leave the town very late at night, local black residents insisted that they be escorted to McComb, a town 50 miles to the east on an interstate highway, by the Deacons of Defense.)

On the morning of the May 13 primary, Federal observers, local election officials, two out-of-state lawyers and a few out-of-state college students gathered at the local polling place. Despite the fact that there were over 800 registered voters in Woodville and that the Mississippi Code provides that no more than 500 qualified electors shall vote in any one box, only one ballot box was in use. This may account for some of the confusion on election day.

Local election officials, however, were on their best behavior—cooperating fully not only with the Federal observers, but with the poll watchers of the black candidates as well. Indeed the Federal observers appeared to be more hostile to the poll watchers of the black candidates than were the local election officials.

A student from Michigan State University, one of the poll watchers for the black candidates, charged that the Federal observers challenged their right to observe the election. After the poll watchers showed the observers the Mississippi statute, which did not prohibit out-of-state people from acting as poll watchers, the Federal observers then challenged their right to stand near the table where the ballots and ballot box were kept. In both instances the local election officials upheld the right of the poll watchers.

The stated policy of the Federal observers was to talk with no one. A Commission staff attorney, however, saw the observers in Wood-

ville engage in animated conversation with the white election officials on numerous occasions. They did not engage in conversation with poll watchers, black candidates or any local black people, however. In fact, two observers refused to speak to the Commission staff attorney when he asked one the number of persons who had voted and the other—the one who had allegedly challenged the right of the poll watchers for the black candidates to be there—for his name.

Some of the local black persons understandably felt that the observers were in sympathy with the white community. At one point in the afternoon, several poll watchers and at least one black candidate asked the Commission staff attorney if he could not get the Federal observers out of the balloting place. On reflection later, however, these same persons agreed that there would have been widescale fraud but for the fact of the observers' presence.

One change for Mississippi, due in part, one suspects, to the Voting Rights Act, became increasingly apparent as the counting of the ballots continued into the evening hours. This was the obvious interest on the part of a large segment of the black population in Woodville in the conduct and results of the election. Traditionally, white Mississippi has attributed the low black registration figures to apathy on the part of black voters. If this myth had not already been shattered in Woodville, it certainly was on May 13.

Throughout the day, large numbers of black citizens gathered in the small park opposite the polling place to watch the coming and going of voters and to discuss the election. After the balloting ended and the slow process of counting began, the crowds in front of the polling place grew.

Although all black candidates in the Democratic primary were defeated, some qualified as independent candidates. Some white citizens in Woodville were determined that no black man would govern the city. In addition to qualifying in the Democratic primary, both black and white persons had qualified as independent candidates for mayor and alderman. Thus, there was a possibility that the white vote would be split, since there were two white candidates (one the winner of the Democratic primary and the other the incumbent mayor who had qualified as an independent) and one black candidate for mayor, and eight white candidates and one black candidate for the five alderman positions. The county White Citizens Council sent a letter to all white voters asking them which white candidates they felt should withdraw from the race. Their letter stated in part:

Dear Fellow Citizen of Woodville: Your local Citizens Council is gravely concerned about the political prospects in the Woodville Municipal General Election which will be held on June 3rd, and we feel sure that you, as a public spirited white citizen, are equally concerned.

First, may we emphasize the fact that we have no axes to grind nor political fortunes to favor or oppose as to individuals, but are taking this action purely and simply to endeavor to insure that white officials are elected on June 3rd.

As you doubtless know, the present prospects in the Mayor's race present two white candidates and one negro candidate. In the Alderman race, there are eight white candidates and one negro. In both instances, the negroes are thus virtually assured of election.

We feel that forgetting personal ambitions or desires, some of the white candidates should withdraw so that there will be only one white candidate for each office. It is our understanding that some of the candidates are agreeable to this, provided it can be ascertained which ones the majority of the white voters favor.

In an attempt to determine the wishes of the white voters of Woodville, we are therefore, conducting a "straw vote" election which we feel will be of tremendous assistance in working out a compromise—provided you, the voters, cooperate by taking part.

Apparently enough white candidates withdrew; there were no black persons elected in Woodville.

Vicksburg, an historic city of slightly less than 30,000, bordered by the Vicksburg National Military Park on one side and the Mississippi River on the other, was another city visited by Commission staff members. In that city, perhaps because only one black man was seeking office or perhaps because the city is reported to be more "progressive", no Federal observers were present. Widespread fraud was charged by members of the black community.

Problems reported in Vicksburg included:

- A number of voters in a predominantly black ward, and presumably also some in predominantly white wards, were unable to find their names on any of the polling books; their names had apparently been dropped. When a poll watcher at the black ward requested that these persons be permitted to cast challenged ballots,

he reportedly was told that this was not the custom in Vicksburg, apparently because the city used machines. (Section 3170 of the Mississippi Code clearly establishes the procedure for challenged ballots.) It was not until 1:30 p.m., six and a half hours after the polls had opened, that paper ballots were furnished for those persons whose right to vote had been challenged.

• One of the polling places for a largely black area was reportedly changed without publicity. When black persons showed up at the regular polling place to vote, the election officials stated that there had been a change, but refused to aid the voters in finding their proper voting place. As a consequence, many of these persons did not vote.

• A black election official was told that she could not help illiterate voters who asked for her assistance in voting. She was told that the election manager would appoint someone to assist illiterate voters needing assistance. He invariably appointed one of the operators of the voting machines, all of whom were white, despite the voters' requests that a black election official assist them.

• Section 3272 of the Mississippi Code provides that voters who are blind or disabled "shall have the assistance of one of the managers or other persons of his own selection" in the marking of his ballot. In one instance in Vicksburg, however, a poll watcher reported that a blind woman was denied assistance by the person of her choosing—her black sister. A white official insisted on casting her ballot for her.

The elections in Itta Bena (population 1,914) reflected many of the difficulties faced by black voters and candidates across the State. Some of the problems, however, were more the result of Federal ineptitude than of local intransigence. Mississippi, for example, uses a two-step registration procedure. Voters are required to register with the county registrar in order to vote in county, State, and Federal elections, and with the city clerk in order to vote in municipal elections. When voters are listed by a Federal examiner, it is his responsibility to send a list of those voters to the county registrar and, where the voters in question live in a city or town, to the local clerk. The names of the voters are then placed upon the county and the city rolls.

Two months before the election, campaign workers for one of the black candidates in Itta Bena were examining the city poll books for irregularities. They found one: 150 black voters said they had been listed by the Federal examiner, but their names did not appear on the city books. Most of these persons had gone to the Federal examiner, but he had notified only the county—and not the city—officials. By interceding with the Jackson office of the Federal agency responsible—the Civil Service Commission—they were able to get 108 of the names on the city rolls in time for the elections. Not all the names affected by this Federal breakdown were found soon enough; on election day, a dozen voters were turned away from the polls in Itta Bena because their cases were not "discovered" in time.

Itta Bena was but one community of the many affected by such a breakdown. It stood out from the rest, however, because it was the only one in which the mistake was discovered and corrected before the election.

There were some indications

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Charles Evers, candidate for Mayor of Fayette, Mississippi, casts his ballot.

that the white citizens of Itta Bena were not entirely happy with the idea of black participation in the election. The headquarters of a black candidate was guarded by black citizens throughout the night before the election because of bomb and arson threats. Though they did not materialize, the threats reinforced the fears and anxieties of some black voters, and their apprehensions over what might happen if a black candidate were elected could have affected their turnout, their vote, and the outcome of the election.

If such voters conquered their fears and came to the polling place in Itta Bena, they would have found little there to reassure them. Between two tables being used for the election sat an armed white deputy sheriff, one who was particularly feared by black residents of Itta Bena. Apparently there to maintain order, he left little doubt as to whose order he was maintaining, harassing black voters to such an extent that several left without voting. No election official intervened to moderate his conduct.

According to a number of reports, several election officials in the Itta Bena polling place actively followed the example of the deputy sheriff. White election officials assisting illiterates allegedly tried to influence the illiterates not to vote for the black candidate. One of them was said to have ordered four black women to place their ballots in her hand, rather than in the box, and the women now fear that their ballots were never counted.

Other cities and towns were generally quieter than Itta Bena on election day, and the hostility lay further beneath the surface.

The primary evidence of racial feeling in one Holmes County town, for example, occurred before election day. An opportunity to inspect the poll books some time in advance of the election is essential if the candidate or his representatives want to challenge unqualified voters. Accordingly, Mississippi laws provide that county registrars and municipal clerks are to keep the poll books open for inspection at their offices. In that Holmes County town, a black representative of local black candidates had tried to examine the poll books on three separate occasions. Each time, he reported, he had been denied access to the books, located in the clerk's office in a local bank, on the grounds that business was too pressing. When white volunteers came to look at the books the day before the election, however, the clerk produced them at once.

In some communities, officials prevented black candidates from running as Democrats. Since Mississippi law requires the municipal executive committee of a political party to conduct that party's municipal primary, there are problems when a community has no municipal executive committee.

In case after case, black candidates who had sought to run as Democrats and who were otherwise qualified were told by local officials that there was no Democratic primary in the locality, and that the lack of a municipal Democratic executive committee made it impossible to have a primary. The officials did not tell the candidates that State law provided for an alternative way to have a primary by petitioning the county executive committee to call a meeting of local voters of that party, who would then elect a temporary committee to run the primary.

Shortly before the primary in Friars Point, 10 miles north of Clarksdale, a number of black candidates were told that they had not qualified because they had not met statutory requirements. The local papers had announced that the blacks were qualified before the deadlines for fulfilling those requirements, and they were not told that they were disqualified until after the deadline had passed. White candidates were notified of the problem in time to fulfill the requirements. The Department of Justice has recently filed suit against the local election officials, charging that, "without general notice to the public, (the defendants) altered the procedure for qualifying."

The history of these municipal elections in Mississippi, both before election day and on it, show that a great deal of progress has been made since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but that the racical animosity, now relatively submerged, still lies perilously close to the surface, waiting for an event, such as the expiration of the Voting Rights Act in August next year, that will enable it to come into the open again. In the teeth of the pressures that will then emerge, the gains to date will likely prove to have been ephemeral. As ephemeral, indeed, as the first Reconstruction.

GEORGE C. BRADLEY
RICHARD T. SEYMOUR

Mr. Bradley is an Assistant General Counsel and Mr. Seymour is a Staff Attorney for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. They spent a week in Mississippi observing and investigating the municipal primaries.

How to Exploit and Destroy A People:

THE CASE OF THE ALASKAN NATIVE

"I am an American. My life expectancy is 34 years. Time is running out for me. I want my land now."

Charles (Etok) Edwardsen, Jr., is an Eskimo, one of a forgotten people struggling to break into the 20th century. Etok is president of the Friends of Alaskan Natives (FAN), a group devoted to helping the Native win compensation for past land losses and compete for the return of some of the land on which his ancestors freely hunted and fished, trapped and foraged for subsistence. His competitors are powerful State and Federal Governments and super-rich private developers, all straining to be the first to claim the State's rich economic potential. The competition is now under consideration by Congress.

Etok is there to remind those who might otherwise forget that the Alaskan Native will no longer sit back and let American exploitation destroy his existence. He wants his fair share in the American dream of self-determination and prosperity, and he needs it now.

Stretched out across the half-million square mile vastness of Alaska, almost 55,000 Natives—Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts—are living under conditions scarcely believable in the 20th century. They comprise one-fifth of the State's total population. Their 1966 infant mortality rate was more than twice that of white Alaskans. In 1963, the incidence of tuberculosis among Natives was 20 times the rate for the United States as a whole. One State official who recently conducted a survey of Kalteg village, said, "Almost everyone I interviewed had suffered convulsions and diseases which may lead to brain damage."

Appalling health statistics are largely a result of overcrowded and insufficiently ventilated housing, impure water supplies, inadequate waste disposal systems, general malnutrition, and the Natives' unfamiliarity with sanitary practices. According to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), about 7,100 of the Natives' 7,500 dwellings need replacements. Part of the problem is that Natives cannot get loans without having title to their land, titles which they do not have. In Bethel, a crumbling remnant of a village, a Government fabricating plant is providing housing for the Natives to buy. While the BIA will subsidize some purchases, the average house will cost $9,500—more than most Natives can afford.

In 20 villages of northwestern Alaska, surveyors found that 799 households shared only 19 flush toilets, all but one in a single village. The remainder of the families use privies or indoor honeybuckets for human waste. According to Public Health Service (PHS) estimates, it will be 20 years, if Government funds continue at the present level, before all villages will have running water and flush toilets. Electricity, when it does exists in a remote village, is a luxury far beyond the means of most Natives.

Seven out of ten adults have less than an elementary school education according to the 1960 census (the white Alaskan median in 1960 was 12.4 years). Eskimo children, most of whom attend BIA schools, are taught to read textbooks that tell about Dick and Jane's family, but almost nothing about the tundra world of sky, birds, snow, and ice. The Caucasian teachers live in BIA luxury, segregated from the Natives. Despite a plan to erect new regional high schools in the western half of the State, there are only three high schools to serve 30,000 Natives. Young people who do go to high school must often travel

thousands of miles. Only a small fraction of one percent have completed four or more years of college.

Largely due to lack of education and the seasonal work patterns, more than half of the Native work force is jobless most of the year; only one-fourth has continuing employment. These unemployment rates are the highest in the Nation. Permanent full-time village jobs at highest pay are typically held by non-Natives. State public assistance provides income to almost one-fourth of the village households; temporary relief programs are required to sustain about the same number, but usually for three months or less.

Ever shrinking resources for subsistence hunting and fishing and severe seasonal unemployment in the 178 villages—ranging in size from 25 to 5,000 population—have forced 25 percent of the Natives to migrate to larger population centers, there to try to find jobs in the white man's world as unskilled laborers. Overt discrimination has been illegal in Alaska since the passage of the so-called "equal treatment" bill in 1945. But, according to a recent report by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, "If ranking of applicants is by years of experience, village applicants will probably fall to lower positions of preference. If written applications are submitted, the lesser education of the Native applicant reveals itself on the form. If aptitude tests or other screening devices are used . . . the Native may suffer the consequences of a cultural background different from that of the test writers. If accepted for work in the city, the rate of pay—given his lack of education and training—may condemn him and his family to a deeper poverty than if he had remained in the village."

In a State with one of the highest per capita incomes in the Nation (family incomes in 1967 averaged more than $10,000 or about $3,629 per person), median rural Native family income, excluding the few villages where incomes are high, is estimated today at about $2,000 annually. Actually, these figures understate the extent of poverty. Arctic climate, remoteness, sparse population, small volumes of ordered commodities, limited competition, and high wage and transport costs all contribute to giving Alaska the highest cost of living of any of the States. Basic commodities cost 23 percent more in Anchorage than in Seattle in 1963 and up to 74 percent more in northern villages.

Once upon a time the Alaskan Native—immortalized as the smiling, parka-clad, igloo-housed Eskimo—freely ranged over all the land. It was a difficult existence that often skimmed dangerously close to the edge of survival, but subsistence living had always been a way of life to the Alaskan Native. Then one day the white man appeared, bent on selfishly and carelessly exploiting the natural resources the Native had so lovingly conserved, upsetting the delicate balance between the Native and his land, and tempting the Native with glimpses at another world through the glossy windows of a Sears Roebuck catalog and the infamous American movie. Along with the white man came strange ideas of private land ownership, titles, and tenures.

It is estimated that at the peak of the whaling years $14 million worth of whales were extracted from the Arctic. As the supply of whales was cut off, the population of whaling villages sank. In one way or another, over 300 villages have completely disappeared. From 1799 to 1867, the Russian American Company stripped the coastlands of fur seals and other animals. The Nome goldrush brought with it not the white man's economic development, but the burdens of an alien culture—tuberculosis, gonorrhea, the BIA, the church, greed, and graft. Fishing interests depleted the salmon runs so that in many areas the Natives can no longer count on fishing as a livelihood. Indeed, fishing with traps—a traditional method of fishing and the Native's only adequate means of gathering enough fish—is now illegal for Natives in virtually all Alaskan waters. The industrialists who did build village canneries too often hired outside laborers rather than Natives. The result is that today the land will not support subsistence living. The white man has substituted a Western wage economy for the Native subsistence economy without providing cash-earning jobs.

Some Natives think a partial answer to their deprivation is the Native owned and operated fishing cooperative. One such group, the Kuskikwim Co-op, made up of fishermen living on an average cash income of about $500 a year, last year contracted with a Japanese firm that agreed to buy their entire catch at an excellent price. After the Japanese ship had been cleared by Customs, Immigration, Agriculture, and Public Health agencies and U.S. consular authorities in Japan, the then Governor Walter Hickel intervened to force the Japanese to cancel their agreement on the grounds that the contract violated the North Pacific Fisheries Treaty—this in spite of Federal assurances that no violation threatened and the precedent of a similar arrangement in 1967. Left at the last minute without a means for disposing of their fish, a substantial volume spoiled and was seized by health officials.

Among those currently standing in the way of Native progress are the oil companies, titillated by a January 1968 oil find at Prudhoe Bay on the North

Slope. Already a 140-mile wide stretch has been divided for exploration by private oil companies.

Besides interfering with fishing rights and damaging Native family homesites, the oil companies employ almost no unskilled or semi-skilled labor and would rather pay hardship wages to outsiders than train easily available Natives for technical jobs.

The State, of course, would like to control as much potential oil land as possible in order to lease it and collect the approximately 16 percent royalties. Once the State or private industry has control, both the land and probably the revenue from it will be forever lost to the Native.

Perhaps the most flagrant violation of Native rights and land claims can be laid to the Federal Government. As an old Alaskan patriarch said in field hearings on land claims before the Senate Interior Committee, "Did it ever occur to you that maybe you were buying some stolen property when you bought the lands from the Russians?"

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided that:
The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed.
Yet the Government's first official action upon purchasing Alaska from Russia in 1867 was to provide in the treaty that U.S. citizenship, and implicitly land rights, should be withheld from "the uncivilized native tribes."

In the Alaska Organic Act of 1884, Congress hedged the all-important land issue by declaring that while the Indians (all Alaskan Natives are legally classified as

A sod and whalebone Alaskan igloo—"living conditions scarcely believable in the 20th century."

Indians) should not be disturbed in their use or occupancy of the land, "the term under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress." A special Commission was appointed to report "what lands, if any, should be reserved for their (Native) use."

This Commission's report eventually led to the 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to assign up to 160 acres of non-mineral lands to Native family heads. Such allotments are as well suited to food gathering families as most BIA schools are relevant to Native life. As of today, about 15,000 acres have been allotted under this Act. This acreage, together with about 500 acres owned in fee simple, constitutes the entire titled estate of the Alaskan Native.

In the early 1900's the Federal Government began withdrawing large reserves of land. Today 360 million of Alaska's 375 million acres belong to the Federal Government. Eighty-five million of these acres are presently withdrawn from Native use because they are being kept as petroleum reserves, wildlife refuges, National parks, or forest areas.

Withdrawal meant that Natives were losing their land, usually without being consulted and always without hope of compensation. The case of the Kenaitzi tribe is typical. In the late 18th century the Russians started moving in on their land to set up fur factories. It was not long before the white man decided to dip into the excellent Kenaitzi salmon runs. About 1945 oilmen started stampeding the land in the aftermath of the big Swanson River oil strike. Whatever land the tribe had left was taken over by the Department of the Interior for the 1,730,000-acre Kenai peninsula moose range. The peninsula has since been opened up to oil drilling and real estate development. The Kenaitzi have the legal status of squatters in Alaska cities.

The Eklutnas lost part of their land in the mid-1930's when 378,000 acres were set aside for a reservation, as provided for in the Johnson-O'Malley Act. (Six reservations have actually been incorporated under this Act.) The adult Natives were to vote on whether they wanted a reservation, but somehow the instructions about voting were not made clear to them, so the land was withdrawn. Anchorage slowly spread out over more of their land, the Alaska Power Administration took 5,000 acres to build a dam, the military set up Fort Richardson, and the State took over a gravel pit area. Today the Eklutnas have about 1,800 acres and have to get permits to cut wood on their

ancestral hunting grounds.

