

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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Information Officer

James D. Williams

Associate Editors

Erbin Crowell, Jr., Armando Rendon

Assistant Editor

Louise Lewisohn

Staff Writer

Laurel Shackelford

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VANISHING NATIVE

Contrary to popular opinion in the field of Indian affairs, there are a growing number of people who are convinced that the American Indian is a vanishing race!

It is generally believed by anthropologists and arm-chair Indian experts that when America was rediscovered (it was first discovered by the Indians!) there were probably about one million American Indians in the area of the 48 States. Various sources have estimated that the Indian population declined to about one quarter million by 1850; remained steady for about 50 years; increased gradually to about 400,000 by the end of World War II, and is now nearing the one million mark again. No one in his right mind would say, on the basis of these statistics, that the American Indian is a vanishing race. . . until he realizes that while the Indian population in reality is increasing there is a serious problem being faced by the American Indian: he is being de-Indianized

through a deliberate policy of de-legalizing him!

The so-called "Indian Problem" has repeatedly been said to be really a white man problem. . . that is, the problems of the Indians were created by the white man, not the Indian. The "problem" is generally defined as being economic by the Government. . . the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of Interior under the Assistant Secretary for Public Land Management has the prime responsibility for administering Indian affairs but the U.S. Public Health Service Division of Indian Health, the Economic Development Administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity, Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Labor, and the Department of Agriculture also make substantial annual investments in Indian program. The "problem" is generally defined as being cultural by the academicians. . . the American Indian and the reserva-

tions are the training tools and laboratories for many would-be anthropologists and sociologists along with countless educational researchers. The "problem" is generally defined as being social (whatever that is) by the church people (who all seem to have divine instruction to save us), the law enforcers (who say all would be well if we would just stop drinking firewater, stop having so many children, and go to work), and the schools (which all claim to want to educate and civilize us to become good members of society) which have always been under non-Indian control.

Basically the "problem" is that Indians are Indians! Generally speaking, Indians are not eager to become members of the "gray society" resulting from total assimilation. The fact that most tribal groups found themselves isolated and stranded on islands steadily decreasing in size has seriously aggravated the situation. Because of the Indian Allotment Act of

1887 the Indians on allotted reservations found themselves not especially anxious to assimilate but because of rapid deterioration of tribal land holdings many were forced to make a choice between humiliating dependence while on the reservation or leaving the reservation and losing their identity. Further aggravation has been in the form of the education systems putting on steady pressure to develop non-Indians (less than one-third of Indian children now attend government-run Indian schools, although through the Johnson-O'Malley Act many public school districts receive payments for Indian children and thus indirectly this support puts a premium on Indians. . . again). Many Indian families have voluntarily moved to urban areas to seek employment. Many Indian families are forced to move to urban areas to seek employment because of the general rural situation in America today. Today less than one-half of all American Indians live on reservations! There are not very many alternatives when the Indians' land base is decreasing, the Federal Government has been committed to the goal of helping every Indian join the mainstream through various techniques, and the Indian finds himself delegalized when he does go, even temporarily, into the mainstream. With all of this against him, one researcher recently said after much study that, "the Indian is not feasible; by all reason he should not even exist!"

An important factor in the story of the vanishing American Indian is the practice of classification by degree of Indian blood by the Government for purposes of determining eligibility for certain services and trustee status of property.

The way it works is simple: a full-blood Indian (pure-blood if you prefer) married to another full-blood produces only full-blood children. A full-blood Indian married to a white person produces half-breed children (one half Indian and one half white). A half-breed married to a white person produces children who are one quarter Indian, etc., etc. (The simple rule is to take one half of the nationality or racial makeup of each parent and add them together to identify the offspring.) Most Indian tribes maintain a list of tribal membership known as Rolls. On the advice of the Government, most tribes now use a system of enrolling only those persons who are one quarter or more "Indian." In most cases, persons of less than one-fourth Indian blood are not eligible for services by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the USPHS Division of Indian Health. Thus, there are thousands of people who themselves identify as Indian and are identified by their communities (and their parents!) as Indians but are delegalized and are not considered to be Indians. Besides identification, these people stand to lose services in education, health, and property management.

Another important factor is the matter of where you live and where you were born. As long as an Indian meets the degree-of-blood test and resides on a reservation, he is eligible for the full range of community services. But no matter how much Indian you are, when you leave your reservation you lose your legal identity as an Indian and become ineligible for services which were available before. Since over one half of all Americans Indians have already left their reservations and more

are becoming delegalized every day, it should be obvious that we are indeed a legally vanishing race!

To leave the case here would seriously confuse the issue even more than it already is by the contradictions of the highly complex Federal regulations, tribal governments, and Congressional acts through the years. The current situation did not come about overnight. When the white man first came to America he thought the Indians were so few and child-like that with "proper training" they would soon join the mainstream (that was several hundred years ago). The very first agreements between the whites and the Indians were verbal. Later the expanding colonies used various other devices to acquire the lands they needed and wanted. One such device was the treaty. Later when the Federal Government was formed, it also tried various devices to get additional lands from the Indians. One such device was the treaty. The Indian tribes were recognized as Indian Nations and the treaties were between Nations. The Indians agreed to cede large portions of land in exchange for certain specific things from the Government and in many cases reserved for themselves certain areas of land to be held in trust status by the Government for the Indians (these were designated reservations). As the Nation's "Manifest Destiny" pushed it ever westward, pressures built up to acquire new lands and in many cases treaties were broken when Indians refused to move to accept even smaller areas of land. Treaties were made well into the latter half of the last century before the House of Representatives realized the political importance of the Indian Treaties

and pushed for legislation which specified that agreements with Indian tribes could only be made by Acts of Congress.