While such "robbery" will continue until the land claims issue is settled, in 1935 Congress passed a landmark act providing that the Tlingit and Haida tribes of southeast Alaska could sue in the Court of Claims for payment for lands taken from them by the Federal Government. Thirty-three years later the Court did indeed award the Tlingit-Haida Indians $7.5 million for the 18 million acres of lost land.

The only other group that has successfully enlisted the courts in their cause is the Tyoniks, living across from Anchorage on Cook Inlet. A few years ago the village was so close to famine that Anchorage pilots flew rescue missions to aid them. Then in 1962 they received a Court of Claims settlement for $14 million. The Tyoniks hired outside consultants and have provided decent housing for all their people, built a far better school than BIA funds alone would have allowed, set up a sanitary, convenient water supply, and contracted with private physicians in Anchorage to treat the village people. They have even set aside funds for land investments in Anchorage and for high school scholarships.

The Alaska Statehood Act of 1958 provided that the State keep hands off any land, the right or title to which is held by Natives or by the United States in trust for them. This provision, however, is of little help to a people whose aboriginal rights have never been formally recognized.

Also of little help to the Native is a provision that voting is contingent upon an ability to read and write English. While this law has not been enforced, it remains a potential threat to native voting.

The Act also permitted the State to select approximately 103 million acres from the public domain over 25 years. As of now the State is in the process of selecting about 12 million acres, and about six million have already been patented to the State or to private individuals, including the North Slope oil strike areas and areas where there are major transportation facilities, railroad or highway systems, and good access by ship. As usual, the Natives are frozen out of all State-selected land.

The land claims issue has been the rallying point for emerging Native awareness and activism that in 1966 resulted in the joining together of eight separate Native Associations into the statewide Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN). Other groups such as FAN, more aggressive and mistrustful of the "system" than is the AFN, have also emerged. Such groups are waiting to take over the Native cause if the land claims issue is not resolved quickly and equitably.

State officials admit that up until the emergence of visible activism, the plight of the Native was invisible to Alaska's white population. Officials in Juneau evidently knew the BIA and Public Health Service were pumping millions of dollars into Alaskan villages—43 million in 1968—but no one was investigating the returns.

As Natives awoke to the dangers threatened by State land selections and were encouraged by the success of the Tlingit-Haidas, they accelerated their protests against land selections. Native land claims today cover virtually all of the State—overlapping both federally-held public domain as well as State-selected land. Two years ago, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, unable any longer to deal with the conflicts among State selections. Federal withdrawals, and AFN-backed Native claims, froze the processing of additional State land selections.

Alaska's continued economic development, now strait-jacketed by conflicts over the title to three-quarters of the land, as well as the welfare of her Native people depends on a fast, fair claims settlement and a lifting of the freeze. Settlement in the courts is far too long a road. Furthermore, there has never been a land award in an aboriginal suit. The solution lies with Congress.

Hunting and fishing sportsmen fear giving the Natives too much land, oil interests want to exploit as much of the State as possible, and the Agriculture and Defense Departments blanch at the prospect of turning over national forest or petroleum reserves to Natives. But the vast majority of the State's population favor officially recognizing Native rights. Indeed, it is now the official policy of the United States, as stated by President Lyndon Johnson in March 1968, that our goal must be full participation for the Indian in the economic, political, and social life of modern America.

It is not likely that Congress will rule on Alaska land claims before next year. Spurred into action by pressure to lift the freeze, however, Congress held hearings on the issue both last year and this year. The outline for settlement has already been roughed in:

- The Field Committee, author of a new 565-page blueprint for settling land claims and providing for economic, social, and educational benefits, suggests that the Natives receive title to 47 million acres, a cash settlement of $100 million initially in Federal monies plus participation in Federal and State oil and mineral revenues over the next 10 years up to a maximum $1 billion, and a single, statewide management corpora-

tion to administer these assets for the first 10 years. Thereafter this corporation would become a Native shareholder corporation. The corporation would provide loans and grants to Natives for housing, health, and educational betterment as well as make investments.

The Federal Field Committee report, *Alaska Natives and the Land*, was drafted at the request of Senator Henry Jackson, Chairman of the Interior Committee, and formed the basis of Senate and House bills. These bills, however, allot only 20,040 acres of surface land to each village.

- The AFN is asking for 40 million acres, a cash settlement of $500 million out of the Federal treasury over 10 years, and a perpetual 2 percent, open-ended royalty on all Federal oil and mineral revenues in the State.
- FAN feels a more equitable settlement would include up to $5.6 billion, 133 million acres, a perpetual 5 percent of oil and mineral revenues, and immediate and total Native control of any development corporation.
- Countering Native and Congressional proposals that Indians be given a share in oil and mineral revenues, Interior Secretary Hickel has proposed the Natives be given 46,080 acres per village, including subsurface rights, and $500 million out of Federal monies parcelled out over 20 years. The Administration proposal does not mention establishment of a Native corporation.
- While the State has not made its position on land claims officially known, Governor Keith Miller endorsed the revenue-sharing plan in principle but has not yet committed himself to the proposal.

According to Senator Jackson, "There appears to be broad agreement among the parties that a legislative settlement should include provisions for land grants, money compensation for lands taken," and creation of administration and adjudicatory bodies. Proposals, however, differ widely in their potential benefit to th dispossessed Native. While half a billion dollars seems a large sum, it figures out to about $8,000 per capita or about $1.40 to $1.50 per acre for land the Natives claim. Considering the lack of transportation facilities, the great material needs, and the fact that most villages will be starting virtually from scratch in building ar economic base—in short, considering the need for rehabilitation of an entire area—half a billion is barely adequate. Since statehood the oil industry alone has pumped $1.3 billion into exploration and industrial development in Alaska and is prepared to spend $900 million more to build a 48 inch pipeline to carry Northern Slope oil across 800 miles of Alaskan wilderness.

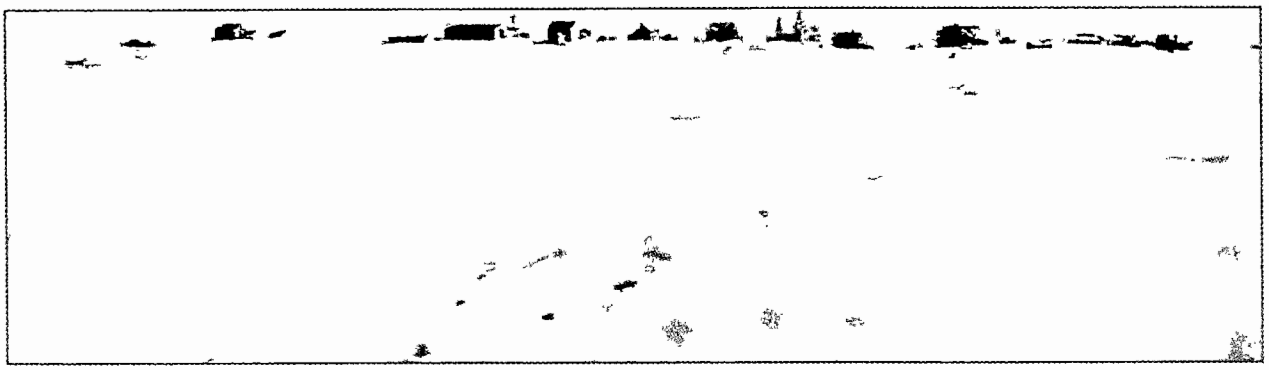
Hickel (who in House hearings in 1968 admitted that one billion dollars would be inadequate if compensation for land were figured at fair market value) reasons that the Natives would be wiser to accept a flat $500 million settlement rather than to gamble with a percentage of oil and mineral revenues—a gamble that is not in any way deterring oil company investment. Although mineral reserves are not fully explored, all indications are that coal and oil alone will return hundreds of billions of dollars when fully developed. Indeed, since some estimate that the oil fields will not be pumping up to full capacity for 10 years or more, it would be cheating the Natives to give them a 10-year revenue sharing limit. Revenue sharing, of course, should apply to the mineral wealth of the State's inland and surrounding waters as well as of the land.

The concept of revenue sharing has precedent in other Federal legislation. For instance, 90 percent of the revenues from leasable minerals on Federal lands go to Alaska. The Secretary of the Interior, however, must answer to the Bureau of the Budget, which traditionally opposes such open-ended, precedent-setting arrangements. There is good reason to fear that the Bureau of the Budget opposition will squelch Native revenue sharing.

Some Congressmen advise giving the Natives only surface rights to the land around their villages. But others believe that Natives should have the same rights to their land as other Americans. Should they discover minerals or oil on their land, they are entitled to lease it out to developers and reap the royalties for themselves.

Besides title to the lands they actually occupy, Natives require an adequate amount of land to set up an economic base. They must also have the right to use additional lands and water for hunting and fishing and for maintaining their traditional ways of life. According to the Federal Field Committee report, "If grants to meet subsistence needs are to be made which recognize varied subsistence ratios between people and acres of land, then a minimum of 60 million acres would be required."

There are also the questions of who will get first pick of the land—the Natives or the State—and whether the sizable Federal withdrawals will be open for claims. It would be discriminatory to inhibit Native competition for developed land, much of which the State has already appropriated. Many historic village



Point Barrow, Alaska, north of North Slope oil field.

sites, some of the most usable acreage in the State, and many potential mineral reserves are presently imprisoned within Federal withdrawals.

The Natives have proven by their participation in government—several Natives are now serving in the State legislature—by the example of the Tyoniks, and by the organization of five Native cooperatives, that they will be ready and willing to assume control of their own affairs.

Native groups hope to control land and water resources so that their management of them can be used to create jobs for Natives and end the tradition of reserving the good jobs and high profits for outsiders. Native managers might be more devoted to maximizing their assets than would Federal or State management agencies facing many more conflicting policy objectives and constraints. It is therefore important that the money the Natives do receive does not go into an inactive, all but invisible trust—as has too often been the case with settlement money given other Indians but is used to set up a corporation owned and eventually fully operated by Natives.

It is also important that their money come to them soon and in large enough chunks to be useful. Even a healthy allocation, when spread out over several years, is not likely to do the Natives much good. And according to former Alaskan Governor and U.S. Senator Ernest Gruening, "The BIA must be kept completely out of the administration of the settlement. The Bureau has been the single most retarding influence on Native people because of its desire to perpetuate itself and keep the Natives as wards."

The concept of limited Federal involvement and of land, revenue, and management in the hands of Native stockholders is an approach to solving Indian claims that has never been tried in the lower 48. Should this experiment prove successful, it could form the framework for broader legislation that would forever free American Indians from the paternalistic, discriminatory wardship of the Government and the BIA.

Time is running out for Alaska's Natives. If they are truly to get their share of economic opportunity and social justice, Congress must act quickly and generously. While the Native voice is growing steadily louder and stronger, the land battle is becoming more frantic and the stakes are shooting higher. Alaska's population has been booming since World War II as a result of the influx of non-Native settlers. Oil-rich Alaska is now aflutter with the prospect of new jobs and expanded incomes. Resource developers are becoming more and more a major economic force in Alaska. The State itself is anxious to gain control of as rich a natural storehouse as possible. After the enactment of the land claims bill, all Natives' claims in the State will be extinguished. According to Alaska's lone Representative in the House, Howard Pollack, "Alaska's Natives face an uncertain future while their land claims remain unresolved."

There is a real danger that, even in the face of accelerating economic development, the Native will remain on the economic sidelines. Representative Pollack warns: "Native rights may be swept aside under pressure of what at the moment may appear to be a higher and better use."

A just settlement could eliminate proverty among Alaskan Natives and give them control over their own affairs—in fact, make them equals in their own land. Anything less will only perpetuate the Government-produced and directed tragedy now being played out on the vast stage of Alaska's snowy wilderness.

DEBORAH MOVITZ

Miss Movitz, a former staff writer for the Civil Rights Digest, is now science and health reporter for the National Journal.

White Racism

Freedom from

I consider myself a conservative, devoted to the democratic principle of individual rights and responsibilities, with strong emphasis upon the latter. I am uncomfortable in a nation which is accelerating towards socialism and an all-powerful federal government; and yet I am aware that this trend is caused in part by the failure of individuals and their sub-federal governments to recognize and to exercise their responsibilities in a democratic society.

We are in the midst of a revolution. This is a central fact which is indisputable, though tragically unrecognized by white America. It is a revolution in every sense of the word; a violent, bloody, social, and political upheaval; an evisceral reaction to the mores of our past and present society, democratic in concept, but which has never been fully responsive to the needs of *all* people. Unless our present society can adapt quickly to provide an effective response to the just demands of this revoltion, our society as we know it will cease to exist. It will be replaced, at least temporarily, by a society which is either anarchistic or totalitarian.

Consider the present scene. In 1954, the Supreme Court provided the opening shot of our new American Revolution in its declaration that separate was not equal. Fifteen years later, that decree has not yet been made truly effective. A "democratic" society has undemocratically barred the implementation of the Supreme Court's declaration of a basic democratic principle.

In 1955-1956, with the nonviolent, direct-action Montgomery bus boycott, black America caught hold of a dream—a realization that it did have the power to force change. A new Negro had emerged in the South —militant, unafraid, and prepared to use his collective weight to achieve his legitimate goal of effective participation in a democratic society. Nonviolent direct action was the effective tool utilized to achieve that end until 1964.

In 1960, the nonviolent sit-ins attempted, with varying degrees of success, to desegregate public facilities, and it was white America that initiated violence in response.

It was white America that brutalized and killed the nonviolent demonstrators for racial justice in Selma.

It was white America that saw fit to use chains and clubs to prevent tiny black children in Mississippi from fulfilling the Supreme Court's decree. It was white America that introduced violence into the current scene, and we have taught our lesson well.

It was and is white America that has made it increasingly impossible for Negroes to achieve their means. Suicidally, we whites have insisted that progress and racial justice will come only at the price of violence and bloodshed.

The new American Revolution is not merely a nuisance which will go away if only we ignore it. It will devour us and our society if we fail to heed promptly its just demands. Even with this sure prospect upon the horizon, we have not yet learned that we must do away with automatic reaction and substitute reasoned action in its place. There is no better example of our unreasoning, automatic reaction than our conditioned response to the phrase "black power." Instinctively "black power" connotes to us violence, chaos, disorder, hatred, and a further division of blacks and whites. Quite the contrary, "black power" is a slogan, a movement, a program; it implies new life, vigor, capability, and determination. The concept of black power came into prominence in 1966 only with the collapse of the

nonviolent civil rights movement, and black disenchantment with slow progress and seemingly futile effort. White power brought it inevitably into existence.

Black power is an unsettling concept to white America for the reason that we have never thought of Negroes in terms of any kind of power. For 300 years, Negroes have been the most powerless group in American society. The acquisition of power is an essential step in their battle for self-respect and for effective participation in a society composed of black blocs. In politics, black power means black control of political machinery in the ghetto, and the development of a cohesive bloc of black voters with the political muscle to back their political aims. In economics, black power means the creation of Negro business largely independent of the white economic structures. In social terms, black power means the development of an individual identity and self-respect as a black person. The emphasis of black power is upon self-help, racial unity, and, if necessary, retaliatory violence. Black power does not mean violence. It will be the failure of the rebellion against white racism, which will inevitably result in violence and destruction to our society.

What then, is white racism?

White racism is the desire to maintain the status quo, yielding slightly if necessary to keep the peace, but not altering the existing power structures controlled by the white community. James Reston observed recently:

The nation is appalled by the murder of Martin Luther King, but it is not appalled by the conditions of his people. It grieves for the man, but not for his cause. This is the curse and tragedy of America.

White racism is the attitude which concentrates its efforts upon the training of police and National Guard for riot control, while substantially ignoring the more difficult opportunities for riot prevention.

White racism is the attitude that deplores violence, even when confined to the ghetto, but does not try to understand why that violence has occurred. The violence which we do not attempt to understand provides white America with an excuse for inaction and a balm for conscience.

White racism is the attitude that believes that the American Revolution can be consummated without pain, substantial pain, to both blacks and whites. The change that is necessary to accomodate the American Revolution will be as painful as any change our country has yet encountered, and we must recognize and accept this fact.

White racism is the attitude that cries we approve your goals, but we deplore your process; that we approve your ends, but deplore your means. In almost every instance, close examination reveals the argument to be specious and inapplicable, and the goals are really not applauded except in the abstract.

White racism means being educated in a vacuum of historical fact about Negroes and the social, economic, and political contributions of Negroes to our history and our society.

White racism is the attitude that, on the one hand, defends the integrity of the neighborhood school, but, on the other hand, demands the right of one's handicapped children to be bussed to special education classes; that refuses to recognize the handicaps imposed by education in de facto segregated schools; that objects to the alleged hardships of bussing one's children to another school, ignoring the fact that the majority of our country's children are bussed daily.

White racism is the attitude that reacts to the new American Revolution and says, "we have to go more slowly," not appreciating that we have not the luxury of time, and that justice is not a function of time.

White racism is the attitude that states we cannot legislate tolerance or beliefs, ignoring that beliefs arise from action and experience, and action and experience can be governed by legislation.

White racism is not believing that I am my brother's brother. Martin Luther King said:

The Negro needs the white man to free him from his fears. The white man needs the Negro to free him from his guilt.

In his involvement in the American Revolution there is one thing the white man cannot afford: a sentimental delusion about himself. He must face the new American Revolution honestly, and define honestly the goals which he seeks through his participation. He cannot afford the delusion that, through his participation in the struggle, he is going to redeem the Negro. The age of philanthropy and welfare colonialism is past. He cannot afford to believe that he is being liberal or charitable; for such an attitude is patently condescending, unacceptable to the object of his blundering pity. The surest and most noble way for the white man to ground his involvement and action is not upon abstract generosity, but rather upon a proper awareness of his own self-interest.

It is self-interest to want to be a part of a just society operating under the impartial concept of law. We have not been living in such a society. It is self-interest to want all members of society to contribute to the limit of their abilities to the enrichment of that society. The structure of our society has prevented that. It is self-interest to seek friends among kindred souls. Our society has restricted such a quest. It is self-interest to want to escape from the pressures of conforming to values which are no longer valid. Our society has maintained such pressures. It is self-interest to want to escape from personal vanity into the hard realization that in the diminishment of others there is deep diminishment of self. "Ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee." It is self-interest to want to preserve our democratic society and the democratic ideals which form its true foundation. Our society has stifled these ideals in the realities of American life.

It would be a sentimental delusion to think that our society can be changed easily and without pain, a deep personal pain to each one of us. It would be realism to understand that that pain would be a reasonable price to pay for what we all, selfishly, might get out of it—our own freedom!

JOHN B. MCCRORY

Mr. McCrory is a private attorney in Rochester, New York. This article is based on a speech before the Geneva Presbytery in Geneva, New York.

Strategies against

Is white America beginning to end 300 years of racism? A preliminary survey shows new efforts to confront this country's most pervasive and damning social problems—white racism.

CONSULTANTS ON ANTI-RACISM

The Committee for One Society (COS) has been working for over a year to develop a variety of programs to combat white racism. It is not a membership organization but a nonprofit group with a full-time staff funded by church and foundation groups. Their definition of institutional racism:

Any institution that works to the advantage of white people and to the disadvantage of black people is a racist institution. The same test applies to individual policies. Whether those institutions and policies are consciously racist or unconsciouly racist is not the issue. If the results are disadvantagous to blacks, it is racist; the burden of proof rests on behavior and not attitudes, on results and not opportunity. In order to have a non-racist institution, black people must not only have equal opportunities in employment, but there must be equality of results in all aspects of the operation including employment, ownership and control, and relations with the larger community.

Among the ways COS seeks to confront racism in Chicago institutions is to provide consulting services to

companies and institutions which are seeking ways to correct their own practices and policies which continue to subordinate minority group persons. COS does not accept payment for its consultation, nor does it limit itself to those progressive institutions which invite it to consult. COS also selects institutions resistant to change, researches them, and confronts them with its findings and recommendation.

Two recent targets of the COS effort to foster non-racist institutions serve as examples of its efforts: A social service agency and a major utilities corporation. COS became involved with the agency at the request of the Chicago Black Consortium and with the corporation at the invitation of the company's president. COS considered both institutions to fit its criteria of a racist institution.

COS began with a thorough survey of the agency's employment, purchasing, and policy-making procedures. To avoid making the organization suspicious and closing off information to them, COS began by interviewing lower echelon employees and only moved up the hierarchy gradually and selectively as employees identified others who would be "helpful"—those who exhibited either "a high level of awareness" or "a high level of (personal) racism." While COS was successful in collecting sufficient information to make a full indictment of the agency's racist policies and proposed a comprehensive set of recommendations to develop a non-acist agency, they were not successful in creating within it a caucus of white employees (a black caucus already existed) to pressure for change from within. While never admitting to the COS and Black Consortium charges of institutional racism, the agency did begin to make changes in the direction COS recommended, for instance, more black persons have been hired and placed on local advisory boards.

Beginning with the cooperation of the chief company executive, things went quite differently at the utilities company. COS was invited into the company and given full cooperation in surveying the policies and practices of the firm. When COS had completed its survey and submitted its recommendations, the company president moved quickly to implement them. Among the recommendations accepted by the company were special recruiting efforts in the black community and company promoted fair housing pledges.

COS has been invited by other companies to consult on developing anti-racist policies. COS in its early efforts has established that a willingness does exist on the part of leaders in certain institutions to develop non-racist policies and that many feel a need for advice.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The time of one staff person at the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations has been given over to working in the nearly all-white San Fernando Valley to support the demands for change and justice that are coming from the black and brown communities. The goal is to organize concerned white individuals into a community organization that will transform support for the black and brown communities from verbal and moral expressions of sympathy into practical confrontations with institutions and the social structure of the community.

A coalition of existing social action groups in the community has been formed including the Valley Interfaith Commission, the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council, the Neighborhood Action Corporation, and Join Hands. Once a week there is an "information exchange" at which representatives of groups active in the community report on their activities and consider coordinated or joint actions.

The purpose of such a coalition or mass community organization is "to provide a means of sufficient scale and power whereby individuals, groups, and institutions would be able to join together, discuss, determine priorities, develop the will to act, develop the appropriate resources, develop the appropriate strategy, and ACT to bring about the necessary structural, systemic, or institutional change so that our society works for all people of all races, creeds, and colors." Much of the process of creating such an organization is spelled out in a paper by Jay Linter of the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, "Community Organization in White Suburbia."

INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENT

Join Hands began in response to the shock of Martin Luther King's assassination. Members sign a pledge which commits them to action: support legislation and taxes for social programs, urge businesses to pursue fair employment policies and patronize only those which do, and work for integrated schools and open housing. There is also a special business and industry pledge and a document suggesting ways to implement its goal of creating "a society in which all people may partake equally in the opportunities for economic growth and achievements."

The spirit of the effort, as stated by Join Hands, is shared increasingly by groups working for social change and racial justice:

The time is past for studies, commissions, and reports. The time is here for real and rapid change. White Americans must take relevant, concrete action to do away with injustices which have been tacitly condoned through apathy and indifference. This means not only a just and equitable distribution of social and economic power among all groups, but a just and equitable distribution of decision-making power as well. It means free movement of all persons within all areas of society.

Each one of us must see himself, his neighbors, his community, and his country in a new light, realizing that the future of all Americans will be determined by the white response to the present crisis.

After a year's operation, 7,000 individuals had signed the Join Hands pledge and 35 neighborhood centers had been established in the Los Angeles area. A Join Hands Neighborhood Center is a home where people gather weekly to discuss ways to continue their commitment to the pledge and where new people can learn of Join Hands. An "action booklet", *What I Can Do*, has been prepared, and there are more requests than can be filled. It has been reprinted by the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission and the League of Women Voters Education Fund.

While Join Hands stresses individual action—speaking to the store manager about hiring minority employees, urging neighbors who sell their houses to consider selling to minority group families, speaking to the bank vice president about his bank's loan policy toward minority enterprise—there have been a number of group efforts as well. Many Join Hands people have participated in encounter groups which have focused on interracial attitudes, values, and prejudices. Join Hands is working to establish groups within businesses or firms to work for the implementation of the business and industry pledge. Join Hands people are working to form a coalition in the Los Angeles area of groups concerned with education and increasing integration. Members of Join Hands in the San Fernando Valley are also assisting in efforts of the County Human Relations Commission to create a mass community organization.

PROGRAM FOR ACTION TRAINING

The Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center (METC) in Washington, D.C. is a non-profit corporation supported by 16 major Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish jurisdictions and agencies primarily to provide leadership training that will help groups to cope constructively with a range of critical organizational and community problems. The main concern of METC is understanding and combating the problem of racism which it defines as "whatever works to the advantage of one race and simultaneously to the disadvantage of another." To combat racism which "is woven into our basic values and institutions" will require "the concentrated use of many kinds of skills and commitments over a significant period of time." To help groups develop these skills METC has put together an interracial network of consultant-trainers which is able to:

analyze the race relations issues confronting institutions from within and without; plan short and long-range approaches to the encounter and resolution of these issues; conduct training programs involving key personnel in the processes of change; evaluate the effectiveness of these efforts; provide continuing consultation to help insure maximum constructive change over a planned period of time.

To date METC has provided training for groups of teachers and school administrators, a Catholic social action group, the Center for Christian Renewal (which is seeking to develop a program to eliminate institutional racism in the church), the executives of a large Washington corporation, and the political and business leaders of a suburban Washington community.

METC is a member of the Acting Training Coalition which is made up of 20 training centers, similar in purpose and practice to METC, from all parts of the country. The ATC attempts to bring together those groups "offering engagement-reflection-action training to enable groups and individuals in society to effect institutional and community change for humanization and justice" in order to "establish and maintain high standards for action training, to procure adequate funding and other resources, and to develop common strategies for social change."

DIALOGUES FOR UNDERSTANDING

The Citizens' Interracial Committee in San Diego, California, is a public supported agency which seeks:

to work within local government as a mediator between local government and the minority community, to work in the majority community to increase understanding of minority group-related problems, and to build support in the white community for programs that will aid the black and brown communities.

The most significant of CIC's efforts to create understanding in the white community are their *Dialogues for Understanding* and the projects or organizations which have grown out of the Dialogues.

The purpose and goals of the Dialogues are best expressed in the words of Carrol Waymon, the director of CIC and a principal leader of the Dialogue program. He says the DFU's can lead to creating a model city

provided we can continue to keep conversations going, continue to keep the minorities by all means in their willingness to at least talk on an ongoing basis. And provided that the minorities can begin to feel the impact of the progress from the philosophical position transmitted into those incremental changes such as black principals, brown principals, brown counselors, black counselors, brown supervisors, more on the City Council, some on the Board of Supervisors, some on the Board of Education, not a token of a black man or a nigger or whatever they say, but some representation. Provided we can continue with these conditions, incremental changes, concrete visible changes, I think we can begin to really make the city a model city.

DIRECTORY OF WHITE ANTI-RACIST ORGANIZATIONS

Committee for One Society (COS)
40 North Ashland
Chicago, Illinois 60607
312-243-2205

Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations
1184 Hall of Records
320 West Temple Street
Los Angeles, California 90012
213-628-9211, ext. 63521

Join Hands
P. O. Box 49955
Los Angeles, California 90048
213-472-6889

Metropolitan Ecumenical Training Center (METC)
2015 Allen Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
202-265-1816

Action Training Coalition (ATC)
c/o MUST
235 East 49th Street
New York, New York 10017
212-753-8462

Citizens' Interracial Committee (CIC)
609 Robinson Building
520 E Street
San Diego, California 92101
714-239-0871

Cabrillo Foundation
P. O. Box 1301
La Jolla, California 92037
714–459–1024

Citizens United for Racial Equality (CURE)
502 Robinson Building
520 E Street
San Diego, California 92101
714-279–8809

Justice and Social Change—The Urban Crisis: Priority Program
Board of Social Ministry
Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016
212-532-3410

A partial list of groups working in the white community, seeking ways to confront and combat racism:

American Friends Service Committee
U. S. Projects Program
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
215–563–9372

Center for Christian Renewal
1805 Kenyon Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010
202–265–0714

Center for Emergency Support
3515 Idaho Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016
202–462–6883

Community Organization for Urban Progress (COUP)
2864 Telegraph Avenue
Oakland, California 94609
415–465–1571

Fellowship of Racial and Economic Equality - FREE
c/o Research Center
Lynchburg College
Lynchburg, Virginia 24503
703–845–9071, ext. 307

Inter-Faith Action Centers
Coordinating Office
10600 Puritan Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48238
313–345–4350

Mid-Peninsula Christian Ministry
2369 University Avenue
East Palo Alto, California 94303
415–324–0444

National People Against Racism (PAR)
5750 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201
313–871–2222

Project Understanding
School of Theology
Claremont Colleges
Claremont, California 91711
714–626–3521

Suburban Action Center
429 Leedom Street
Jenkintown, Pennsylvania 19046
215–885–1187

This directory is based on a survey being conducted by Gerald Allan Schwinn for the Office of Community Programming of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Information and materials on other groups may be sent to him at the Commission.

The Dialogues bring together members of the minority and majority communities to work toward understanding and the progress of which Waymon speaks.

The Dialogues for Understanding program is a six evening series which begins with two lectures on racism, followed by a panel on the problems of housing, education, law enforcement, communication and employment. Next, Mexican American representatives speak to the problems of their "isolated, invisible, ignored" community, and then a panel of blacks explores the meaning and implications of Black Power. Evenings are devoted to small dialogue groups or encounter sessions with resource people from the minority community joining with members of the majority community. On the final evening another panel explores "What Can I Do?"

The Dialogues have demonstrated the capability to generate greater understanding and community participation. In a survey of those who have participated in a Dialogue series, CIC found that 98 percent indicated a greater understanding and 97 percent have found practical ways to utilize their new understanding of the current racial situation. Dialogue veterans have arranged for other groups to participate in Dialogue programs, urged action on their churches, urged the businesses to hire minority employees, indicated willingness to neighbors and realtors to live in an integrated neighborhood, discussed the nature of racism with friends and colleagues, and sought ways to increase further one's understanding and contact with members of minority communities. While CIC places most emphasis on individual understanding and action, there have also been a number of group or community responses to the Dialogues.

Community groups which initially came together to sponsor a series of Dialogues for Understanding have evolved into permanent community human relations organizations. A group of Dialogue veterans has established a community foundation, the Cabrillo Foundation, which seeks to raise funds in the affluent white community and make them available to projects in the minority community. A committee with a majority of individuals from the black and brown communities will make final decisions on the projects which the Cabrillo Foundation supports financially.

Another CIC-inspired effort is CURE—Citizens United for Racial Equality. Participants in one suburban Dialogue series formed this membership organization and publish a monthly newsletter which has provided a "forum for the dissemination of information and expression of opinion among those concerned with combating racism." The CURE newsletter, in addition to carrying articles discussing issues of concern to those working for racial equality, includes a regular column—"Where the Action Is"—which provides an answer to the various questions of "what can I do?" CURE has also been active as a membership organization which takes public positions on social issues and urges members' participation in community concerns.

Racism Within and Without The Church

Justice and Social Change—the Urban Crisis, the "Priority Program" of the Lutheran Church in America (LCA), is an effort to mobilize "the church to deal creatively with institutionalized racism both within its own structures and the structures of society where it has influences." Five observations about contemporary American society have influenced the development and design of the Priority Program:

We're living in a society which is definitely biased in favor of its white members, yet claims to be equally concerned for all of its citizens regardless of race, creed, or color.

The disparity between the white and non-white population grows with each passing day so that what is emerging is two separate societies; one basically white and characterized by affluence and the other basically non-white and characterized by poverty.

Communications for the most part have broken down between these two camps.

The rising tide of black nationalism has not only filled the non-white population with great expectations, but it has also filled them with the determination that these expectations must be realized now. This sets the stage for an inevitable clash between the "haves" and the "have nots" unless something is done to ameliorate the situation.

Both the power and the resources to change the situation rest predominantly in the hands of the white affluent majority, of which the hands of the basic constituency of the Lutheran Church in America is a party. What seems to be lacking is the desire and the will to change.

Among the features of the Priority Program will be the training of clergy and laymen in each LCA synod

to work in pairs ("preferably one from the majority group and one from a minority group") with the church councils in eight to ten parishes. These Encounter teams will work with the councils, other groups within each parish, and the congregations to help them "understand the nature and effects of prejudice, see their own share in causing and perpetuating conditions of deprivation and injustice for minority groups and take effective action individually and corporately, as churchmen and citizens, to achieve social change that contributes to justice." At the same time that Encounter teams will be working with parishes and congregations, task forces in each synod will be seeking "to identify and clarify the issues pertinent to institutionalized injustice on the territory of the synod" and evaluate all synod programs and make recommendations to assure that every effort is made to combat institutionalized injustice. The Board of Social Ministry of LCA has urged that these synod task forces represent a cross section of the synod and that half of each task force be minority group persons.

The synod task forces have been established and Encounter teams have been trained. Materials to be used by the Encounter teams beginning in September are being prepared by the ICA Board of Parish Education.

Reading All about IT

The following article is excerpted from a publication of the Detroit People Against Racism for use in seminars and training courses. It is reprinted as an example of anti-racist analysis dealing with American institutions.

> Along with the country as a whole, the press has too long basked in a white world, looking out of it, if at all, with white men's eyes and a white perspective.
>
> The Nation Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Due to lack of contact—not just presence or proximity but an interchange of some kind—there is relatively little direct communication between the races in this country. As a consequence, people turn to the news media for information on which to base their behavior and attitudes. The purpose of this paper is to look at one segment of that media, the newspapers of Detroit, to see how they carry out this responsibility.

The individual reading a newspaper is, in most cases, learning about something that he did not experience in person. He is reading the newspaper's interpretation of events. This presentation of news is influenced both by the reporter's personal biases and by those of the news-

paper. Implicit in this is the fact that, despite what journalists say about news presentation being separate from editorializing, there exists a direct influence of the newspaper's bias in the presentation of the news. Many publishers will argue that the bias of the journalist is *balanced* by the editorial bias, and that this balance enables the paper to maintain its objectivity. In reality, this is a pseudo-objectivity which forms what Walter Lippman calls the "pseudo-environment" presented to the reader. Instead of balancing one another, the biases are compounded.

In some instances the reader through his own relationships, experience, education, level of awareness, etc., can test the validity of the pseudo-environment reflected in the article he is reading. If, however, the reader has no contact with or knowledge of the content of the article being read, he cannot test its accuracy and is left with the biased interpretation. This in itself is not bad, but when the reader accepts the content as being true and acts accordingly, the consequences of his actions affect the real environment and not the "pseudo-environment".

With our ever-increasing dependence upon secondary sources for information, this phenomenon is very important and has dangerous potential. The group that can control the dissemination of symbols, stereotypes, or generalizations which make up the pseudo-environment would have tremendous potential for socializing man around a certain way of thinking.

An example of the way a newspaper can develop a stereotype is the following from Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills: "A newspaper, for instance, may use the symbol 'Negro' every time a Negro commits a petty crime, but avoid mentioning 'Negro' when a Negro performs some meritorious act. The stereotype of 'Negro' is thus built from an accumulation of incidents with which the symbol is associated." This example of stereotyping is not fiction as will be pointed out later when we discuss the Detroit newspapers.

One of the factors which leads to racism in newspaper reporting is the fact that the media is a white institution. In 1964, for instance (the latest figures available), the American Newspaper Guild could only name 45 Negroes working as reporters, copy readers, or desk men on the metropolitan daily newspapers in the United States. The most generous employment estimates put the number of Negroes in news jobs at 100 out of a total of 50,000 men and women.

Thus, when the press does talk about Afro-Americans it presents them as one homogeneous mass, with the same thoughts, desires, and goals. The media, like all of white society depersonalizes the black person into a stereotype. Although the stereotype is not real, the consequences of white society's reactions to that stereotype are real.

Some Racist Reporting Techniques

Newspapers, like all media institutions, employ a variety of techniques in "getting the story across". White supremacy and black crime are the messages which come through when reporting techniques include playing down the white criminal's race when the victim is black, dwelling on race when a black is accused of crime against a white, keeping the stories alive by printing numerous repetitive articles, editorializing in headlines, and printing melodramatic human interest stories about the white victims of black crime.

Following are some examples of such reporting in the *Detroit News*.

On Wednesday evening, November 30, 1966, a white clerk in Hudson's downtown store was stabbed by a black shoplifter. The incident was reported on the front page of the *News*, with an additional human interest story. This was followed by front page stories for three days. Then on December 8, the *News* ran an editorial referring to the incident entitled, "What's the answer to crime in the streets? It's more police".

On Thursday, April 21, 1967, the white 15 year old son of a Detroit policeman was fatally stabbed by a black youth at Cobo Hall. The *News* devoted its front page to the incident for six straight days. Several human interest stories also appeared regarding the boy's family and the band he played with at Cobo Hall the night he was stabbed.

On June 25, 1967, a black man was shot to death in Rouge Park while attempting to protect his pregnant wife from a group of drunken whites. The *News* printed a front page story on June 25, and two subsequent stories on inside pages. They did not report the fact that the man's wife lost her baby as a result of the incident. Later in the year, the *News* printed 19 stories about the trial of the one man held in the shooting. (He was acquitted.)

On October 16, 1967, the *News* ran a story on page 8C behind the sports section titled "Postman held in slaying of Eastside girl, 15". This was the story of Joseph Yelick who allegedly shot to death a 15-year-old black girl. The girl and her friends had supposedly been taunting Yelick, and threw a stone through his window. He was accused of murder and released on bond. The story, however, does not stop here; it goes on to relate that "the scene of yesterday's shooting was

only three blocks from where Dusan Djordjevic was shot and killed...

"Djordjevic is believed to have been killed by two Negro youths who only a few moments earlier had tried to rob him.

"The *Detroit News*, under its 'Somebody Knows' secret witness plan has offered a $2,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of Djordjevic's murderers." Thus the *News* succeeds in turning around the story of the murder of a black girl by a white man into a plea for witnesses to solve the murder of a white man by two blacks.

The black uprising of the summer of 1967 probably offers the best collection of racist news coverage in the history of *Detroit News*.

On Friday, July 28, 1967, the *Detroit News* has a front page article with the headline: "Are Sniper Attacks Part of Nationwide Plot?" This article quotes (former) Detroit Police Commissioner Ray Girardin, a top Detroit law enforcement officer (no name), a Paratroop Colonel (no name), and Life Magazine. All four quotes reiterate the rumor that "the sniper activity is part of the network of the Black Power movement". In fact, the top Detroit law enforcement officer goes so far as to say that the Black Power movement has divided the city into groups "that are called 'bays' and they roughly resemble Communist cells. Indication is that now a 'lieutenant' is in charge of the Detroit operation and higher authorities are located elsewhere."

Such extensive build-up to the myth of snipers is particularly blatant since the day before, July 27, the *News* itself reported the only documented case of a sniper in Detroit (a 39-year-old black construction worker who was drunk at the time). In this article Cyrus Vance, emissary of The President, stated that the snipers were not organized. The *News* story of July 28 is also challenged by the Kerner Commission Report (Chapter 3, pp. 201–202) "The urban disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequences of, any organized plan or 'conspiracy'. Specifically, the Commission has no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led up to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national, or local."

Reporting of the sniper myth fits well with the overall *News* coverage of the rebellion, the tone and language of which is reminiscent of war reporting: "Communist cells", "guerilla war rips 12th", "infiltration of riot-blackened streets", "Sniper: I got 2...It was beautiful". This kind of writing, like *News* coverage of crime, identifies a black, faceless *enemy* for the readership. Once white racist fears are stirred into hysteria, any measure to defeat the enemy is justifiable.