Finally coming under the superior military and political forces of the Government through outright conquest and agreements, the Indian tribes somehow managed to negotiate certain "special" rights which have repeatedly been upheld by the Supreme Court. Among these "special" rights are the holding of lands in trust status by the Federal Government (thus

making the lands nontaxable), provisions to provide all services normally provided by local governments through local property taxes, and the right of self-government.

The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 have given the American Indian the full rights of all other Americans in addition to his "special" rights as a member of an Indian tribe. To deliberately delegalize the Indian is to take away his negotiated "special" rights.

With this background it should be clear that any move to delegalize and de-Indianize (in either the legal or social sense) is in effect a serious violation of Indian rights unless it is initiated by or is specifically at the request of the Indian.

Current annual expenditures by all Federal agencies on Indian programs now run about \$350 million and employ about 20,000 people (slightly over one half of these positions are filled by Indians but mostly at the lower

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"I have a fear of vanishing."

grade levels). Because of the delegating process, the number of Indians meeting the tests are numbered about four hundred thousand out of a total of nearly one million. Other statistics: average educational attainment of 8.4 years of school (not measured achievement), average family size of 5.4 members, median family income of \$1,500, life expectancy of 45 years, 80 percent of reservation families with incomes below poverty index, housing 75 percent substandard, and 40 to 80 percent unemployment. These reservation statistics seem to indicate a great pressure to force Indians to urban areas and thus delegalize even more. All this in exchange for approximately 3,000,000 square miles of America. . . 1,920,000,000 acres!

The future for the First American is very dark unless certain things are done. They will not be expensive nor impossible. These things must be done as a Nation:

(1) Honor our Indian treaties like we honor our international treaties, such as the U.N., NATO, and SEATO. An example of the degree of not honoring Indian treaties would be the caseload before the Indian Claims Commission—if treaties were honored there would be no caseload, nor need for a Commission; (2) Stop using various devices to delegalize and de-Indianize, such as tests of degree-of-blood, place of birth and residence, and deliberate educational deception by non-Indian controlled schools; (3) Increase local determination by decreasing the number of Federal employees “guiding” Indian programs and by contracting with local tribal governments for more services and through continued direct grants; (4) Enact legislation for long-range

Federal policy on Indian Affairs which assures opportunity to practice cultural pluralism by Indians specifically and all people in general; (5) Greatly strengthen coordination of existing Federal programs. These are the first steps.

When some or all of these things are done, we can turn to a new generation of American Indians which is just beginning to come on strong now and promises to increase sharply in number in the near future. . .the college-educated Indians. The college-educated Indian has been called the “button-down Indian,” but I am seeing him in increasing numbers in a new and very meaningful role as the “stationwagon Indian.” He (or she) holds a responsible job in the urban (or rural) society, is married (increasingly so to another well-educated Indian) and has children and a station wagon! He is having an increasing influence on other non-college Indians in the urban area and the whole family is keeping in close touch with the family and friends back on the home reservation. The “stationwagon Indian” is now socially and economically able to afford to be Indian! Voluntary integration into a technological society (but not total assimilation) is creating a satisfied and productive family man who is not bitter about efforts to force change on him because he has grown up in the space age and likely only since his new affluence has become involved in depth in Indian affairs. He now becomes a vital part of the long missing force within the tribe. . .trained know-how combined with knowledge of both the Indian and non-Indian cultural worlds (the missing link in a sense).

But we have to face several facts about our emerging “stationwagon

Indians” if we will understand them. As they study current Indian affairs and fail to see improvements they are embittered. As they try to help and find themselves without legal identity, they become frustrated. They are found in many non-Indian places (for instance they are among the 40,000 Indians in Los Angeles, the 30,000 in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, the 20,000 in Chicago, the 15,000 in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, and in many other cities like Seattle, Phoenix, Dallas, Detroit, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C., as well as at Harvard, Yale, MIT, University of Chicago, and UCLA).

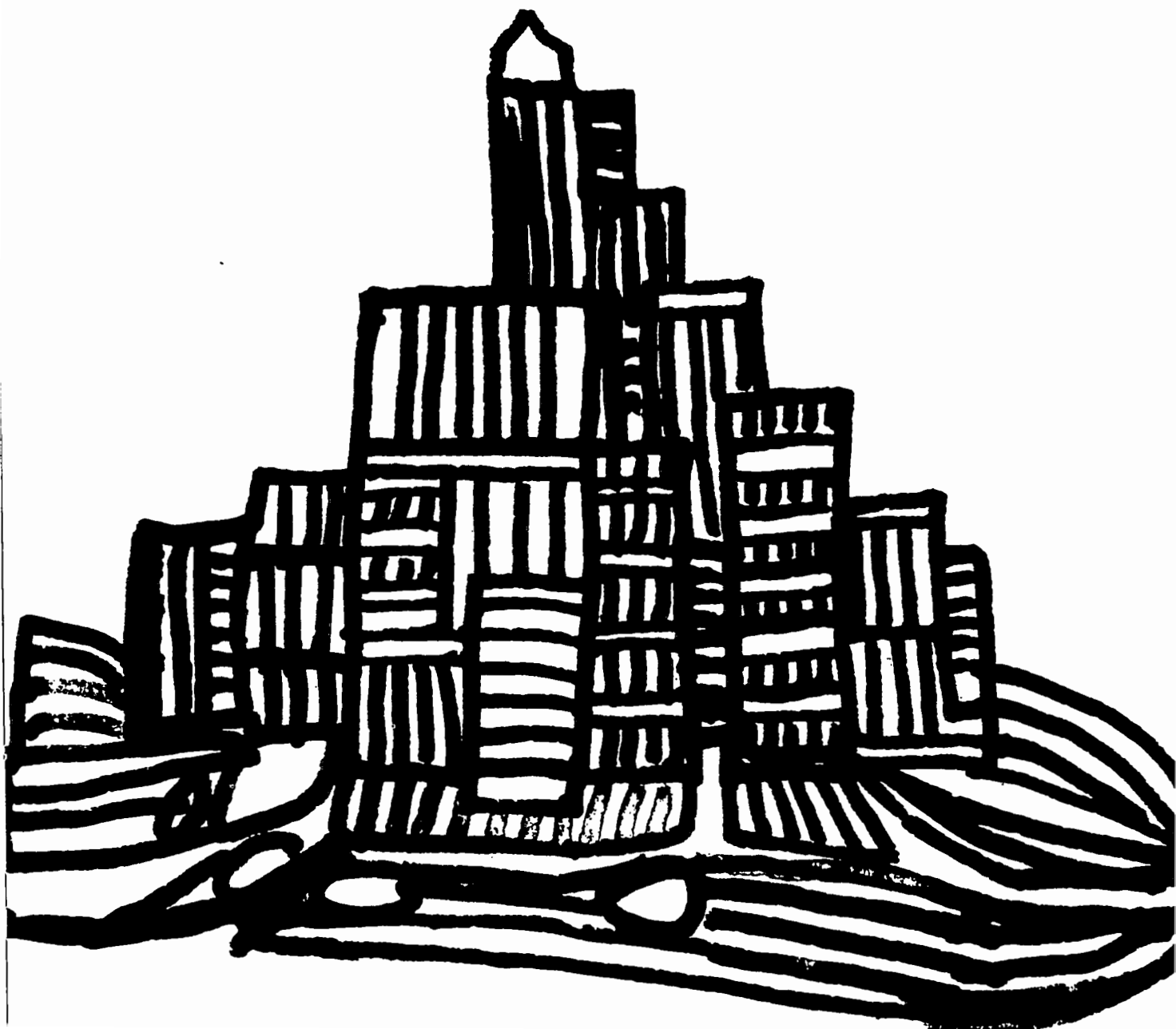
We have a new and energetic Indian group coming on deck now. . .these are truly the New Indians. . .and we must be ready and willing to turn over the leadership or they will take it away and organize opposition forces to divert attention from real problems and largely waste greatly needed talent. But without the assurances that the government is taking the lead in really providing for the American Indian to seek and find his own place in the world, we will have suspicion, feet-dragging, and, as in the urban world currently, unrest among the educated and apathy among the poor. This particular point in time seems to be an excellent time to right a lot of wrongs and begin to walk down the good road!

JAMES WILSON

Dr. Wilson, an Oglala Sioux from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, is director of the Indian Division, Community Action Programs, of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C. He holds a doctorate in education from Arizona State University.

METROPOLITANISM a minority report

*Somewhere
in the middle of
all that is happening
in our cities
is the Negro,
the Mexican American,
or other
minority group person.
What is his stake?*



Think of the multitude of ways City threatens and enhances Man.

CITY. Not just so many square miles of buildings and streets marked off by boundary lines. But the complex interplay and interdependence of a myriad of forces: some ordered, some out of control; millions of lives each seeking its own way to a better life; decayed inner cores; insulated suburbs; an explosion and implosion of peoples; an opportunity and a trap.

This totality of City in America has a name, METROPOLITANISM.

Metropolitanism is a phenomenon of modern society, not exclusively American, encompassing our major social issues, yet little understood by the majority of Americans. Those groups of minority background, Negroes, Mexican Americans, Indians, and Puerto Ricans, may very well be the least aware of how this new force affects the quality of their lives.

The first step toward understanding what this concept is and means to people is to see in it a view of what is happening in our metropolitan centers that considers the many elements of City in relation to each other.

For the uninitiated, the term metropolitanism may sound, on first hearing, like the latest sociological catchword. It may be in the sense that the word is an umbrella casting many shades of meaning. From the standpoint of the physical growth of City, metropolitanism refers to the increase of air, water, and land pollution; burdened transportation systems; inadequate public services; relentless suburban sprawl, the whole range of physical problems which affect a much publicized cosmopolitan complex such as New York or a once-suburban boom city such as in the Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove region in Southern California. The boundless problems of physical growth alone can be imagined from the estimate that in 50 years a megalopolis of 70 million people will stretch from New England to Virginia.

Metropolitanism refers, most importantly, to the manner in which City is governed and its problems resolved, but does not mean a single approach or form of government. It does imply the development of different political processes capable of devising programs, making decisions, using resources, and resolving conflicts on a metropolitan scale. Metropolitan areas may include a variety of political systems and many, sometimes overlapping, jurisdictions of government. The question then becomes one of the adequacy of a particular system to respond to specific

social needs while fully adhering to democratic principles.

To satisfy needs and at the same time conform to our democratic sense of values, metropolitanism suggests, for example, that a slum ghetto can be neither understood nor its problems resolved except through strategies that utilize resources equitably throughout a region. A housing program for low income families, for instance, must relate to the location of jobs and to improvements in the transportation system. But it is important to note that metropolitanism can take place without regard to minority group interests.

But surely, somewhere in the middle of all that is happening in our cities, or perhaps more realistically, off to the side, is the Negro, the Mexican American, or other minority group person. What is his stake in metropolitanism? How does he grasp the concept, make it his own, profit or lose by it? Is it simply beyond his capability to do or say anything about the whole matter?