Case Study: Crime in the Streets

Readers of "white" newspapers get regular reinforcement of the white supremacist notion that society's most dangerous criminals are black, and that every black person is potentially a dangerous criminal. A feature-length story in the *Detroit News*, August 27, 1968, titled "Woodward Avenue Diners Watch Muggings as They Eat" describes the increase of crime in the area adjacent to downtown Detroit. This article blames this increase on "roving packs of youths", a collective term more applicable to dogs or wolves than to human beings. The following day, August 28, a front-page story notes that, because of the previous day's article, "More Police Hunt Woodward Muggers". This second article refers to a group of 20 Negro males as the "pack of juvenile hoodlums" described in the earlier story.

This kind of language in random crime stories is given a context by the *News* in its daily crime reports. Within one week of its resumption of publication on August 9, 1969, at the end of the city's newspaper strike, the *News* instituted a daily crime blotter purporting to report crime in Detroit. It also established the practice of identifying suspected criminals by race.

Another alteration in format to the *News*' crime column was the addition on September 30, 1968, of a "victim box-score". Usually placed in the concluding section of the crime column, this paragraph states: "Who are the chief victims of Detroit street crime? In the last 24 hours, (number) crimes of violence were reported to the Detroit Police Department. Of the victims of these crimes, (number) were Negro and (number) were white." Presumably the goal is to be a member of the race with the fewer victims, thus being on the winning team.

Such implications of the crime blotter have not gone unnoticed. The Detroit *Tribune*, a black community paper, on October 19, carried in its first four pages extensive criticism of the Detroit *News* crime reporting. Included was a letter to *News* publisher Peter B. Clark signed by nearly 30 prominent Detroiters, many Negro, objecting to the crime column. The *Tribune's* main objections were that the *News* approach to crime news fostered increased racial polarization in the community by reporting only street crimes in the inner city and excluding suburban or "white-collar crime". The *Tribune* also noted that the

News' column was not even a correct summary of the Detroit Police Detective Bureau reports and cited four specific cases on one date when criminal acts perpetuated by whites were omitted from the *News*' report.

The *News* responded immediately, on Sunday, October 20, by reprinting the *Tribune* articles in full, accompanied by a lengthy editorial entitled "Tell It Like It Is". The *News* made these points:

The street crimes selected for reporting are the crux of the crime problem in Detroit; the News wishes to expose the "vicious mugger, the sadistic rapist, the gun-washing robber". These are the crimes which Detroiters fear and they most frequently victimize Negroes "as our daily box score of victims shows". The bulk of these crimes are committed by Negroes against Negroes. Racial descriptions are included to help narrow the search for criminals. Suburban and white-collar crime are not included since there is no major crime epidemic in the suburbs; and Detroit citizens are not afraid of fraud and embezzlement.

There is evidence of the *News*' omission of crimes, reported by the Detective Bureau, committed by whites. The *Tribune* pointed our four such omissions from the Detective Bureau reports of September 5, 1968. Examination of the Detective Bureau reports of April 15, 1969, reveals a similar finding. The following four crimes are unreported in the April 16th *News* crime column: Indecent exposure by a white man before a 13 year-old girl; armed robbery of the E. 7 Mile Party Store by two white men; attempted armed robbery of the Payless Gas Station by two white men; armed robbery of Ira Smith Drugs by a white man; and a purse snatching by two white men in which a 55-year-old woman was struck in the face by the fists of her assailant and knocked down.

The Detroit *News* editorial response to the *Tribune* on October 20 acknowledges that most street crime is committed against Negroes, "as our daily box score of victims shows". The crime statistic is correct; the *News*' "box score" is not, however. In the two week period already cited in October 1968, whites were 64 percent of the victims according to the *News*. In the November 1968 week cited above, the *News* reports 53 percent of the victims of street crimes were white. In a random sample of "box scores" extending from October 1, 1968 through February 21, 1969, including 70 separate crime columns, the "box score" of victims is white, 994; Negro, 633; or 61 percent to 39 percent. Thus, intentional or not, the *News* crime columns have the effect of exaggerating the proportion of both Negro "criminals" and white "victims". This misrepresentation need not be proven intentional in order to have the racial effect described by the Detroit *Tribune* in October. Indeed, it is quite believable that it would be impossible to report so many daily crimes with exact accuracy. However, unintentional racism remains racism.

Finally, one must assess the motivation of the Detroit *News* more critically to evaluate the crime blotter itself. Bluntly stated, the *News*' Crime in the Streets report sells newspapers. It may have been an attempt to capitalize on the successful experience of the Detroit *American* during the newspaper strike. The *American* had not only employed racial identification in its front-page crime coverage, but also the grossest of racial epithets (jackal, swine, street cur, etc.) for suspected criminals. Public response to the *American* was favorable in many parts of Detroit, and the newspaper was praised by many white readers for its courageous reporting. As the *News* and *Free Press* came back on the street in August 1968, the *American* was still being published. The suggestion that the crime column was begun because the public wanted it is supported by the fact that, for a brief time, the *Free Press* also ran a crime blotter.

(Since this article was prepared, the *News* has discontinued its crime column as such; crime items which include racial designations now appear throughout the paper, along with a series of front-page articles editorializing on the causes of crime.)

At question here is not reporting of crime itself, but the kinds of crime reported, how they are presented, and the language used. Did the *News* wish to do so, there are many ways in which irrational fears about crime might be allayed.

On November 3, 1968, the Detroit *Free Press* printed a feature story with such an effect. This feature noted that in 1967, 64 percent of all rapes in Detroit were committed by a relative or acquaintance of the victim; and of all homicides, 44 percent were in this category. Probing beneath the surface can alter the conclusions readers draw about the "crime epidemic" which they face. Another relevant factor is the correlation this same article notes between the increased crime in Detroit since July 1967, and the vast increase in the sale of firearms. There was a 76 percent increase in Detroit homicides from 1967 to 1968; and a corresponding 100 percent increase in firearm registrations in the city from 1965 to 1968.

Acts of violence by police, which are virtually *always by whites against blacks*, are never reported as crime. White collar crime is admittedly of low priority

to the *News*. In short, the crime emphasized by the *News* is that category most physically violent, and more often committed by blacks than whites. While it is also most often committed *against* blacks, the *News* box score conveys the contrary impression. By its own admission, the *News* reports street crime because "Detroiters are afraid of the crimes that plague the inner city". The *News* reports the crimes that frighten people most; and because of the *News*' reporting, white Detroiters become constantly more afraid.

Case Study: The Detroit News Coverage of the New Bethel Incident

On Saturday, March 29, 1969, the New Bethel Baptist Church in the inner city of Detroit was the scene of a gun battle between 40 members of the Detroit Police Department and 10–12 armed black men (police estimate). Four blacks were injured, and one white policeman was killed and another injured. The church was being used by the Republic of New Africa (RNA) for its first national meeting. It was attended by black men, women, and children from various parts of the country.

According to the police, at approximately 11:45 p.m., two policemen in a squad car stopped to investigate 10–12 armed men outside the church. In the confrontation that followed, one of the policemen was killed and the other injured. The injured policeman radioed for help and 40 officers converged on the scene. The police claim that they were fired on from inside the church, and responded with an all-out attack on the church. The RNA has repeatedly denied that any shots were fired from inside the church. Four blacks were injured in the shootout, and the church was riddled with bullets. The front door, many pews, and the organ were destroyed. When the shoot-out stopped, the police arrested 142 persons, including women and children.

Approximately eight hours after the prisoners were taken to police headquarters, Judge George Crockett, Jr., a black judge, arrived to conduct the arraignments. He released eight suspects on a writ of Habeas Corpus on the grounds that they were being held without being charged, and that they were not advised of their legal rights. Judge Crockett also questioned the right of police to conduct nitrate tests (given to suspects to determine whether or not they had recently fired a gun) without the presence of the defendants' attorneys.

The Detroit *News* coverage of the New Bethel incident is a glaring example of prejudgement and anti-black reporting. On March 21, the *News* opens its account of the incident with the headline "Ambush slayers of policeman hunted". This, and the article that follows, imply that not only was a 'murder' committed (a fact to be ascertained in court), but that a member of the Republic of New Africa was guilty of that crime. Further, the use of the word "ambush" implies that the crime was committed in this particular manner. In these and other subsequent articles, the *News* treats the police version of the incident as the true one and the RNA's comments as "claims". On the average, the police story is relayed five or six times as often as any story by a black witness.

In addition, the *News* printed five human interest articles on the policeman killed. Included is a quote from the officer's mother: "He looked neat and handsome in his blue uniform. He looked proud when he pinned his badge—No. 262—over his heart before going on duty." Presumably, such a man could not possibly have provoked the March 29 incident. The story of the funeral reflects the view of police as the 'thin blue line' when it quotes from the eulogy, "If it were not for these brave men (police), how quickly we would crawl back to the cave and the jungle."

In building support for police actions in the New Bethel Incident, the *News* does not leave delegitimation of the RNA to chance. Rather than presenting significant new information on the incident, the newspaper introduced a series of articles about the RNA largely irrelevant to the current incident. The first of these, on March 31, contains red-baiting comments on the RNA's president, Robert Williams, and references to charges against Brother Gaidi (formerly Milton Henry) of failing to file income tax returns. An April 3 article headlined "New Bethel raid reveals N.Y. charges against 4" has nothing to do with anything that happened at or near the RNA convention March 29 in Detroit. An article on the same page states, "Members of the Republic of New Africa, the black separatist group outside of whose meeting a Detroit policeman was killed last Saturday, sharpened their marksmanship last year at a state rifle range near Pontiac".

Again, the drawing together of the New Bethel incident and information unconnected with it reinforces the assumption of a plot, and the guilt of RNA members. Further "evidence" for this assumption is implied in the April 20 headline "RNA hate rally captures few converts"—although no evidence of anything is forthcoming in the article itself.

Such articles, unrelated to the specifics of the incident itself, serve to keep the story alive in the

absence of fresh "news". The fact that the *News* used this saturation technique is undoubtedly related to the fact that the general content of their stories were pro-police and anti-RNA. In all, every day between March 31 and May 7 (38 days), there was a total of 142 items, or an average of almost four per day. These included 79 articles on the incident itself, editorials, letters to the editor, a cartoon, and unrelated articles which referred to the incident. Twenty-seven different *News* reporters wrote at least one article on the matter.

One result of such saturation coverage is the feeling of the reader that he is getting too much information, rather than not enough. It must be pointed out, however, that the information and questions omitted by the *News* are often more relevant than the "information" printed. The paper's one and only article relating the incident according to a black witness appeared on April 9, nine days later. According to the Michigan *Chronicle* (a weekly black newspaper in Detroit), in a story April 19, representatives of the CIA, FBI, and the Detroit Police Department's "subversive squad" were both inside and outside New Bethel Church at the time of the incident. No mention of this has been made in the *News*.

In an April 2 editorial titled "The silence on the shoot-out—is it intimidation?", the *News* claims to know that most black people do not support either the RNA or Judge Crockett. They claim that any unity exhibited by blacks at this time came "from leaders who obviously don't want to offend the radicals" and who "have been intimidated by the black community's small minority of militant radicals". (After three weeks, the *News* found one relatively obscure organization to "disavow" the goals of the RNA, to which it devoted an editorial entitled "Moderate Negro speaks up".)

In its editorial of April 9, the *News* challenged the ability of James N. Garrett, Board Chairman of the Cotillian Club, to speak for the city's black people. The editorial states: "If James N. Garrett, Jr. . . . is correct in his assertion that the entire black community feels 'highly incensed' over police action in the New Bethel Church incident, Detroit has arrived at a critical point in race relations." This is probably true, but the editorial continues: "We do not believe his statement to be correct, and we doubt that it even represents the sentiment of all the members of his own organization, a group of relatively conservative Negro businessmen and professionals."

The obvious question is whether Mr. Garrett or the *News* is in a better position to speak for either the Cotillian Club or the black community. The fact that in reality a very broad spectrum of the black community did rally in a variety of ways to the support of Judge Crockett and the RNA and in opposition to the Detroit Police Officer's Association is one which either escaped the attention of the *News*, or another aspect of the New Bethel Incident which it chose to ignore.

Case Study: The Detroit News Vendetta Against Judge Crockett

In the wake of the New Bethel Incident, the *News* printed a full page feature entitled: "Judge Crockett: Lightning Rod of Controversy." The article emphasized essentially the same points made in a 1966 article, which began, "Is George W. Crockett—who went to jail 14 years ago for insulting a federal judge in his courtroom—now ready to dispense justice as a Recorder's Court judge of Detroit?"

Judge Crockett became the target of the Detroit *News* for his actions to insure the constitutional rights of accused persons who happen to be black. The paper has attempted by continuous coverage and reiteration of particular cases handled by the Judge, created the impression that he has 'flooded' the streets of Detroit with known criminals.

On February 18, 1969, the *News* carried the story of Lloyd K. Tyler, a Negro who pleaded guilty before Judge Crockett to assault with intent to rob, while being armed. Judge Crockett sentenced him to two years' probation, stipulating that Tyler, a drug addict, must apply to the Federal narcotics rehabilitation center in Lexington, Ky. The *News* story included a full description of Tyler's previous record. The following day, the *News* editorial stated: "A three-time loser who had pleaded guilty to a fourth charge walked out of a Detroit courtroom Monday a free man because of the generosity of Judge George W. Crockett." The statement is plainly inaccurate. Tyler was never freed, but was returned to Wayne County Jail to await disposition of his case. The *News*, however, had already created the impression that Judge Crockett had freed a "dangerous Negro criminal".

The February 21 *News* editorial condemns the judge for granting probation to a second narcotics addict with the same requirement of commitment to the rehabilitation center. The *News* story the prior day, February 20, had indicated that the individual involved, James A. Pierce, was granted probation at the recommendation of the Court's probation and psychiatric departments. The related editorial demonstrates the racism of cries of "law and order". The *News* states: "Judge Crockett seems to have offered felons a

new way to freedom. Become a drug addict, plead police brutality, and you're home free."

The *News* concluded the week's attack with a "background" story on Sunday, February 23. The writer stated that Judge Crockett "previously has found 'extenuating circumstances' for lenient sentences." His "proof" for this is reiteration of one case from a year before. In all, this one week of the *News* attack on Crockett included at least 12 items: news articles, editorials, or cartoons all relating to two individual instances of person being ordered on probation to apply for narcotics rehabilitation. In the days and weeks that followed the New Bethel Incident, the *News* gave as much, if not more, coverage to Judge Crockett as to the incident itself. On April 2, just two days after the first article appeared on the New Bethel Incident, the paper introduced the "Tyler Case." The article dealt with Crockett's postponement of Tyler's sentencing pending the receipt of reports requested of the court's probation department. The headline accused Crockett of "stalling" on the case, when the facts in the body of the article clearly stated that the staff of the probation department asked for extra time to prepare the reports.

Again on April 7, Crockett was accused of "stalling" because he granted the defense attorney a two-week postponement to investigate Tyler's allegation that he was a victim of police brutality, hardly an irrelevant item. Essentially the same article appeared again on April 22 when Crockett gave the defense attorney more time to research the above allegation. Clearly these articles are only "news" items because the Detroit *News* makes them such.

The articles relating to Crockett's role in the aftermath of the New Bethel Incident are a classic example of confusing the criminal with the victim. The April 1 front page article headlined "Slayer Search Stymied" began with the following sentence: "Homicide detectives pursued their hunt for the slayer of Detroit Patrolman Michael Czapski today despite their fears that Recorder's Judge George W. Crockett may have wrecked their investigation." In one headline and one sentence, the *News* "establishes" (with no factual basis) that a murder was committed, that the "slayer" should be regarded as an animal to be hunted, and that the fact the police are not holding the "slayer" is Judge Crockett's fault. The *News* editorial of the same day begins: "Have law enforcement and justice taken another beating from Recorder's Judge George Crockett, Jr? It looks that way." Further on, the phrase "wholesale and indiscriminate releases" appears. "Wholesale release" is also used in the front page story. Once more, the *News* creates the impression that the judge has "flooded" the streets with "murderers" and "dangerous criminals".

A few reported statements conceded the fact that perhaps Crockett had operated judiciously and with the Constitution as he asserted, but implied that practices to the contrary had been widely "accepted". Judge Crockett was more explicit in his press statement of April 3: "But I will not lend my office to practices which subvert legal processes and deny justice to some because they are poor or black".

It becomes clear that Judge Crockett's legitimacy is called into question by the press when his power begins to protect the rights of black people.

In an April 2 article the *News* claims there is "mounting criticism from state legislator and police organizations objecting to Crockett's quick release of eight prisoners." The "mounting criticism" consisted of actual criticism from the DPOA (including two full-page advertisements) and the Detroit Police Detectives Association, and questions raised by Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, Governor William Miliken, and the State Senate.

An article printed April 4 featuring the headline "Crockett Wins Boost from Four Law Groups" implies that the judge was out soliciting support and managed to muster four law groups. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The judge received unsolicited support from several organizations. Among them were: American Bar Association, State Bar of Michigan, Wolverine Bar Association, Detroit Bar Association, American Civil Liberties Union, Law Committee of New Detroit, Inc. (Endorsed by the entire Board of Trustees), NAACP, Ad Hoc Action Committee, Detroit Area People Against Racism, Black United Front, Interfaith Action Council, Americans For Democratic Action, the president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO.

Freedom and Power of the Press

As pointed out earlier, the power of the media to create a pseudo-environment in a world where primary experience has been replaced by secondary communications is the power to affect a large part of the real environment. In short, he who has the freedom of the press has the power of the press.

Such power is particularly dangerous in a society where repression is on the rise, and where genocide has been practiced against one race of people and threatens another. The effect of newspapers like the Detroit *News* confirm for whites the belief that

they are in fact being oppressed by *blacks*. Thus, if you read the *News*, you think you "know" that black judges are setting faceless black criminals loose to prey on old white victims who are every day getting stabbed, raped, and mugged; that during times of "war" black snipers are plotting all over the inner-city; and that only the "support of free expression" enables the "thin-blue-line" to set the terms of war. In short, if you read the *News*, you are likely to conclude that black people are the cause of society's problem.

The Detroit *News*, the focus of this paper, is not the only element of the print media fostering this notion, however. A few examples:

The Militant Minorities Must Not Rule or Ruin—The ugly militance which broke up two meetings of the Detroit Board of Education Tuesday is noxious and it cannot be tolerated. . . . . Any public agency so challenged will simply have to assert its proper authority and get on with the business at hand. Anything else would be a surrender to the tyranny of the noisy minority. *Detroit Free Press editorial, March 13, 1969.*

Racism Takes Role in War on Poverty
Black racial militancy is a serious and growing problem. It is undermining the constructive black and white leadership which has brought the black communities so far along the road of their aspirations. *Syndicated columnist Richard Wilson, March 26, 1969.*

New York—Mayor John V. Lindsay would be defeated for reelection today by any faintly viable democratic candidate for one basic reason: this city's white voters believe he has catered to the black man. *Syndicated columnists, Evans and Novak, March 14, 1969.*

The idea that black people are either taking over or ruining the society is not new; it gains popularity each time it is hinted that blacks are not going to stay in "their place". The question of who is responsible for starting this identification of criminals and victims is not the issue.

As both the Detroit *American* and the Detroit *News* clearly prove, anti-black newspapers sell—but they also provide "evidence" for the racist notion that the society is plagued with a "Negro Problem". In fact, of course, we are faced with a massive white problem of racism, and the media is a major part of that problem.

Making Up for

It is a common assumption—what John Kenneth Galbraith calls "conventional wisdom"—in America today that race-consciousness is bad, and that any preference based on race, for example, in the selection of an employee, is unthinkable.

This "conventional wisdom" about race-consciousness and preferential treatment represents outmoded, self-serving principles which have long since ceased to be in tune with the weight of moral and legal principle, or even of actual practice, in America today.

The idea of preferential treatment has been opposed on a variety of grounds. One of the most common is that all forms of race-consciousness are bad because they stand in the way of assimilation. A second, related objection is that preferential treatment means treating people on the basis of race, rather than of individual merit. Third, various forms of preferential treatment are taken to be in violation of the Constitution or of civil rights laws.

The plausibility of each of these objections reflects basic American ideological assumptions about the dignity of the individual. However, precisely because this laudable ideal has been largely suspended in regard to black persons, a fact which whites still find hard to accept, once one passes the level of theory and considers specific cases of preferential treatment, one finds, in virtually every case, that *the action supposed to be preferential is in fact not preferential, and that*

the race-consciousness inherent in the action is a necessary element in reversing discriminatory practices or patterns.

Preferential treatment appears essentially in three forms: (1) bringing about nondiscrimination in present activity; (2) legal remedies redressing past acts of discrimination, and (3) activities designed specifically to aid minority persons.

Bringing About Nondiscrimination In Present Activity

As a first example, residents of an urban renewal area are displaced under a Federal program which requires that the renewal authority relocate displaced persons in decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings. Those displaced who are black will, in most instances, face obstacles in finding satisfactory relocation housing not faced by whites who are displaced. The courts, accordingly, hold that the renewal activity must recognize, and seek to counteract, special problems faced by displaced black families, and that otherwise the renewal authority incorporates into its own conduct discriminatory patterns of the housing market.

An analogous kind of race-consciousness, and special effort to compensate for discriminatory patterns, is required in a second example regarding the selection of jurors. It is necessary for public authorities to recognize that patterns of discrimination and exclusion in society can seriously distort the racial make-up of jury panels, if no special effort is made to neutralize such patterns in the jury selection process.

This same need to counteract pre-existing discriminatory patterns is also of central importance in the field of employment.

For example, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor has now taken action (under non-discrimination rules applicable to Federal contractors) against a large electronics manufacturer, on the grounds that all recruitment for the employer's operation was done by word-of-mouth through an established all-white work force. The consequence of this recruiting arrangement, the Government argues, was that the social and geographic separation of the races within the labor area effectively denied minority persons equal access to job opportunities in the company.

An explicit form of "race-consciousness" which is necessary to achieve nondiscrimination in employment, therefore, is the review of one's employment practices —in the light of racial data on recruitment, hiring, promotion, and other personnel actions—to assure that patterns of discrimination do not occur.

It might be noted that in some States there are still statutory restrictions on the nature or extent of racial records which may be maintained in connection with employment. However, by now few responsible officials would argue with the proposition that racial data is a vital tool, and that the abuse, rather than the use, of such data is the proper concern of such laws.

The same needs outlined above for nondiscrimination in employment similarly have been recognized by colleges in the shaping of their recruitment and selection procedures. The same kind of efforts are made there to open up opportunities to minority persons.

Remedies Redressing Effects of Discrimination Upon Identifiable Minority Persons

In some cases, the law recognizes a legal duty to over come the effects of past discrimination as clearly as it recognizes the duty to avoid present acts of discrimination. For example, wherever an individual can demonstrate that he himself was the victim of a past act of employment discrimination and can demonstrate loss of earnings, advancement, or other benefits because of such discrimination, then the person is entitled to recovery of damages, or to other relief, necessary to make him whole. Thus, where blacks have been assigned discriminatorily by an employer to certain departments, with low pay and limited advancement potential, the employer must taken special action to bring them up to their rightful position within the labor force.

It should be noted that such preferential advancement rights for blacks may operate to the detriment of whites, because their own advancement rights are correspondingly subordinated. A side effect of such remedial relief may be that an individual white is penalized by it, without his having taken part in or gained from the employer's discriminatory practices.

Remedies Redressing Effects of Discrimination Where The Minority Person Benefited By The Remedy May Be Unable to Prove That He Was A Victim Of The Discrimination.

One way such preferential treatment most clearly can be justified, in the context of employment, is where the introduction of blacks into an employer's work force —or at certain levels of the work force—is a necessary step in the elimination of discriminatory barriers to equality.

Alfred W. Blumrosen, a professor of law at Rutgers Law School and a leading authority on legal remedy

in employment discrimination, has referred to this in terms of the "take off point" phenomenon. Professor Blumrosen has noted that a predominantly white work force, particularly where discriminatorily created, tends to perpetuate itself through a variety of mechanisms. The principal mechanisms are *de facto* white community control of informal channels for access to job opportunities. The "take off point" is reached when such phenomena are overcome. Professor Blumrosen writes:

When there are sufficient minority employees to assure that the informal channels of recruitment and hiring are in fact open to the minority community so that they do have reasonable and realistic opportunities for employment in an environment which is not hostile, the effects of a discriminatory recruitment and hiring system are dissipated. . .

Though mechanisms for such preference for blacks may take many forms, one now in increasing use in hiring is the "affirmative action file". This is a system by which an employer places names of apparently qualified minority candidates in a separate file, which is consulted first when openings arise. (In individual cases, such a system may or may not involve a "conscious" preference for a black applicant over an identifiable white applicant.)

As in the preceding example, it is clear that individual whites who may be disadvantaged by such a preference may not themselves have benefitted directly from the discriminatory practices being remedied.

In addition to the dynamics of the take-off point, there is an even more basic argument for the kind of preferential treatment being discussed in this section. The argument proceeds from analogy under the "equal protection" requirement of the 14th amendment, applicable to actions of State and local governments, as well as of the Federal Government indirectly (by virtue of the Fifth amendment).

The argument can be put first in terms of the following hypothetical examples. Suppose that 10 years ago State X created a program of financial assistance aimed at subsidizing a certain form of economic activity. Suppose further that all blacks have been discriminatorily excluded from the benefits of this program. As periodic payments are made under this program, it is clear that the State is thereby acting discriminatorily against its black citizens.

Suppose that the legislature of State X passes an appropriation enabling the program to expand its roster of beneficiaries by 10 percent. In a suit against State X, brought against racial discrimination in this program, it seems clear that the court should consider a remedy which would give black residents of the State a compensatory preference in the funds made available under this 10 percent expansion. Otherwise, if the State is permitted simply to start with a clean slate now, the effect of its prior discriminatory exclusion of blacks would, to some extent at least, remain unremedied.

If we now change the terms of this hypothetical situation by substituting for enrollment in the program of assistance, employment by the State, the reasonableness of a comparable preference for blacks in employment is no less compelling.

Indeed, the reasonableness is even more compelling when one considers the following: If some other State —State Y—instead of *excluding* blacks from employment had simply relegated them to less desirable jobs, it surely is clear that State Y would now be required to take special steps, as part of a reasonable remedy for this discrimination, to upgrade these employees. It would be most anomalous to hold that State X, which *excluded* blacks, now has a *lesser* remedial duty than State Y, which merely restricted blacks to less desirable positions. Yet this would be the effect of holding that State X's *only* duty now is to cease discriminating against blacks in future selection.

At this point, it might be argued that if the above is correct, a court would be compelled to require State X to discharge a certain proportion of discriminatorily selected whites and replace them with blacks. Such doctrinaire arguments frequently have been advanced in opposition to court decisions giving new effect to principles of justice. The answer to such objections is that the courts are free to fashion remedies which make practical sense. Thus, there is no reason why a court in the above case could not restrict the operation of a preference for blacks to new employment (or advancement) only.

While the preceding argument was couched in constitutional principles which are in terms applicable to employment by public authority only, the same principles also would apply to a large portion of the private sector as well, since there is extensive public involvement in private activity which, under prevailing law, is then also subject to the same constitutional standards. Moreover, the nondiscrimination standard of Executive Order 11246, applicable to all Federal contractors, sets a standard which certainly should not be construed less rigorously than that applicable to public authority.

Two important points might be made here concerning the type of preference under discussion—that is, legal remedy benefitting blacks (and in some cases, disadvantaging whites) where neither may have been directly affected by the original discrimination.

Pervasiveness of discrimination. It was noted, in the context of employment, that this type of preference is appropriate where past discrimination has contributed to the creation of a racially distorted work force. It is of great importance to note that such discrimination has been extremely pervasive, and that occasion for the use of the kind of preferential right under discussion is correspondingly widespread. Thus, the "discrimination" to be corrected is not simply conscious discrimination.

Even more important are the discriminatory consequences of an employer's failure to counteract existing racial and ethnic divisions in society, (such as the informal recruitment networks referred to above). Informal word of mouth access to job opportunities, recruitment within a white social community, uncritical application of white middle class standards for judging ability, assumptions about the proper or traditional role of black persons, are a few of the common manifestations of such systemic discrimination. There must be few employers—public or private—whose work force has not been racially distorted by the operation of such barriers to equal employment opportunity.

Effect of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. There appears to be an extraordinarily widespread belief that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 contains a provision which makes "preferential treatment" in employment illegal. This interpretation is obviously attractive to many people, but it is incorrect. In fact, Title VII Section 703(j) provides that Title VII itself may not be used by the courts to compel "preferential treatment" in order to overcome "racial imbalance". Therefore, Section 703(j) does not prohibit the requirement of preferential treatment under other laws or regulations. Moreover, its proscription of preferential treatment extends only to steps taken to overcome "racial imbalance".

"Racial imbalance" is a term of art within the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A question involving the same phrase arose under Title IV of the Act, relating to school desegregation. Section 401(b) of Title IV provides that " 'desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance." It is now clear that "racial imbalance" here means an imbalance which was *not* illegally created; any racial disproportion which *has been* illegally created must be remedied in the course of desegregation. The equivalent construction of "racial imbalance" under Section 703(j) of Title VII is equally compelling.

An example of the type of preference under discussion, also drawn from the field of employment, arises where a decision is made regarding selection from components of an area labor market. One clear case of this is in the construction industry.

Typically, the area labor market from which a construction contractor draws in the course of manning a project is made up of several, racially identifiable, elements. On the one hand there are unions, very heavily white in make-up—almost exclusively so in the higher skilled trades. On the other hand there are non-union workers—many of whom are non-white—who are qualified or readily qualifiable journeymen but have not gained entry into the area's unions.

Though the rules under which such discretion is exercised vary widely (depending on the terms of the applicable collective bargaining agreement), the contractor almost always has some discretion in selection between these two components. If the contractor does not affirmatively seek to draw fairly upon the black non-union component of the labor market, the result is its virtual exclusion. It should be noted that by allocation of some jobs to non-union blacks, a racial preference is created which may exclude specific eligible whites from the work opportunity. Nonetheless, such preference may be a necessary concomitant of nondiscrimination, and should be legally required wherever—as doubtless would be true in most cases—the building trade union's predominance of white membership was in part discriminatorily created.

Quotas. This example brings us to the problem of "quotas". This issue is central to both types of "preferential treatment" thus far discussed—that is, preference designed to bring about nondiscrimination in present activity and preference embodied in legal remedies redressing past acts of discrimination.

One reason the concept of "quotas" is so controversial is that it extends beyond the right that identifiable individuals have to a remedy for past discrimination directed against them. We have now seen that quotas are not unique in this regard—that other kinds of preference also may benefit blacks who were not direct victims of the discrimination being remedied. At the same time, it should be recognized that "quotas" may *also* be used as a tool in avoiding present discrimination and in aiding identifiable victims of past discrimination.

One example of the use of quotas to avoid present discrimination—it should now be apparent—is the immediately preceding example involving work force selection in the construction industry. Quotas (which should be called "goals" when they are used as flexible targets) in that situation are simply benchmarks for minimal allocation of job opportunity to the non-white, non-union sector.

In a recent court decision, suit had been brought against a building trades union, charging discrimination in its admission to membership, and referral, of Negro journeymen. The court found that the union had practiced discrimination in referring men to jobs and that it had no objective, reviewable system which would assure nondiscrimination in referrals. The court ordered the union to establish an objective referral system. Inasmuch as some method of referral was necessary in the interim, the court required the union to make referrals by alternating between white and Negro journeymen. The "quota" in this case was a practical solution to the immediate problem of ending discrimination in referrals.

In a later case, a Federal court entered an order in a suit in which another building trades union had been charged with discrimination. The court's order provided that in job referrals by the union, blacks would be entitled at their option to place their names on a special roster which would give first preference for job opportunities in a specified geographic area. Though not a numerical quota, the purpose of this special provision was similarly to help guarantee adequate access to job opportunities for black persons.

To cite another example of the use of goals or "quotas", target figures for increased minority participation are being used in many instances by colleges with respect to student enrollment, and by employers with respect to recruitment or advancement.

We should now understand that the significance of such goals cannot be considered in the abstract, without reference to how they are used.

For example, a college administration may recognize that long-standing patterns of student applications will continue to yield small numbers of minority students, unless the administration takes steps to help equalize minority access to the college—specifically by soliciting minority applicants. In designing and appraising the adequacy of such efforts, no standard seems more reasonable than that expressed in terms of projected or actual qualified applicants recruited.

Similarly, the college may recognize that if traditional academic standards are applied to all applicants, this may result in continuation of a small minority enrollment. Since selection is based at best on an educated guess, the college may elect to alter its entrance standards with respect to some students. In other contexts, this might be termed "giving the benefit of the doubt" to such applicants. Here again, the extent and manner to which this is done might reasonably be related to racial targets or goals.

In the case both of increased recruitment efforts, of a "giving the benefit of the doubt" to black applicants, it should be noted that the mechanism of preference is largely the discretion or flexibility inherent in any system of recruitment or selection. In the context of employment, such flexibility extends to such matters as the source of applicants, the time when hiring is done, the training which is made available to applicants, and choice of selection criteria. In many cases goals or quotas should be understood as an administrative guide to the adequacy of steps taken in the exercise of discretion, to open opportunities to minority persons.

Such programmed efforts as these—whose purpose is to overcome practices and patterns of minority exclusion—lead us into the third and final category of preference.

Activities Designed Specifically to Aid Minority Persons

Where public or private resources are expended upon activities intended to aid blacks or other minority persons, this can be regarded as a "preference" both from the viewpoint of individual whites who may be ineligible for such programs, as well as from the viewpoint of allocation of resources within the society.

There are a wide variety of activities which have been undertaken to aid blacks. Though issues regarding the legal acceptability of these efforts are largely undecided, the very pervasiveness of such efforts—together with the moral and social imperatives which have given rise to them—make it hard to believe that activities such as these would be found illegal *even though comparable efforts that would exclude blacks might be illegal.*

How can one justify such a "double standard"? In many cases, analysis probably would disclose that such activities are not actually preferential at all, because they are matched by other allocation of resources whose benefits have been available *de facto* principally to whites.

Another reason why such activities should not be regarded as "preferential" is the most fundamental one —that such activities embody efforts of our society to redress an inequality brought about by centuries of

exploitation and discrimination. The equal protection guarantee of the Constitution, and the principles of civil rights law which it has engendered, recognize that racial *equality* encompasses a historical *process* of bringing blacks into equal enjoyment of the benefits of the society.

Also, it should be noted that the U.S. Department of Labor, for manpower program purposes, ranks minority group membership with age, lack of education, and "handicap" as a soruce of disadvantage warranting special attention. Under these criteria as well, special impact upon minority persons may be seen as a legitimate basis for defining the targets of public and private programs.

The following, drawn from newspaper accounts, is a random sampling of special activities to assist minority persons which have been undertaken in the past year.

A major foundation funds the Washington Journalism Center for a three-year program aimed at recruiting and training up to 60 Negroes for careers in journalism.

A major professional organization of advertisers sponsors 25 college scholarships for black and Puerto Rican students, who will be placed in advertising agencies.

A large university establishes a program to prepare minority persons to fill management positions, offering a master's degree in business administration to nonwhite college graduates who are recommended by their employers for the program.

The Small Business Administration sets a goal to increase minority group construction contractors to 10 percent of the total industry in the next 10 years.

The State of New Jersey sets a goal to recruit 90 Negroes and Puerto Ricans for a City Police Department, providing part-time jobs while the applicants study for civil service examinations.

The United States Conference of Mayors, Yale University, and the National League of Cities, announce a program to train minority group persons for leadership positions in the Nation's cities.

After all is said and done, surely it is extraordinary for whites to oppose preferential treatment on the grounds that it is against *their* moral principles. The hypocrisy often inherent in the position of whites who oppose preferential treatment was suggested by Whitney Young, Jr., as follows:

The concept of special effort for Negro citizens may be difficult for the majority of white citizens to accept for three reasons: First, to accept the need for such programs means necessarily to admit that there has existed deliberate or unconscious discrimination in this country. Second, to accept the concept is to admit that the whites themselves have been beneficiaries of a preferential system—and nobody really wants to admit this. Finally, it is extremely difficult for society that has only recently begun to adjust itself to affording equal opportunity for all its citizens to find itself suddenly called upon to offer special treatment as well.

The real issue is quite simple. Does this society sufficiently abhor social injustice and inequality that it is willing to pay the price necessary to end it—in terms, ultimately, of ideological adjustment, higher taxes, and a more equitable apportionment of wealth.

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New Weapons Against Job Discrimination

What Congress has denied the advocates of equality in employment, the courts may have granted in a case arising out of a West Texas labor grievance.

On February 7, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia decided that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) could take legal action against an employer charged by an employee with discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

The cease and desist authority granted to the NLRB—but denied to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the agency which ordinarily has had jurisdiction over such instances of discrimination—has now been interjected by the court's decision into civil rights matters.

Now, workers may gain redress of a grievance involving race or nationality through the NLRB and avoid the EEOC process altogether.

The precedent setting case evolved from a labor dispute between production and maintenance workers and the Farmers' Cooperative Compress, a food packing plant in West Texas. The United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, filed charges with the NLRB on behalf of the plant workers in September 1966, alleging that the company was guilty of an unfair labor practice.

The union, among its arguments before NLRB, contended that the company's practice of discrimination against minority group employees constituted of itself a violation of Section 8 (a) (1) of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). This section declares it an unfair labor practice for an employer to interfere with an employee in the exercise of his right to unionize or to bargain collectively.

The Board found the company in violation of the NLRA because of its failure to bargain in good faith with the union over economic working conditions and the elimination of racial discrimination against Negro and Mexican American workers. However, the Board did not meet head-on the issue of whether racial discrimination by an employer violated the NLRA.

Both the union and the company appealed the Board's decision to the District of Columbia's Circuit Court of Appeals which heard the case. In the opinion written by Judge Skelly Wright, the court declared unequivocably that an employer's "policy and practice of discrimination against its employees on account of their race or national origin" violates NLRA.

The Packinghouse Workers Complaint

The Farmers' Cooperative Com press employs during peak season a maximum of 550 persons. During slack periods, the employees number between 85 and 100.

Only a few employees have jobs with guaranteed weekly salaries over the year. These jobs are the most desirable and, as might be expected, are held by Angelos not blacks or Mexican Americans. Anglos also fill most of the plant's highest paying hourly rate jobs—a not too high $1.80 per hour.

Furthermore, even in those instances where a minority employee performs work for which Anglos receive $1.80 per hour, he is not guaranteed payment at that rate. The court referred to a Spanish surname employee who performed one job while classified for a

lower paying job. All the Anglo employees performing the same task received the higher wage.

Similar instances of differential treatment between white employees and minority workers were cited by the court.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits racial discrimination by an employer. EEOC was established by Title VII and is authorized to use "informal methods", i.e., "conference, conciliation, and persuasion", to assure compliance with Title VII. Among the acts which would constitute a violation of Title VII is discrimination with respect to ". . . compensation, terms, conditions, or privieges of employment. . . ." Consequently, the acts upon which the union complaint was based violate Title VII.

In this light, one immediate question which the court had to resolve was whether the NLRB is deprived of jurisdiction in those cases covered by Title VII. Some acts of discrimination on the part of labor unions have for some time been considered unfair labor practices. Therefore, a determination that Title VII was meant to be the exclusive medium by which relief could be obtained in instances of racial discrimination would represent a substantial step backward from the objective of equal employment opportunity for which the Act was passed.