On the premise that metropolitanism does concern vitally the minority group person and his aspirations for a better life, the Civil Rights Digest posed the same questions to a number of persons for their opinion. The questions generated a variety of responses. No two people approached the subject quite the same way, yet a number of common areas of agreement and concern did develop out of their remarks.

The most dominant strain of thought was that the minority person, the black, the Mexican American, the American Indian, the Puerto Rican, was still the victim, the larger society, the victimizer. In the sometimes purposeful, but most often willy-nilly shifting of governmental centers, of redistribution of resources, and of political power plays, the man of color or cultural difference tends to be the loser.

Diluting Black Majorities

"If economic opportunity existed in a vacuum, a metropolitanism which led to better transportation systems between the residential areas of the inner city and the industrial properties would benefit minority groups," begins Dr. G. James Fleming, founder and former director of the Institute of Political Education at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland. "But when it gets to political involvement, I would say that when it looks like Negroes are becoming a majority in a city, whites will quickly find a way to bring about metropolitan units of government."

A professor of political science at Morgan State, a predominantly Negro college, Dr. Fleming suspects that a clear relationship exists between the greater at-

tention being paid by whites to achieving metropolitan systems and their desire "to water down the rising majorities of Negroes in the cities." Yet Negroes, he cautions, cannot blindly oppose metropolitanism without fully considering its prospects for them because they may find themselves in the position of opposing a good thing. He points out that the achievement of the "cake" of open housing holds some dangers for blacks because they will simultaneously lose the political advantage of concentrated numbers: "While more Negroes may have movement out of the ghetto, they will not have the political power of the ghetto."

"As a political scientist and in studying Toronto, and Dade County, and all other voluntary plans (of metropolitanized government)," Dr. Fleming asserts, "I think metropolitanism of some kind is inevitable whether informally or formally established. But it should be formal and legalistic to merit support by the people."

He suggests that Congress has already accelerated the restructuring process by approving reapportionment, "another kind of metropolitanism". "Those who supported reapportionment thought it would liberalize the legislatures, by taking the votes away from the rural districts, but the votes went to the suburbs where we have a different kind of conservative, the one who is keeping out the Negro. Metropolitanism looks good and technologically can't be avoided," Dr. Fleming says, "but it won't necessarily bring anything better in the case of the Negro."

Another perspective to this unfamiliar verbal terrain comes from Richard Scammon, vice-president of the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington, D.C. He says, "Metropolitan takes place without reference to civil rights or race. Normally there is little relation between the phenomena. Urban decay would still occur in a city of half a million population even if it were all white with no non-Caucasians. We have an entirely difficult enough problem in the city, but it is complicated when race becomes a part of the picture."

Scammon, who is director of the Elections Research Center, an affiliate of Governmental Affairs Institute, served as head of the Bureau of the Census during the Kennedy Administration. He maintains that the harm or benefit to be derived from metropolitanism must be decided by the people in the area where metropolitanism becomes an issue. In any city where some kind of metro-government is proposed, Scammon suggests, "if the Negro people think its purpose is to diminish their political role, it is logical for them to view metro-

politanism as harmful." On the other hand, white leaders might not want new structures of government for fear that Negroes might get involved, he points out. Apart from the race issue, suburbs have usually desired independence anyway, he explains, so that suburban whites faced with the added personal threat that some of their institutions might be taken over by Negroes, might also reject metropolitanism as harmful.

While there have been increasing moves toward cooperation on a wider than city or suburb scale for sewage disposal, airport planning, pollution controls, "the most ticklish issues still are the schools and police." "Opinion is split," Scammon believes, "between the need for smaller or larger structures" in regard to sewage disposal, pollution, transportation, but on the matter of schools and police, he sees a trend toward smaller units. "The smaller the unit to be governed, the better for the minority group," Scammon states.

But the dynamics of community control cannot be confined only to minority group interests according to Scammon. Blacks may feel they benefit from local control in the school districts of New York City. Affluent whites may also take up the community control banner, for example, as in the case of recent elections for the first elected school board in Washington, D.C., which resulted in a majority black membership. Residents in the predominantly white upper N.W. section of the District, who had previously been in the minority only in numbers, but not in influence, might opt for local control in school matters to offset the apparent loss of influence on the school board. Blacks, Scammon observes, would still face a dilemma. They could not make decisions wholly oblivious of white interests and risk the increase of the white exodus from the District unless they were willing to lose that degree of integration.

"If metropolitanism tends to deny a balance of control and services and ignore the needs of the people does this exacerbate the problems of the urban area? —it most certainly does. We are faced with the problem that if his own situation does not improve, the minority person may be left in control, but control of what, the slums?"

Survival for the Cities

That rhetorical and somewhat ominous question is taken up by George Schermer, head of a Washington human relations consulting firm which bears his name: "Strictly from the point of view of political involvement, in gaining political experience and sophistication, black people have nothing to gain in metropolitanism. One would be hard put to justify a drive for

metropolitanism in terms of civil rights or welfare of the minority group. But there are many, many arguments from the point of view of the *city*. Our major central cities may not survive except through some system of metropolitanism."

A former director of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission, Schermer adds that on the basis of equal opportunity, if metropolitan government could incorporate the development of "rational transportation systems" which would provide equal access to all jobs to Negroes, Mexican Americans, and others, he would welcome its advent.

On the issue of school integration, Schermer posits that a metropolitan form of government would be useful toward developing a totally new approach such as the education park which is designed to distribute Negro and white children proportionately throughout a school system. Taking Philadelphia as an example, Schermer points out that since its public schools are more than half Negro, "any program to develop meaningful racial integration is likely to be impossible, impractical without a metropolitan basis." A better quality education for Negro children may depend on creating a milieu in which integration can be promoted, he proposes, or it may require a milieu in which Negro parents through political power can make increasingly meaningful demands upon the authorities for better quality schools.

Schermer's comments emphasize a recurring theme, expressed in some way by every respondent, of contradictory movements: an apparently inexorable metropolitanization as against a decentralization seemingly based on self-interested aversion to the former. In other words, metropolitanism has its opposite, particularly in relation to minority groups' aspirations to full recognition and participation in the social and political scheme of American society.

Developing Sub-communities

The Negro, Schermer indicates, is in the predicament of choosing between longterm and shortterm goals. While he himself would consider metro-government necessary for the "overall viability of our cities," the Negro, he believes, "would want to work toward achieving maximum power within the existing system." The Negro has no way of knowing what kind of government will evolve or what role he will have in it. At the same time according to Schermer, the urban turmoil which is symptomatic of a rejection of the existing system, is occurring without apparent determination.

"We seem to be moving in the direction, first of all,

of a metropolitan system that will serve metropolitan-wide needs—transportation, pollution controls, waste disposal. Yet, when we put the management of local affairs on such a large scale, the individual gets lost," he observes. "That kind of community is too big to belong to; you have got to belong to something smaller than that, and therefore, I have an idea that we will be creating substructures, sub-communities. People want to feel that management of community affairs is within their grasp. Therefore, cities the size of Washington, or Philadelphia, will become eventually broken down into community units, maybe 40-50,000, but something less than hundreds of thousands."

Minority groups, Schermer foresees, will have to undergo a period of adjustment to the concept and evolution of metropolitan-wide systems of government. "It is very important for minority groups to have some sense of controlling their own destiny. It takes a few decades of experience to get to the point where simply exercising your authority as a particular ethnic group is no longer so important as having a good life. Two decades from now a number of communities that have been self-consciously very Negro in handling their affairs will find that the good life is not found in the framework of separatism. They will find that there are so many problems that have to be resolved on a scale which involves all people at the metropolitan level and at the national level."

A case in point is the picture of Atlanta provided by Julian Bond, Democratic member of the Georgia State House of Representatives, who is in the thick of a political power struggle between black and white Atlantans over the proposed establishment of a county-wide government. The young Congressman who led the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in its early days, declares: "Always, metropolitanism contributes to the diminution of black political power. I see this from what I know of Nashville, Jacksonville, and Miami (where forms of metro-government have developed). Some people in Atlanta want metropolitan government. I think it's evident that a great many city fathers are less worried of the decreased tax base than about the prospect of a black dominated government."

The issue of metropolitanism in Atlanta will take shape in the elections this summer when candidates for mayor will be asked to take a stand on the subject, Bond forecasts. Some city leaders would like to annex the many white bedroom communities around the city while others propose the dissolution of city government into a county-wide government, Bond reports. There are already public service links with outlying commu-

nities, such as police and fire department assistance, he adds.

Black office holders have been fighting annexation attempts for the last two years in the Atlanta-Fulton County environs, but it has not been solely a black effort, Bond points out. The black community is not a monolith in philosophy or action; many different groups compete against each other. In this regard, and on this issue only, have black legislators coalesced with certain white lawmakers whose suburban constituencies fear metro-government for one reason or another.

Form Coalitions That Count

So that blacks can fend off metropolitanization, Bond cites a State requirement that works to the advantage of Atlanta's black community: governmental revisions must eventually be subject to a vote of the senators or representatives of the political districts to be affected. Fulton County consists of 26 representatives and senators. Nine are black, but a two-thirds majority is required to approve governmental realignment. "We don't have the power to pass much legislation, but in this case, we can certainly block it," the Georgia legislator states.

Of the basic concept of broadened political controls, Bond speaks favorably—with some ifs. "If there were no racial consideration, metropolitanism would be desirable, but black people have to fight it until they can get certain guarantees of equitable representation. We couldn't allow any county-wide elections now. Atlanta is 48 percent black, but if government were extended to the county area, our representation would drop to about 27 percent." By guarantees, Bond means elections by wards rather than at large for city offices or school board. The Atlanta Board of Education now consists of three black and 14 white members, while only one black man sits on the Board of Aldermen. Bond has recently introduced a bill in the Georgia legislature that would require elections for the Board of Aldermen be held on a ward basis. If passed, Bond estimates the new law could increase to seven or eight the number of Negro Aldermen in Atlanta.

The "semicities" in Georgia, Bond feels sure, would like to establish a metropolitan form of government for reasons similar to the ones in Atlanta. Bond recommends to Negro groups throughout the State, and by inference to minorities generally, to engage in coalitions where they do not have majorities and depending on the specific issues, shift coalitions as he and his colleagues have done to benefit the minority community. Civil disobedience is likely in those cities where the minority populace cannot otherwise defend

itself against possibly harmful governmental change, and "in some cases, it is an acceptable means," says Bond. Atlanta, however, is not at this time a likely place for such actions because of the legal leverage black legislators command. Black Atlantans, Bond indicates, are generally aware of the pros and cons of metropolitanism, the accessibility to blacks of rapid transit facilities and the functions and makeup of the rapid transit authority was a controversial issue in the elections only two years ago.

By and large, most of the respondents indicated that minority groups are not aware and could be kept in the dark about metropolitanism as it might affect their region. Dr. Ernesto Galarza, an economist living in San Jose, California, suggests that the very complexity and seeming abstractness of the issue are critical barriers for the Mexican American and other minority peoples.