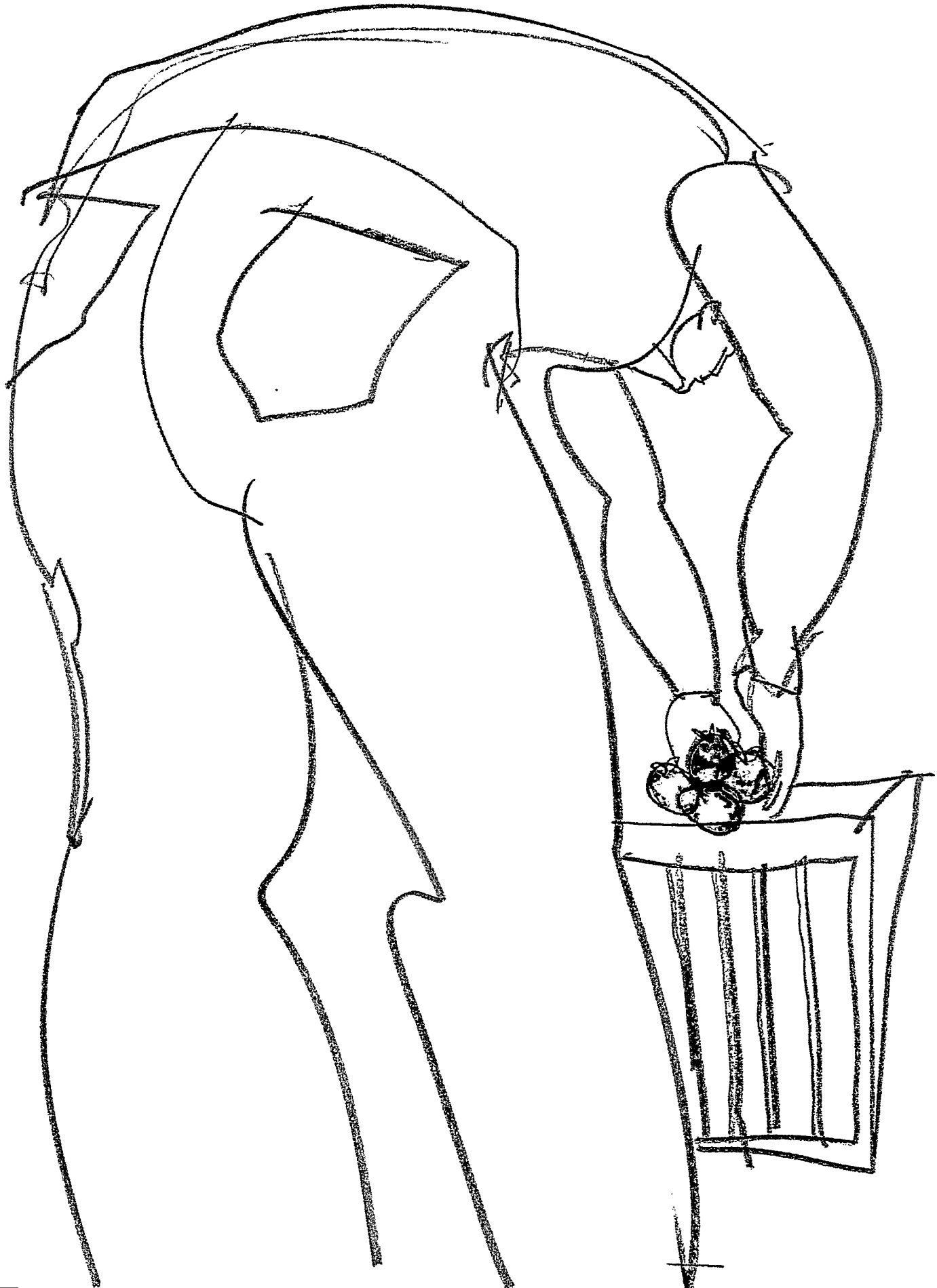
The court found that the NLRB and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission both had jurisdiction. The legislative history of Title VII indicates that the jurisdiction of EEOC was not considered by Congress as denying any other Federal agency the authority to resolve issues of job discrimination.

In fact, Senator John Tower of Texas attempted to preempt the area of job discrimination from other Federal agencies by introducing an amendment to Title VII which provided that Title VII would constitute the exclusive means whereby an employee could complain of on-the-job discrimination. Although the Senate debate on the Tower amendment did not mention specifically the NLRB, it is clear that had the Tower amendment been passed, NLRB would have been denied jurisdiction in the Packinghouse case. In opposition, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, realizing the possible consequences of the amendment, recommended that it fail. Subsequently, the Tower amendment was defeated.

During the congressional consideration of Title VII, the interrelation of discriminatory conduct by employers and unions and the NLRA was unclear. In the initial discussion early in 1964 on the Civil Rights Act, Senator Lister Hill of Alabama said he believed that Title VII would conflict with rights granted by the NLRA. The Department of Justice at the request of Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania prepared a rebuttal. Its conclusion was that nothing in Title VII affected rights and obligations existing under the NLRA. The Department of Justice stated that the anti-discrimination rights which may exist under the NLRA had not been fully delineated by the courts. However, whatever rights these may be, they were left undisturbed by Title VII. The Justice Department added, "If a given action should violate both Title VII and the National Labor Relations Act, the National Labor Relations Board would not be deprived of jurisdiction."

This left the door open for the NLRB to enter into the field covered by Title VII. In the *Farmers' Cooperative Compress* case, the court for the first time determined that an employer's policy and practice of invidious-discrimination against employees based on race or national origin violated Section 8 (a) (1) of the National Labor Relations Act. Other cases have held that similar conduct on the part of labor unions violated Section 8 (b) (1) of the NLRA. Significantly, on the day President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the NLRB found a union guilty of an unfair labor practice when an all-white local refused to process, because of race, a Negro worker's grievance. A series of cases since then have upheld and fortified that decision. However, until the *Farmers' Cooperative Compress* case, the issue of racial discrimination by an employer was left unresolved.

An interesting series of findings of fact and law made the *Compress* decision possible. As a general rule, Section 8 (a) (1) is violated when an employer interferes with or restrains employees in their attempts to improve their economic working conditions. Judge Skelly Wright declared that racial discrimination interferes with such attempts. The court reasoned that racial discrimination in employment practices creates an "unjustified clash of interests between groups"—meaning between minority and Anglo employees—and "creates in its victims an apathy or docility which inhibits them from asserting their rights against the perpetration of discrimination." It is the "con-



fluence" of these two factors on which the court based its decision.

The practice of setting minority and Anglo employees against one another by many employers who wish to prevent unionization has had a long history. Numerous cases involving employer's appeal to bigotry as a tactic for dissuading employees wishing to unionize have been heard by the NLRB. Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* notes the debilitating effect that racial discrimination has on the ability of both white and black employees to consolidate their efforts for their economic self-interest. Furthermore, the docility and apathy found resulting from racial discrimination unquestionably hamper attempts of racial minorities to bargain collectively with their employers. The history of the labor movement in the U. S. attests to that fact.

The union could have stepped aside and allowed the individually affected employee to complain to the EEOC. However, this avenue of redress would not have been adequate for two reasons. One, the restraining effect of racial discrimination on labor's attempt to unionize would not have been considered relevent to the issue of Title VII violation. But more importantly, the individual would not have received an immediate and effective remedy from EEOC.

The EEOC Conciliation

It is true that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is entrusted with the obligation of preventing unlawful discrimination in employment practices. However, the EEOC as created is, in the words of a noted authority on racial discrimination in employment, "a poor, enfeebled thing." It may *conciliate* but has no specific power to resolve instances of racial discrimination.

An aggrieved party who has been subjected to another person's violation of the law can only expect that the Commission will confer and conciliate with the perpetrator of the unlawful employment practice. But should these informal methods fail to eliminate the discrimination, the Commission cannot compel compliance with the law. The individual is left to his own judicial remedy, that is, he may pursue the matter in court —a procedure requiring additional time and money.

EEOC was not powerless in the original draft of the bill which included authority, enforceable by the courts, to issue cease and desist orders. However, the legislation enacted does not grant the Commission power to issue such orders or to effectuate compliance with Title VII by initiating a legal suit.

A further debilitating factor is the Commission's inability to take immediate jurisdiction of complaints filed with it. In those cases where the alleged discrimination occurred in an area which has a State or local law prohibiting the practice alleged, the Commission must defer for a time to the State or local agency.

On the other hand, the NLRB has effective enforcement powers. It may prevent any person from engaging in activities which are found to be unfair labor practices. It is provided by statute with the power to issue cease and desist orders. Additionally, the Board may take such affirmative action as will effectuate the policies of the NLRA including payment of back pay to an employee.

The Board may petition a Federal circuit court of appeals for enforcement of its orders. In addition, upon the issuance of a complaint alleging an unfair labor practice the Board may petition a U.S. district court for appropriate temporary relief.

These factors make the administrative remedies available under the NLRA potentially more immediate and effective than the EEOC remedies. Furthermore, under the NLRA, the General Counsel's office of the NLRB may prosecute the case. Both the cost and the problems of investigation are borne by the NLRB.

Additionally, once the Board has entered a case, a full investigation of all unfair labor practices may be undertaken. This would have the beneficial effect of providing employees with similar grievances an opportunity to remedy their plight.

EEOC was left by Congress without sufficient power to grapple successfully with the problem of employment discrimination. The decision in favor of the Texas packinghouse workers provides an employee having a racially based grievance the NLRB's administrative remedies.

If properly explored and utilized, the NLRB's extensive powers to force compliance provide a formidable tool by which to assure the eventual elimination of employer discrimination.

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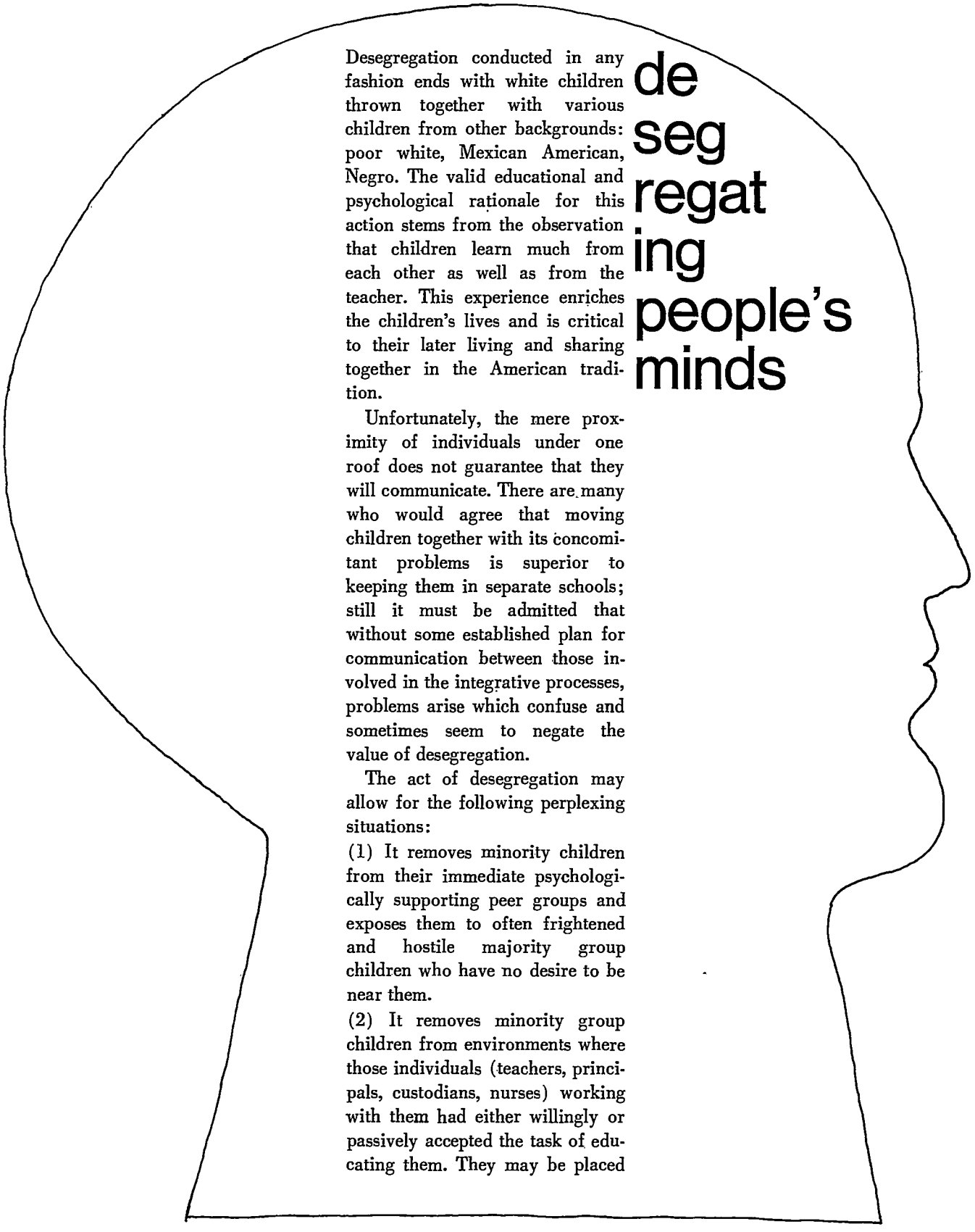

de seg regat ing people's minds

Desegregation conducted in any fashion ends with white children thrown together with various children from other backgrounds: poor white, Mexican American, Negro. The valid educational and psychological rationale for this action stems from the observation that children learn much from each other as well as from the teacher. This experience enriches the children's lives and is critical to their later living and sharing together in the American tradition.

Unfortunately, the mere proximity of individuals under one roof does not guarantee that they will communicate. There are many who would agree that moving children together with its concomitant problems is superior to keeping them in separate schools; still it must be admitted that without some established plan for communication between those involved in the integrative processes, problems arise which confuse and sometimes seem to negate the value of desegregation.

The act of desegregation may allow for the following perplexing situations:

(1) It removes minority children from their immediate psychologically supporting peer groups and exposes them to often frightened and hostile majority group children who have no desire to be near them.

(2) It removes minority group children from environments where those individuals (teachers, principals, custodians, nurses) working with them had either willingly or passively accepted the task of educating them. They may be placed

in schools where the staff has no intentions of working with them and may actually dislike them. At best, you have workers who do not know these minority group children and haven't the vaguest idea of how to start the communication process with them.

(3) It forces the minority group child into an unfamiliar value system for which he may be inadequately prepared and which may depress his self-concept as a person and as a learner.

(4) It forces the minority group member into a value system for which his physical characteristics and cultural background could never be source of self-fulfillment. For example, how can a little black girl of six years ever learn to love her color and hair if she is surrounded by books, children, and adults (the system) which values only white skin and straight or wavy hair.

(5) Programs for cultural enrichment, as advocated by many who believe in separatism as a means of strengthening the self-concept and survival potential of their groups, become difficult to implement.

These points of possible conflict represent the array of problems which should be considered prior to, during, and after the desegregation process occurs. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss one approach being used in several schools throughout the country to try to overcome, in a significant way, the majority of those problems.

When a civil rights protagonist like Martin Luther King or a noted Mexican American educator like Julian Samora ended their talks with the statement that the problem of the minority is really the problem of the majority, they were referring to the breakdown in communication between individuals at all levels of personal contact. Adults seem to have trouble understanding teenagers, and teenagers adults. Whites have trouble understanding blacks, and blacks whites. Husbands seem to have trouble understanding wives, and wives husbands (look at the divorce rates). The communication breakdown appears associated with our lack of ability to look at another person's eyes, face, and total self and understand what he is thinking or feeling.

For example, it would seem that if an Anglo (white) teacher could look at a six-year-old, poor Mexican American from the barrio, who speaks English poorly, and really understand his feelings and thoughts, she would not possibly continue utilizing educational techniques which thousands of teachers use daily in the classrooms. How can she, for example, teach in a school for five years without learning Spanish or making an effort to make some breakthrough in communication. A teacher of 20 years in a 20 percent Mexican American district took pride in the fact she had never learned to speak Spanish because in this way she forced the children she "taught" to speak English or fail. Any person taking a crash course in learning a foreign language by speaking only that language over a prolonged period of time knows of the psychologically disorienting effects that can occur even with a supposedly emotionally mature adult. If that teacher could have taken the time and had a practiced ability to understand children's feelings, she would have seen what her educationally and psychologically unsound techniques for teaching English were doing to the sense of self-worth of these children.

The frightening effects of this type of miscommunication can only be understood when one considers that the teacher probably likes the children and really sees herself as doing the correct thing. It would appear that when miscommunication because of language exists in the classroom, the burden for non-verbal efforts in communication falls on the children. Teachers are too busy giving pre-determined information and have no time for (or are incapable of) looking at these children and seeing their confused and trapped souls wanting expression, but not being allowed it because no one understands *their* means of communication: a beautiful mixture of Spanish and English, "Spanglish," where the child speaks of his home gestalt in Spanish, and of the larger world, of which the school is the most significant representative, in English.

This refusal by the educational system to recognize the unique linguistic and cultural background of the Mexican American is best evidenced by the unwillingness of local schools to use local funds to deal with these problems. For example, a local district will use some local funds to help children with special educational needs associated with articulation problems due to stuttering, cleft palates, etc., as these are considered a legitimate educational endeavor. Therapists will be hired, and facilities provided, etc., in a school district where only two percent of the children may have such a need; but, in the same school where 15 percent of the student body have legitimate linguistic needs associated with their Mexican American backgrounds, not one cent of local money will be spent on the *legitimate* educational needs of these children.

What then is the problem? Is it that hate motivates school board members and educators in an attempt to destroy the self-respect of Mexican American children? The answer to this question is, in the main, no.

Educators and community people alike have not tried to understand the feelings and thoughts of the children they are intrusted to serve. If educators and citizens would have practiced what they preached and truly listened to the feelings of the children, the present psychologically devastating educational approaches would have long ago been radically altered to fit the children.

The key task, then, that confronts us in the process of desegregation is the thorough preparation of all individuals involved in the art of communication. We have not traditionally developed systems for encouraging communication, nor prepared ourselves as educators to transmit communication skills to the children. Without some systematic and serious effort at bettering both children and school personnel at this process, we will continue to perpetuate the conditions which led to the problems in the first place. The only difference now is that in a desegregated school situation, the children, despite the lack of guidance and the haphazard efforts, might learn ways of dealing with each other at a younger and, hopefully, more flexible age than is presently occurring in communities like Watts, Chicago, and East Los Angeles.

What then can we do? The Human Development Training Institute (HDTI) in San Diego, California, represents one very specific effort to deal with the problem of communication. The intent of the HDTI was to enhance communication and humanistic understanding between all individuals. The intent is to deal with the human dilemma of trying to understand what other people are thinking or feeling while, at the same time, communicating our own thoughts and feelings to them. We all have this need, but it appears that the minority groups' problems represent the largest single symptom of what happens when communication breaks down.

Although the HDTI recognizes the fundamental need to help all people to better communicate with each other, its central theme is improving the communication process between educator and child, and between child and child. It does this by providing both a day-to-day curricular approach toward helping teachers to teach children to better communicate, and by providing a 24–60 hour teacher training institute to help teachers, themselves, be more open and receptive to their own feelings and thoughts, and to the feelings and thoughts of children. Although the teacher training institute can be altered to the specific needs of each district, they consist of the following set of experiences:

(1) Teachers are exposed on a small group basis to a series of experiences aimed at helping them become aware of their feelings, thoughts, and behavior. This is accomplished in relationship to some

specific minority group by providing highly qualified group facilitators who are, themselves, members of that minority group. (2) Along with the experiences, the teacher is given knowledge of what she is experiencing and of the skills it takes to help others develop an awareness of their feelings. This is accomplished through feedback sessions after the communication experiences in the small groups, and through a minimum of well-planned lectures. (3) Finally, demonstrations by the instructors with representative children from the participant schools are held, both to model techniques and help teachers appreciate the legitimacy of such communicative experiences with children.