Western Trend Toward Regionalism

"The ability of communities, especially Mexican American ones, with which I'm particularly concerned, to identify as communities is being attacked. We have a growing tendency in the West toward the creation of sub-regional governments. In the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, there is a very strong movement to establish a sub-regional government of nine counties taking over certain functions, pollution control, transportation, and so forth. If this happens, the ability of the Mexican American neighborhood to make itself felt politically will be tremendously watered down. If metropolitanism continues, it will increase rather than decrease their problems in civil rights. Dilution of the Mexican American vote is the practical result," concludes Dr. Galarza.

Long a resident of San Jose, Dr. Galarza has also seen the metropolitan forces at work as recently as last spring. Alviso, a small town near San Jose, virtually disappeared when it was annexed by its big neighbor. The Mexican American population which comprised a majority of the eligible voters nevertheless was unable to muster enough votes to defeat annexation. "They were well on their way to becoming a power in that community, a power for change. Before the election, city hall was no more than a few blocks from any residence. Now most Mexican Americans have to travel 13 miles to make themselves heard on any issue which relates to Alviso. These are people who don't have enough money for gas.

"The minority person does not know how to deal with governmental agencies as it is," Dr. Galarza continues, so metro-government would be adding another

layer of confusion to their troubles. "Who will explain to the people what is going on?" he asks. "What is there to assure the Mexican American a voice in the development of these new forms or structures? In the Bay area, the Mexican American is being crowded out. All devices being discussed in order to make the metropolis more manageable are not addressing themselves to minority groups. The fundamental issue is one of structural content. From the technological and broad social standpoint, something's got to happen in the cities, pressures will increase; metropolitanism is possible but whether it is humanly practical is another matter."

Forces which advocate metropolitanism can operate in such a way that the kind of input Dr. Galarza desires for Mexican Americans and other minority groups becomes virtually impossible, suggests Karl Gregory, assistant to the chancellor for urban affairs at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan. "The larger the area of decision-making, the more problems there are in communicating what is taking place; the more unequal the distribution of power, the more advantage the advantaged have to use the media, so the more an unequal distribution of power and opportunity is reinforced."

Issue By Issue Analysis

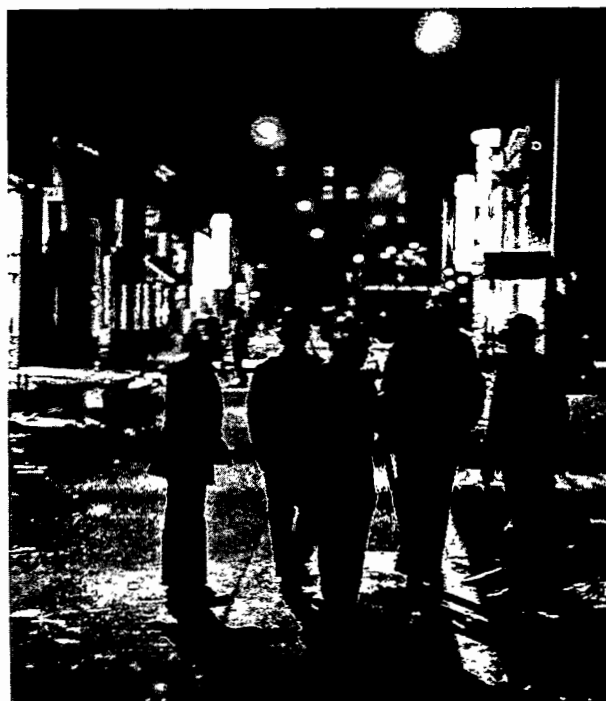
As a consequence of this cycle of informational deprivation, Gregory remarks, "Only decision-making by those who already have the resources is metropolitanized, equal opportunity is not really being metropolitanized." Therefore, says Gregory, who serves as president and chairman of the board of Accord, Inc., a housing rehabilitation corporation, as well as resident agent for a black bank, the First Independent National Bank in Detroit, minority groups who seek self-determination are moving toward decentralization. Gregory is apprehensive that blacks may end up with political control over less resources, although he is quick to note that this is no argument against decentralization or local control. Decentralization is in effect a reaction, he believes, to racism and to the institutions that are failing blacks. However, Gregory points out, decentralization can be established without community control: the white power structure can parcel out pieces of power and "let the natives fight over it," he says, because control of the purse strings is not affected.

Minority groups have to learn to confront metropolitanism and/or decentralization issue by issue and this requires an understanding of two major distinctions: a) how is the public service financed; and b) who makes

the decisions. Metropolitanism, he asserts, "doesn't make much sense unless a new tax apparatus is developed for a wider taxing jurisdiction." Even then, massive Federal assistance may be necessary to make open housing, for example, a realistic goal. But in terms of making decisions about where housing is needed and setting up housing standards, a lot of room for decentralized input by minorities is a probability, Gregory argues.

In regard to law enforcement, the financing and decision-making concerning a program to combat the narcotics traffic or organized crime might be too large a conglomerate, in Gregory's phrasing, for other than a metropolitanized approach of broader taxing jurisdictions and combined Federal and State authorities. Only problems of police-community relations, of protecting school grounds or children going to and from school might be more easily addressed on a local community level, he says.

At any rate, Gregory, an associate professor of economics at Oakland University, feels community control is a solution that only buys time: "I see nothing in existence now that begins to solve the problems of minority groups. All the money being spent in Vietnam each year would be needed to make a significant dent in the ghetto. We can overcome the problems but I just don't see the commitment in the country to do it." As long as black people suffer the effects of



racism and don't have political or economic power, Gregory says, echoing the thoughts of other respondents, "they need to organize politically and form alliances, something on which to build."