This triad of experiences (group experiences for teachers and children, plus the lectures) are repeated in two areas other than "awareness." The other areas are "social interaction" (my ability to know and understand how I affect other people and how they affect me) and "mastery" (becoming aware of my feelings of adequacy or inadequacy, self-concept, and developing a feeling of "I canness" about my ability to learn).

Similar but slightly longer institutes are held with counseling, supervision, and administrative personnel to provide support and follow-through to the teachers as they struggle to implement this approach with children. After the educators are put through experiences relevant to the minority group members in their schools in the areas of awareness, mastery, and social-interaction, they are given materials they can use in their classrooms to encourage similar types of day-to-day communication experiences with their children. The series of experiences constitute what is described as the Human Development Program (HDP). Developed along the three main themes of awareness, social-interaction, and mastery, the HDP presents a sequential, cumulative set of experiences on a daily basis, designed to promote personal effectiveness and communication skills in children.

For a third of the year the teacher spends 20 minutes each day (or every other day) with one half of her class, helping children develop an articulate awareness of their positive and negative feelings, thoughts, and behavior. The effect this has on children from divergent cultural groups is that they learn to develop an increasing awareness of their similarities, as well as their differences. In addition to this, they discover that all have feelings, no matter what color they are. They are systematically exposed to their own feelings, thoughts, and behavior, and to those of their peers. They learn early, and continue to practice looking beyond color.

For another third of the year, the teacher, in the same manner as in "awareness," spends time helping the child practice the art of understanding how he affects others and how they, in turn, affect him. It is here that the child begins to develop an increased responsibility for his acts and their effect on others. This type of activity is designed to get black and white, brown and black, or whatever the combination may be, to practice the elusive, yet critical art of understanding.

Finally, interrelated as all three areas are, the children spend one third of the year developing a feeling of "I canness" in relationship to their school work, "mastery." Experiences are provided where the teacher and group help each other to understand the relevance of learning specific skills so as to increase motivation and develop a positive self-concept in children.

The HDP, then, comprises a specific approach aimed at the task of increasing communication between educators and educators, teachers and children, and children and children.

UVALDO H. PALOMARES, ED.D

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HIGH RISK FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

College—still only a dream to most minority youth—is becoming reality for some dozens of white middle class campuses.

The cry for equal rights that went up in the 1950's is now resounding through the ivied halls of academia. Social and political forces that believe the American ideal of equal educational opportunity for all should be more than just a dream are now pressing educators and university administrators to do something about meeting the educational needs and desires of all of America's youth.

In response to this pressure, or because of fear of demonstrations or an awakening sense of moral obligation, some institutions are beginning to reach into the ghettos, reservations, and barrios to recruit and finance economically and educationally deprived students. These young people whose impossible dreams are coming true have been labeled "high risk" by the educators.

The universities explain they are risking time, money, and their "standards" in admitting disadvantaged youth. But another risk for the university is that the education it is offering will be largely irrelevant to these students, who will, if only by their presence, challenge the institution to alter its operations, reassess its "standards," revise its curricula, and broaden its views.

The real risk is that the ivy-bound university will disappoint the so-called high risk student.

This risk is compounded by the fact that higher education has traditionally been geared to the white middle or upper class student who maintains a C or better average in his public or private high school, joins clubs, scores well on standardized tests, and enjoys a well-stocked bank account. These criteria are becoming even more significant as tuition fees and costs of living soar and as more students apply for the virtually static number of classroom seats.

The disadvantaged student admitted to one of the Nation's predominantly white colleges and universities faces the same pressures that white middle class freshmen face. In addition, he is at a disadvantage economically. Most importantly, however, the white middle class university—merely bewildering to the white student—is likely to alienate the minority freshmen, for whom the university is not only new, but parochial, narrow, and culturally misinformed. Such basic problems are not overcome upon mastering the grading or fraternity system, locating all the buildings, or learning how to register.

Roland Freeman

Most of the "high risks" are Negroes, but poor whites, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Mexican Americans are also included. "High risk" means different things on different campuses; generally, high risks are the mass of impoverished minority youth who may have spirit, creativity, and academic potential, but lack motivation, educational credentials, and money. They are victims of inferior segregated schooling or of token integration that relegated them to the bottom of their classes. Indeed, the so-called high risk status of these students is a direct result of a history of inadequate, irrelevant education.

At least partly because of financial and educational deprivation, relatively few minority students have been admitted to college. A survey of enrollment at 80 white public universities conducted by John Egerton, staff writer for the Southern Education Reporting Service, shows that fewer than 2 percent of students were Negro—and these are schools that theoretically are most accessible to all. (Most Negro students still attend Negro colleges; a total of about five percent of the Nation's college students are Negro.) The survey also revealed that almost half of the present Negro enrollment in the predominantly white universities are freshmen, "apparently indicating an increase in the institutions' commitment this year to seek out and enroll Negroes," according to Egerton.

At least part of this percentage increase is due to the recruitment of what universities consider to be high risk students. In another survey, Egerton queried 215 schools—roughly 13 percent of the Nation's four-year institutions—about their involvement in specifically "high risk" programs. Seventy-five percent of the institutions responded to Egerton's questionnaire; only 86 schools reported involvement in programs for high risk students. One third of the private schools answering Egerton's query reported no involvement in comparison to 60 percent of the responding public institutions. Responses from about 50 major public universities, mostly land-grant schools, indicate that almost three-quarters of them have no high risk activity.

"On campuses where debate about higher education for high risks has begun, it often centers not on how to do it, but on whether it should be done at all," Egerton reported. "Many educators contend that the progressive effects of race and class discrimination are irredeemable by the time a youngster reaches college age, and others say that even if colleges could help they should not be expected to make up for the deficiencies of prior education."

The reasons most frequently given for little or no involvement in high risk recruitment were shortage of funds, enrollment pressures, political worries, conflict with the institutional mission, fear of lowering institutional standards, lack of faculty support, inflexibility of the institution's system, and priority commitment to regular students.

"Among the colleges responding affirmatively," Egerton added, "it is difficult in some cases to ascertain how big a risk they are taking and what they are doing to make it pay off. Of the total, however, it appears that no more than 20 to 25 have drawn extensively from the array of possible resources to make college more accessible for a more heterogeneous group of students."

Further, among institutions that do commit themselves to a high risk program, the scope and content of the programs differ greatly. The big issue seems to be whether to treat the disadvantaged students the same as, or more tenderly than, regular students. Egerton explains, "Some say high risk students have enough problems to overcome without the stigma of identification as a risk, and institutions that subscribe to this point of view make every effort to keep the students' academic and economic handicaps concealed, sometimes even from the students themselves. The opposite argument holds that students who are genuine risks must be given visible support—lighter class loads, special courses, extensive tutoring and the like—or their chances for success will be greatly reduced. The risk students themselves understandably have mixed emotions about the questions, expressing at times both resentment and appreciation for either approach."

High Risks in Washington, D.C.

In Washington, D.C., about six blocks from the White House, George Washington, a private university, sprawls without a campus. There are scores of tall buildings and old houses converted into dormitories, but no main quadrangle or park as a hub for campus activity. George Washington is primarily a white institution located in the Federal City, which is about 70 percent black. There are 5,500 undergraduates at GW, 200 of whom are black. Shortly after the civil disorders of April 1968, GW started approaching disadvantaged youth from the city's black communities about attending the University on a tuition-remission basis. So far 20 have been enrolled. Harold Tate and Gerald Bell are two of them.

HAROLD TATE: I was thrown into a fascinating and scary environment when I came here. During the first weeks I would walk down the street expecting someone to hit me on the head. Sometimes even now I'll be standing on a corner with some of my white friends and some other white guys will walk by and give me a you-don't-belong-here look. I was the first black friend a lot of people here ever had. Virtually all of my friends here are white and I have never been in such a situation before. At first we talked about the race situation and what it's like to be black, but that doesn't go on so much any more.

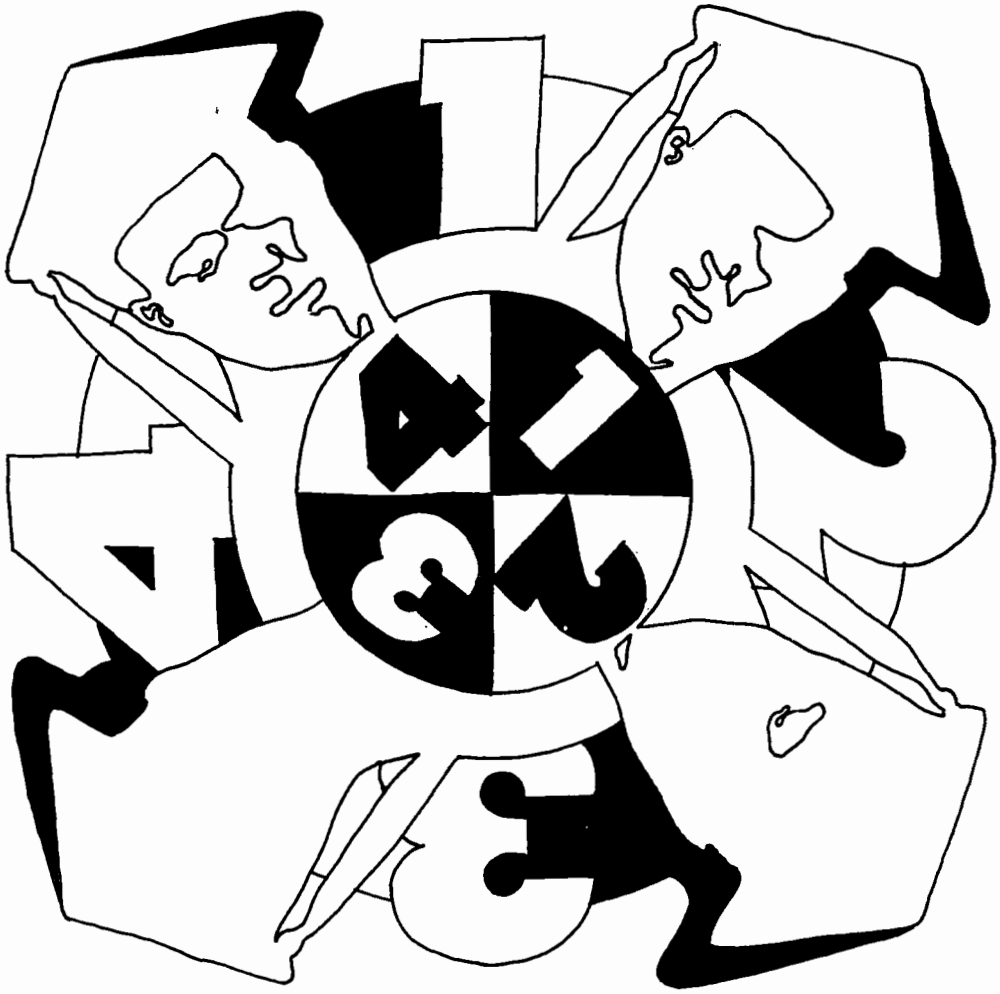
At the beginning some of the professors tried too hard to make me feel at home. Sometimes they just smiled and smiled at me and broadcast it to the class when I made a good grade. I guess that at first we didn't know how to take each other.

George Washington messes up in not allowing us to live on campus because we're D.C. residents. At least they didn't have room for us the first semester. At home no one stays up all night to study for a test; here they do. During orientation they took us on a tour that included the sections of the city burned out during last year's riots. I don't have to take a tour to see those areas; I can go there any time I want to. There's my home.

As for the Black Student Union (BSU), I didn't join it. Last summer I would have gone along with anything they said. Now that I have started thinking for myself, BSU seems to be nothing more than a fad.

GERALD BELL: I felt like I had to join BSU to avoid feeling like I was being pushed around. Last semester BSU helped students, and it's a good thing because I would not have known whom else to go to. I didn't know about the professors who were available to help students.

The biggest thing wrong with GW's program is that they don't take enough students into it. As many as



100 tuition-remission students would not be unreasonable, even if the school has to go into the red. There is a lot of anger and tension coming from the inner city toward GW because the University is simply not a part of their Washington.

Joe Ruth, a genial looking man with a stand-up grey crew cut, is director of admissions at GW and responsible for the tuition remission program that waives the tuition fee for certain graduates of District high schools. He acknowledges the pitfalls of the program, but attributes many of them to the rush of recruiting and formulating a program under a seven-month deadline: between April (the month of riots in the District last year) and September, 1968. "The University is aware that this is almost a token program," he admitted, "but, as a private school with a small endowment, it is about all we can now afford."

In order to qualify for the GW tuition-remission program, an applicant must be a DC resident and a graduate of a District public high school. He must also be able to demonstrate financial need. High risks need not have the B average normally required of students in University scholarship programs. Most GW students have math and verbal College Board scores in the five, six, and seven hundreds. Ruth said, "Some of the students in the tuition remission program have scores in the high 200's and the low 300's. In these cases, the students were admitted on the strength of a battery of our own tests. As a group, they were not as well qualified as the entering freshman class. But we are competing with Radcliffe and 50 other east coast colleges and universities for the best of these students."

At mid-year, University officials surveyed the academic progress of the 20 tuition-remission students. Ruth reported that four were suspended because their grades "were so bad that another semester would have made no sense." Ten students are on academic probation, "some more seriously than others," according to Ruth. One student dropped out for personal reasons. Five students are "in the clear"—they have a C or better average.

The admissions director summed up, "Considering our late start in recruiting and the known risks we took, I don't think this is a bad record. It should not be up to colleges to teach high school graduates how to read. That's like putting a band-aid on a cancer."

SEEK at New York City University

Dr. Leslie Berger, director of SEEK—Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge—at New York City University, sees his program as different from other recruitment programs because the University first identified its target population and then planned the program. Dr. Berger said, "City University of New York is in New York City and is financed by the city and State, but it didn't have a representative student body. It had primarily a white student body." Blacks and Puerto Ricans in local schools did not have academic diplomas, and many of them did not complete high school with an 85 grade point average and comparably high College Board scores—all standard criteria for admission into City University. These requirements were abandoned for SEEK students. "We must realize," Dr. Berger explained, "that good high school averages are usually indicative of intellectual ability, appropriate motivation for academic success, adequate study skills, and a supportive environment. Low grades in high school, however, can be caused by any or all of these variables being deficient." Also, to be admitted into the program a student must live in an official NYC poverty area.

Dr. Berger further explained, "We don't accept minority students who would be qualified for acceptance as regular students; they do not need our program. Harvard and Cornell and other such schools spend thousands of dollars trying to get just those students."

The program started in 1965 with 100 students. About 3,000 students are currently enrolled in the SEEK program at the 165,000-student City University. The number who can be admitted, Dr. Berger pointed out, depends on allocation of State funds.

"When a student is admitted to the SEEK program, he is given placement tests and assigned to courses corresponding to his current level of achievement," according to Dr. Berger. "Those who are prepared to do so attend classes in these subjects along with regular degree candidates, but most of the entering students require the intensive remedial work provided in the special SEEK classes that are smaller and that meet for more clock hours per week than the regular classes. For all subjects, individual and/or group tutoring is available to help the slow student catch up and to enable the more capable student to move ahead faster."

Many SEEK students study English "as a second language" on the assumption that "standard English" is a skill needed for success in many fields. Dr. Berger noted, "Before studying standard grammar, they are taught to perceive how their own dialect functions as a legitimate language system."

SEEK officials also provide medical help, psychological counseling, a weekly stipend to cover living expenses, and residence facilities for some students who have been living completely on their own, or in crowded and dilapidated tenements where the conditions are not conducive to studying," Dr. Berger added.

"It was decided that SEEK would concentrate on assisting the student to succeed in the current City University curriculum," Dr. Berger explained. "Certain curriculum revisions, however, may well be called for. If the demand to include black and Puerto Rican history, music, literature, and art in the curriculum is legitimate, then revisions should be made that will affect not simply these minority group students, but all students—especially if these subjects have been given short shrift as a result of prejudice. To provide changes for black students only would lead to separation rather than cohesion."

Bernard Hughes, president of the SEEK Student Government, ventured, "I think there should be a program for whites to learn about Puerto Rican and black culture, just as we learn about white culture here." Other SEEK students agreed with Hughes and added their own observations.

CHRISTOPHER PEREZ-BROWN: I think everyone in the SEEK program appreciates it, but it should be vastly enlarged, because right now it looks like a bribe to appease angry people in the City.

ANITA COPELAND: I had a high school diploma, but I knew I didn't have what went with it and that I needed remedial course work. As for the weekly stipends, you're not dealing with kids in SEEK, but with people who have lived on their own for years. Many of us even have children. By receiving a small amount of money each week a person doesn't learn how to budget or save.

BERNARD HUGHES: There's always the threat that funds are going to be cut and we will have to run to the white man and fight for money again. This kind of program should have the kind of stability that money offers, and we should not always be afraid of losing State funds. Most of the people in SEEK think the program is honestly aimed at helping us. It's potentially a good program, and it's the only way most blacks and Puerto Ricans in this city can get an education. But SEEK has to do more. The program must be enlarged so it won't be a token any more and the education has to be made more relevant to us in our own community.

Challenges to the Universities

Dr. Jacquelyne Jackson, the only Negro faculty member at Duke University Medical Center, recently said, "The problems on campuses have to do with such factors as the types of expectations persons have when they are admitted as students and the way these expectations are or are not met. . .It is my opinion that if you are going to recruit disadvantaged black students . . . you must be prepared to have the type of programs that specifically fit these students' backgrounds. You must allow them the opportunity to be successful."

Simply opening doors and providing tuition grants is not enough. Other, more subtle needs exist.

Echoing Dr. Jackson, Otis D. Froe, Director of Research and Education at Morgan State College, concludes in a recent study that a program for disadvantaged youth requires a " 'compensatory' type of planning which will remove or minimize the gaps between the advantaged and disadvantaged student population." He suggests that initial college experience may need to be more "practical" and "structured" in order to lead the high risk student on to more independence and idealistic considerations. "Student counseling services on college campuses must become an integral part of the master planning for student growth and development," he continues. High risk students may perform better in smaller classes. In view of the urgent financial need of these students and the frequent lack of sufficient scholarship funds, work programs could be used to supplement classroom education.

It goes without saying that high risk students will require massive financial aid, and related university expenses involved in supplemental programs could also be substantial.

Egerton, in his study, also points out that the university that decides to admit high risk students must thoroughly reassess the validity of its current admission criteria. Standardized tests, mainly the SAT and College Boards, were often cited by college officials in Egerton's survey as "inadequate," "incomplete," or "biased" measurements of probable success for high risks.

In grading its high risk students, particularly at the beginning, the university may need to keep in mind their probable lack of academic preparedness.

It is only natural to expect that minority students, just like their white middle-class counterparts, will be curious about their ethnic identity. They must be given the opportunity to take courses in ethnic studies and these courses should be relevant to the minority stu-

dents' own perceptions. Making such courses understandable and important to them may involve giving them a voice in curriculum planning and faculty selection.

Indeed, many Negro students find enrollment in a high risk program at a white-oriented school to be in direct conflict with ideas of black pride and black identity. The black student is at once in a position of accepting special assistance from whites to get his higher education, and at the same time he may be warned by black militants that he is being seduced into deserting his own people, his own traditions.

In the eyes of a disadvantaged youth, it would make little sense for a university to expand into poverty neighborhoods without first making adequate provisions for displaced families—perhaps including the student's own family. The high risk student may even request that community residents—his friends and relatives—be allowed access to his university's facilities.

For the university to benefit from the disadvantaged minority student's presence, officials must allow ideas to flow freely within the campus community and between the campus and society. It would be hypocritical for a university to admit such students yet maintain a policy of censorship toward minority ideas. More specifically, the university must be willing to learn from the student about *his* portion of society and thus about the social crisis to which the university itself has contributed by its traditional indifference and lack of understanding.

The disadvantaged student, with his unique cultural experience and attitudes, can stimulate a cross-fertilization of ideas that would widen the educational experience of fellow students. These students might even serve as advisors-in-residence to university sociologists and psychologists studying contemporary social problems. The effects of high risk experiments could go a long way toward awakening perceptions, stimulating sensitivities, and informing understanding throughout society.

Universities may be justified in priding themselves for giving these disadvantaged students a chance to learn. But pride must not turn into complacency. Moreover, the university must not, through insensitivity, closed-mindedness, or financial caution, allow its high risk program to become a token appeasement.

The urgent need for programs to aid the disadvantaged, and the high risk involved in the university's failure to help, is implied in many of the confrontations now occurring at universities across the Nation. The comments of the students at New York City University proved prophetic, for a few weeks after they were interviewed, City College exploded over just some of the issues they remarked.

Over 200 black and Puerto Rican students blockaded part of the campus and forced the entire college to close for over two weeks. They were demanding the admission of a greater number of the city's minority students, the creation of a separate degree-granting school of black and Puerto Rican studies, the development of a separate orientation program for black and Puerto Rican freshman. In addition, the students were demanding more of a say in the setting of guidelines for the SEEK program, including the hiring and dismissal of personnel. They wanted to see SEEK become a pre-baccalaureate department with its own pre-baccalaureate student council.

In the words of one black student observer, "The brothers had demonstrated and sat in, and they saw that the changes they wanted were not coming. They were not coming in spite of the fact that white liberals were quick to admit that the changes were long overdue. So they fell back on the things they know so well from the streets . . . violence."

In the aftermath of the violence, Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of CCNY, found himself caught between the obvious need for institutional change and inadequate fiscal support that he saw as an "unconscionable deprivation of the city's youth." He resigned in early May. In his parting comments he said, "I could have wished that the pace of institutional change had kept ahead of rising expectations born of the successes of the civil rights movement, and that there had been a little more patience or compassion mixed with the justifiable rising anger of the poor and the black. But institutional inertia did not yield fast enough and the pressures of long-deferred hope left no room for careful and considered action."

The high risk program is an exciting experiment that could prove worthwhile to the student, the university, and society. A high risk program will be effective, however, only if university officials proceed boldly and responsively and learn to understand the minds and souls of the new college youth.

This article was prepared by Miss Laurel Shackelford, formerly a staff writer for the Civil Rights Digest and now a reporter for the Louisville Times, and Miss Deborah Movitz, formerly a staff writer for the Civil Rights Digest and now a reporter for the National Journal.

Book reviews

110 Livingstone Street: Politics and Bureaucracy in the New York City School, by David Rogers. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968. 584 pp.

In a statement before the New York State Senate's Committee on the City of New York, the former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, commented.

First, I would seek to impress upon you the sense of urgency and immediacy that embraces the problems affecting our urban schools. The challenge is not just that of improving quality; it is one of saving our urban school systems from failure with a significant proportion of their pupils. Throughout the country large city school systems have had difficulty adjusting to new needs and new times, the result being increased alienation from portions of the communities they serve. Like all institutions which fail to adjust to meet new conditions, some of these systems face the danger of becoming obsolete and irrelevant.

110 Livingston Street (the name of the book is derived from the address of the New York City Board of Education) is an important testimony to the relevance of Dr. Howe's statement. On the basis of the evidence presented in David Rogers' book, one must conclude that not only have New York City's schools failed a large number of their students, but also that the system *qua* system is basically incapable of providing a solution and is rapidly becoming "obsolete and irrelevant."

Unlike such writers as Jonathan Kozol, John Holt, and Herbert Kohl, Dr. Rogers is not directly concerned with the evidence of academic obsolescence and irrelevance. As the subtitle of his book suggests, his interest is in the politics of the New York educational bureaucracy. Through a careful and well-documented examination of various components of the educational scene, he provides profound insight into the machinations of New York's public school hierarchy and the reasons for its failure.

The primary focus of *110 Livingston Street* is the inability of the Board of Education to implement its public rhetoric regarding desegregation of the City's schools. The various plans and programs which were hesitatingly proposed, included, pairing of black and white schools, redrawing of school district boundaries, constructing new schools, and busing, were met by open hostility from New York's white communities. Under this political pressure, the Board responded by reducing school pairings to a minimum, conveniently gerrymandering new school districts, and never fully implementing busing programs.

Even more crucial to Rogers' argument regarding the failure to desegregate than the racist tone of the political pressure is the nature of the educational system itself. As it is presently constituted, the New York bureaucracy defies attack. Through the development of a mammoth complex, a smoke screen has been created that presents the outsider from identifying those responsible for failure. As a result, no one can be held directly accountable. The appointment of members to the lay Board is one reason for this. However, as Dr. Rogers contends, the primary cause is the complexity of the bureaucracy and the diffuse nature of the decision-making process. It thus becomes virtually impossible to pinpoint the cause of failure.

Furthermore, argues Rogers, the system has created a self-perpetuatng insulation from institutional change. "The New York City School System is flooded with demonstration projects and piecemeal innovations, most of which are uncoordinated, overlapping, and often inadequately evaluated. But virtually none of the techniques that have been tried has worked. The multiple, piecemeal experiments have been in part a technique to absorb protest, whether consciously planned or not, and they help to maintain the bureaucratic structure by isolating innovations and not letting them affect the broader system."

The sense of tragedy that Rogers' volume generates is compounded by the evidence of academic failure, for it is the students who are the direct "beneficiaries" of the bankruptcy of the system. "One out of three pupils is a year or more retarded in arithmetic, and the gap between a pupil's achievement and national standards widens as he remains in school. In the past ten years, reading scores have gone down...In 1967, Superintendent Bernard Donovan made a public statement of hope that soon all *high school graduates* would be reading *at or above eighth grade level.*" (emphasis added)

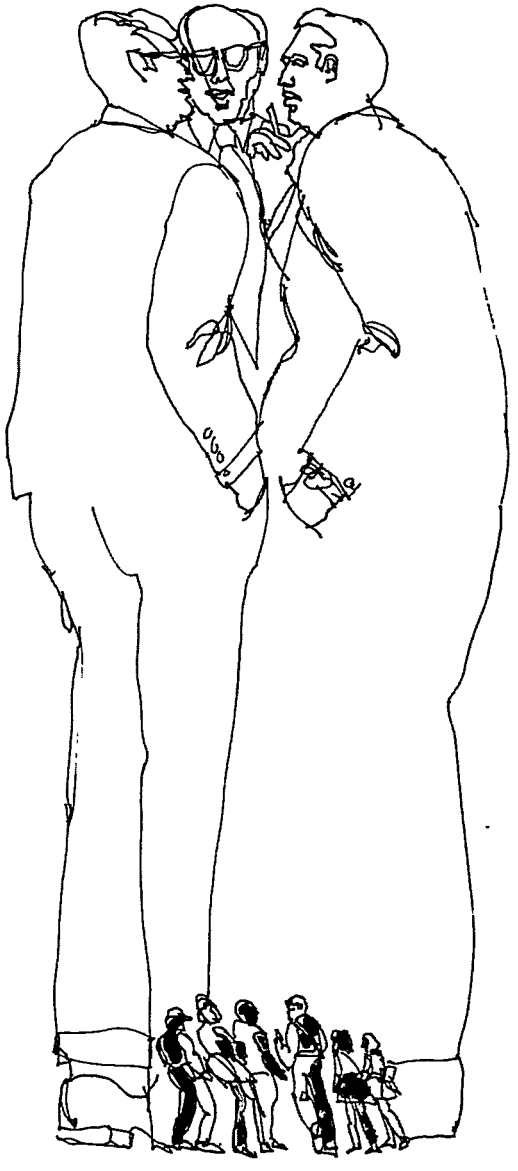
The sense of alienation that Dr. Howe mentions is understandable when one considers that approximately one-half of the students in New York schools are either Black or Puerto Rican. These students are confronted by curricula that ignore their existence, by teachers who are insensitive to them, and by administrators who refuse to acknowledge their educational needs and aspirations. Minority communities are overwhelmed, physically and psychologically, by a white-dominated educational superstructure which has not only demonstrated its complete inability to teach their children but also has proven impervious to their demands for change (the thrust for integration is a prime example, as Dr. Rogers documents). The resulting alienation is inevitable.

Unfortunately, despite the excellence of his analysis of the existing situation, Rogers' examination of "alternative reform strategies" is superficial and incomplete. Although his account of the history of desegregation efforts represents a very strong argument for the present demand for community control, he fails to understand the importance of this alternative, precisely because he does not place top priority on the elimination of minority group alienation from the public school system. He does not seem to recognize that local communities, particularly minority group communities, must play an active role in the formulation of school policies and in the planning and implementation of school programming if the schools are to become relevant to them and they are to be less alienated.

In spite of the inadequacies of Rogers' solutions, his book is an important addition to the growing literature on urban education. By identifying many of the causes of the ineffectiveness of the New York School System, he has at least taken the crucial first step toward a successful resolution of the City's educational problems. In light of the urgency and immediacy that Dr. Howe identifies, one can only hope that the remainder of the problem-solving process will be undertaken immediately.

DONALD W. BURNES

Mr. Burnes conducted a study of community controlled schools as a member of the Educational Division of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, prior to joining the U.S. Office of Education.



Strategies Against Poverty, by Frank Reissman. New York: Random House, 1969. 114 pp.

Since Michael Harrington's exposé of the *Other America* in the early part of this decade, widespread attempts on the part of social strategists have been made to devise ways to lift some of the millions of ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed Americans out of the deplorable conditions of their lives.

In *Strategies Against Poverty*, Frank Reissman has analyzed and contrasted three of the major strategies that have emerged since Harrington's exposé: The proponents are Saul Alinsky, representing the conflict strategy; Richard Cloward and Francis Piven representing the welfare crisis model; and Arthur Pearl and the author representing The New Careers Program.

The title of the chapter, "The Myth of Saul Alinsky," reflects the author's reaction to Alinsky's work-style. He "offers no national program directed toward social change," says Reissman, and he contends that Alinsky's local programs have evoked more conflict than change. He credits Alinsky with important contributions to social change by his achievements in drawing attention to the significance of the power variable. the importance of conflict in social change, and his emphasis on the role of citizen involvement, particularly at the local level. But, he adds, "Alinsky has only glamorous tactics and *ultimately tactics without strategy become bad tactics*".

The author is a bit more favorable toward the Welfare Crisis strategy of Cloward and Piven. The principal idea of this strategy is to produce a crisis or run on the welfare system by petitioning public welfare programs to pay livable benefits, and encouraging as many people as possible below the poverty level to apply for welfare rolls: It is a fact that only a small percent of our Nation's impoverished is on welfare. Overloading the system through a series of welfare drives would disrupt the welfare bureaucracy, create political strains, and ultimately force the Federal Government to enact a guaranteed annual income program (GAI), according to the Cloward-Piven theory.

Reissman feels that, unlike the Alinsky model, the Cloward-Piven model is a tactic with not only a strategy but with a clear-cut program, goal, and ideology. The strategy is nationally directed and will test welfare laws through hearings and court cases. Among other attributes of the welfare rights movements, according to Reissman, is the fact that it appeals to consumers, intellectuals, and professionals for widespread support, and intends to achieve a guaranteed annual income.

Reissman believes, however, that the Cloward-Piven strategy is limited because it is not concerned with job-creation. This lack of concern on the part of the strategy ignores the fact that most welfare recipients would rather work. It also ignores the fact that public opinion, according to a Gallup Poll, opposes guaranteed annual income but supports guaranteed work. More basically, the strategy fails "to grasp the long-term new economic trend of the society and its reflection in significant, developing strata," according to Reissman. He declares that GAI without a job or career development program "would not furnish any basic cure for poverty. It does not provide a way of breaking the cycle of poverty."

The book is biased, and the author admits it, toward the third strategy: The New Careers model, designed by Arthur Pearl and Reissman himself. This model is dedicated to reorganizing professional practices and creating paraprofessional and nonprofessional careers for the poor, both unemployed and underemployed, in our health, welfare, and education agencies. Such a program would create the much needed manpower for these understaffed agencies, and it would also bring the hard-core poor into the system. The New Careers Program contends that unskilled persons can perform valuable functions at entry-level positions with a minimum of pre-job training. The hard-core will start out as teacher aides, case aides, child-care aides, recreation aides, etc., and with job experience, on-the-job training, and night or evening courses prepare themselves to move up a career ladder and function on increasingly higher levels of skill and responsibility.

The New Careers strategy is a good one. It is job-oriented and presents fewer conflicts than either the Alinsky or Cloward-Piven strategies, making it more palatable to our broader society. In addition, this strategy also helps the poor develop their iden-

tity and their interest in life; it helps them develop a sense of accomplishment because they are able to make significant contributions through their work and organized relationships.

But New Careers is not the panacea that it appears to be in the book. The model is the most complicated of the three cited since it calls for a complete reorganization of welfare, education, and health systems through changes in staffing patterns and changes in methods by which human services are delivered. This is no mean feat.

The fact of the matter is that social welfare systems are institutions which are resistant to change; they are staffed by "professionals" who spend much of their time guarding their professions and their institutions.

Stylistically, *Strategies Against Poverty* reads smoothly. Nevertheless, one suspects that the author had some material left over from two of his other books which he threw into the second half of this one. The second half contains a potpourri of information including a critique of the famous (or infamous) Moynihan Report. Reissman feels that the Moynihan thesis is based on "misconceptions" because it holds that family pathology, particularly illegitimacy, is an overriding cause for the inadequate education and underemployment of blacks in America. Moynihan tends to overlook the consequences of segregation and discrimination against black Americans, Reissman declares.

The author has also included a tract on the language and life style of low-income people, and even a chapter on the culture and birth control patterns of the poor which was written by the author's wife. All of this is interesting and informative, but has no direct relation to the author's attempt to contrast the three strategies, or even his attempt to justify the Reissman-Pearl Model (which, he says, has influenced the policies of such organizations as ADA and SCLC, and even influenced recent Congressional legislation).

Interestingly enough, Reissman virtually ignores the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 which represents our Government's most ambitious effort ever to deal with poverty in this country. The EOA is "a strategy against poverty," as President Lyndon Johnson termed it, which presents some useful models in itself.

The EOA model nor any of the models Reissman cites is the answer within itself. The problem of poverty is so grave and complicated in this country that each of the strategies holds a part, and—perhaps all together—only a part of the answer.

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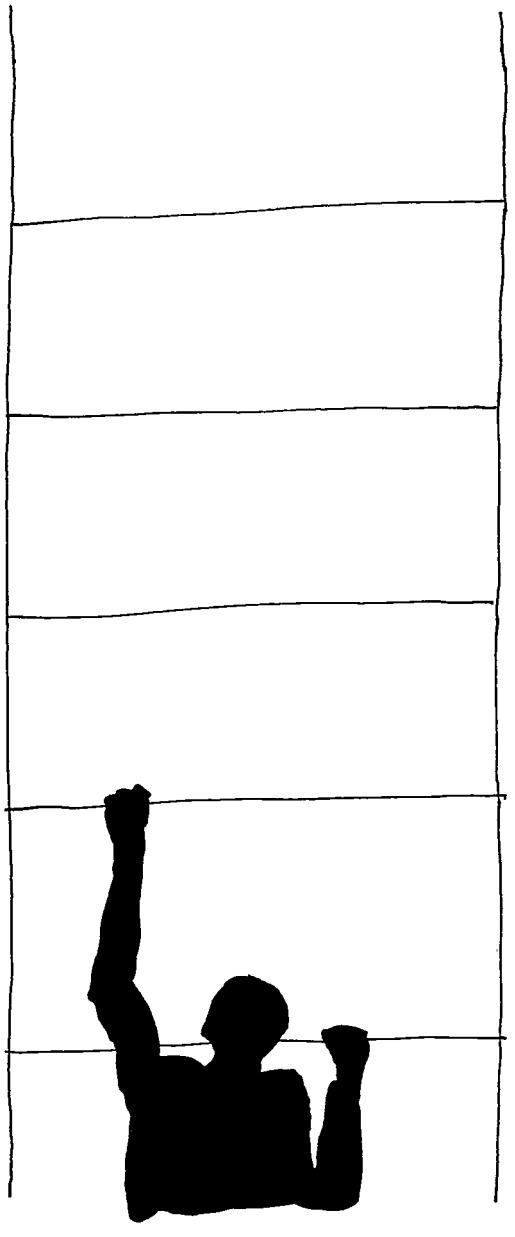

Reading list

BOOK LIST

The American Indian Today, edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy Oestreich Lurie. Deland, Florida: Everett Edwards, Inc., 1968. 229 pp.

Provides some basic information about Indian history and Indian relationships with the Federal government and its colonial predecessors as well as an introduction to specific problems which Indian people face today

The American Serfs, by Paul Good. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968. 188 pp.

Chronicles a story of human waste, Federal half loaves, State neglect, and local oppression and demonstrates that most often poverty is not the random child of shiftless people and inadequate resources, but the deliberate creation of the power structures that frequently receive Federal assistance as they perpetuate proverty for profit.

Black History: A Reappraisal, edited with Commentary by Melvin Drimmer. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968. 533 pp.

Presents the foremost interpretations of the Negro's role in American history, each prefaced by an analysis of the historical events surrounding the period it covers.

Black Pride: A People's Struggle, by Janet Harris and Julius W. Hobson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969. 160 pp.

Explains the beginnings of the black power movement today by focusing on the lives of men of pride, such as those who led slave revolts: Prosser Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner.

Ceremonies in Dark Old Men, by Lonne Elder III. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969.

The story of a Harlem family that tries to beat the system and change the conditions imposed on their race. Highly acclaimed by critics as a masterpiece of American theatre.

The Circle of Discrimination: An Economic and Social Study of the Black Man in New York, by Herman D. Bloch. New York: New York University Press, 1969. 274 pp.

Identifies, analyzes, and documents the "circle of discrimination" that has led to the black's man's economic subordination in New York from the Colonial era to the present day.

The Coming of the Black Man, by Benjamin Scott. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. 82 pp.

An interpretation of Black Power in which unity, community, soul, and self-determination are the essential elements and to which, Scott asserts, the black middle class must actively commit itself.

Explorations in Social Policy, by Alvin L. Schorr. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968. 308 pp.

A collection of essays which represent a major contribution to the fields of social welfare and social planning and provide convincing evidence that there is room in government for the wide exploration of ideas and the forceful expression of views.

Negro and White Children: A Psychological Study in the Rural South, by E. Earl Baughman and W. Grant Dahlstrom. New York: Academic Press, 1968. 572 pp.

Reports the scientific conclusions of a unique four-year study of racially segregated students in a rural, economically deprived area of North Carolina.

The Poorhouse State: The American Way of Life on Public Assistance, by Richard M. Elman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1966. 305 pp.

Shows how inadequate, grudging, and finally degrading welfare policies are, and postulates the kind of radical changes that will have to take place before any amount of "retraining" or "rehabilitation" for poor people in America will even approach success.

Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox, by Sidney Lens. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969. 341 pp.

Describes the changing faces of poverty, its causes, and its victims: the frontiersman, the tenant-farmer, the white slave, the black slave, the urban proletariat, the immigrants who filled the city slums, the agrarian poor of the post-Civil War days, and the "invisible poor" of today's affluent society.

Racial Policies and Pratices of Real Estate Brokers, by Rose Helper. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 387 pp.

An analysis of how real estate men regard their business practices toward minority groups and what ideological principles underlie their policies.

Pamphlets

Separatism or Integration—Which Way for America? A Dialogue, by Robert S. Browne and Bayard Rustin. New York: The A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1968. 30 pp. Fifth in a Series.

Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies About Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America, by Andrew M. Greeley. New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969. 76 pp.

Studies and Reports

Equal Economic Opportunity for Negroes in Alabama. The transcript of a hearing of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Montgomery, Alabama, April 27–May 2, 1968, on the economic status and opportunity for black citizens of 16 counties in Alabama. Available free from the Commission on Civil Rights.

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