There begins to develop a sense of urgency for minority groups to become aware of the advent of metropolitanism in whatever form it may take and to take the matter apart, "issue by issue," as Gregory urges. Minority groups need to ascertain how metropolitanism will affect them. As Schermer noted, no one is quite sure what is being created out of the Nation's urban turmoil, but by the same token, it cannot be allowed to occur haphazardly. Certainly, in every way possible, the respondents indicate, the minority communities must exert every force at their command to have some part in the evolution of the metropolitan age.

Housing An Explicit Ingredient

"Two seemingly irreconcilable concepts and processes," black political self-determination and metropolitan-wide decision-making, must be reconciled in metropolitanism, according to Arnold Schuchter, author of the recently published book, *White Power/Black Freedom*, which deals with the issue of the white and black power struggle in the cities. "The extent to which Negroes gain political power, economic opportunity, and social justice through new forms of metropolitan institutions will depend upon the following: the goals of the institutions; their specific organizational structure and decision-making process in relation to emerging political and community development instruments in black communities; the provisions for Negro involvement, with a *disproportionately influential role*," Schuchter emphasizes, "in the establishment and operation of these institutions; and the quality of the people who can be attracted to design and implement these new instruments of government and community development."

That Negro participation in the evolution of new governments must be a prerequisite to their implementation is central to Schuchter's thinking. He also insists that such a metropolitan-wide political and developmental process must include as an explicit and controlling goal, the desegregation of housing. A specific means of assuring an open housing market, Schuchter believes, is creating communities designed to attract and house people of all races and income. Another necessary ingredient in achieving responsible systems and processes of government, says Schuchter, a specialist in urban planning for the management consultants firm of Arthur D. Little Company, in Cambridge,

Massachusetts, in regard to "this unchartered political universe of metropolitan regions," are "persons with insight, judgment, and competence, black and white." He adds that "without a sustaining sense of confidence among Negroes in the good faith and capabilities of the public and quasi-public institutions shaping urban community life, the prevailing sense of victimization by white society will escalate along with frustration and animosity."

A National Metropolitanism

Dual strategies are required to check the trend toward "separate but unequal central city and suburban societies"; 1) Conscious and deliberate preparation of Negro administrators and technicians to manage and develop black ghettos and to govern the increasing number of almost wholly black cities; 2) Unified national land, housing, and migration policies to create hundreds of new multi-racial cities, incorporating new systems of political, educational, social, and economic development, and able to house about one-sixth of the Nation's population by the year 2000.

"The form of metropolitanism," Schuchter specifies, "should support both decolonization of the ghetto and dispersion opportunities for Negroes, for instance, to house about 40 percent of the urban Negro population in the year 2000 (or about 12 million Negroes). Accomplishing this goal will require a national commitment to create new communities to house as many as 50 million people over the next 30 years."

The scope of the problems and the horizonless demand for solutions with respect to minority group needs suggest to Schuchter a kind of national metropolitanization in terms of program strategies, policies, and standards, and the comprehensive utilization of Federal and State funds and incentives. His specific recommendations, presented briefly here but well detailed in his own writings, include a National Urban Resources Development Corporation, federally-chartered and quasi-public, to serve as a Council of Urban Advisors to the President in the formulation of national urban policies and programs and to foster governmental reform and new city development; Metroregional Development Corporations to collaborate with voluntary metropolitan councils of governments to plan and carry out metropolitan-wide revisions and technical aid programs; New City Corporations to build and manage new communities; Community Development Corporations to rehabilitate and control inner-city areas; and Urban Grant Universities to provide training and technical services in devising political and economic entities for local control, and educa-

tional opportunities for all age groups integrated with inner city community development projects and with creation of new communities.

Schuchter's schema for the future city follows the pattern of human need which Schermer outlined when he said that an individual finds it impossible to belong to too big a community, that he must have a feeling that he can at least grasp some control over his own government and destiny. Schuchter foresees metropolitanism and decolonization (his term for the withdrawal, voluntary or not, of white political and economic control) as emerging concurrently. "Minority groups, especially Negroes, already are building some of the new political and economic development organizations, developing a power base for the bargaining process that will have to take place in order to establish relative shares of power in the new forms of metropolitan institutions." To enhance their control or leverage, he stresses, Negroes "must develop effective leadership, administrative talent, entrepreneurial and business management skills."

Destroy The Slum System

Meanwhile what of the trapped ghetto dweller, Schuchter asks. "The only hope for a large percentage of urban Negroes to achieve decent housing," he states, "is for them to ruin ghetto housing as a profitable real estate commodity by disrupting the slum housing system in a manner that will result in a massive transfer of ownership from absentee-landlords to black owner-occupants. If necessary, widespread civil disobedience (to echo Julian Bond's words) should be directed at municipal governments to force them to exercise their legal responsibility for maintenance of housing standards."

New litigation and new legislation that would place the responsibility for coordinating the development of metropolitanism and assuring a voice to the minority groups where it belongs, with the States, are key recommendations from James Gibson, a staff associate with Potomac Institute, a privately financed research and consultant agency on civil rights in Washington, D.C. Formerly a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty, Gibson estimates that present trends in court suits related to school system inequities in California, Michigan, Texas, and Virginia indicate that metropolitanism might develop through a metropolitan taxation system to provide equitable funding for all schools on a regional basis rather than "pro-rated on the basis of concentrations of wealth".

The stimulus of court decisions in this field, a long-term struggle of perhaps 15-20 years, according to

Gibson, could move legislatures to accelerate or initiate legal steps to establish metropolitan forms of government. "It would take legislatures less time to set up the new instruments of government, but legislatures would have to present a formula that is not destructive of the quality of schools in general." States will fight such metropolitan litigation, Gibson is sure, but in this field, as in regard to legislative reapportionment, desegregation of schools, and legal protection for the accused in law enforcement, a litigative impetus can result in progress in the protection of the rights of minority groups. Gibson advances his view of a need for minority group pressure along the legal route because, he asserts, "a real civil rights basis exists for requiring redistribution of tax revenues on a regional level."

Federal-State Roles

According to the Constitution, Gibson asserts, those services of society and those responsibilities of government toward its citizens remain in the hands of only two entities, Federal and State government; local government has no Constitutional prerogatives. He says that on the issue of school district inequities, for example, in a State where priorities and concern are suburb-directed, allocation of school district funding on an equitable basis should be required by the courts and by Congress. "If public schools are inadequate anywhere in a State, the State is responsible; therefore the State constitution which permits an inequitable situation is unconstitutional—I think we will see a considerable development of litigation in this direction," he says.

On the point of financing, George Schermer supports Gibson's views, stating that "the real property tax is not a very good base for supporting public education; we need new forms, new sources for taxation. The State today has the basic power for the public welfare, the basic responsibility for public education, under the U.S. Constitution and its own Constitution. We dilute the political power of Negroes when we enlarge the bounds of the city government and reduce the amount of influence that they would have to bring about the necessary decisions for increased taxes to support public education." Even now on a diluted basis, Schermer advises, Negroes have power to force the State to bring about equitable reform.

"Because we do in fact have minority concentrations in the cities," Gibson continues, "minority groups have to press for having political controls placed more equitably in the hands of non-whites." Therefore greater local control of schools and other public institutions

should follow, and an insistence be made, in economic terms, on establishing new ownership patterns.

"There are dangers in following this route," Gibson warns, "in that such redistribution of power along racial and ethnic lines will increase the self-interest of minority groups and the continuation of a separatist movement without reducing the *ultimate dependence* of the minority upon the majority community."

Gibson observes that apart from seeking to control or influence metropolitanism on a group basis, the minority person's other recourse is to seek "individual equity, power, wealth, and mobility" which means that minority persons must be fairly distributed throughout the metropolitan region. Thus schools and other public services are not identifiable as Negro schools or Negro services, Gibson says. "To affect the minority person through the majority self-interest, which would have to shortchange itself to shortchange the minority person, is an argument for equal distribution of minorities." Gibson, whose special field is community economic development and rural poverty, also sees grave dangers along this way, although ideally "good for society," dispersal would not necessarily change the majority's opposition. The minority might still be refused jobs, services, civil rights, political office. Again, Gibson stresses, "we would not necessarily rid ourselves of racism nor of the *ultimate dependence* of the minority upon the majority."

Establish Independent Control

Gibson reasons that "self-determination does not provide the ultimate solution for black communities," that "the desirable thing is for blacks to evolve a conscious step to ultimate integration. Racism must be addressed by efforts to purge racial superiority feelings, that is the ultimate solution," he declares.

The whole question of metropolitanism is relatively new. Only recently have public officials and lawmakers begun to think and make decisions with a metropolitan interest in mind. In terms of new structures of government to replace obsolete city halls; new cities to house, economically and decently, the new millions of people and some of the old; new regional programs to solve the logistics of waste disposal, reclamation of the environment, and transportation: metropolitanism is no doubt a necessary stage in the evolution of the Nation. Many of the respondents shared the thought that a balance may still have to be struck between the regional complex and smaller units of community. Thus, even this phenomenon which we are now seeking to comprehend may evolve toward another level.

At any rate, it is quite understandable why minority

groups may sense a real threat in this new elaboration of politics and government. They may lack a political power base or fear losing one; they may certainly be dubious of fulfilling their needs through existing or proposed formulations of government. Regionalism in the governmental processes may be vigorously and successfully opposed by minorities in areas where, on the whole, metropolitanism of some kind is vitally needed. The trend among minority groups will no doubt be toward establishing as quickly as possible independent community control of certain public institutions, through political or militant means. Possibly, then, minority political strongholds may be able to gauge their view of metropolitanism with greater confidence. However, many of the persons who answered the Digest's queries warned that minority groups might end up in control of less and less resources with less and less real power.

To recall Dr. Fleming's comment that equal opportunity does not develop in a vacuum, it is obvious that neither does metropolitanization of regional problems nor their resolution. Metropolitanism is also a phenomenon of man and one would hope that man could still influence its evolution. In this regard, it would seem possible to include equal opportunity as a meaningful objective and by-product of the metropolitan age. Provision of an adequate transit system should take into account the job needs of both suburbanites and inner city dwellers. Provision of a quality education to all children may require new school patterns, new schools, and, more than likely, new systems of taxing and equitable revenue distribution governed either on an area or State-wide basis.

Transportation, education, and other problems may be so vast, extending over more than one State in some instances as to require Federal and State collaboration. The Urban Affairs Council established by the new Administration would seem to be the kind of body to deliberate the issues and initiate action on Federal-State involvement. The Digest's respondents made it very clear that Federal and/or State solutions are necessary and quite feasible but that in every case, the interests of the whole community, especially of its minority elements, must be taken into consideration.

Should metropolitanism be erected on existing patterns of segregation and isolation, already known to have caused strife in our cities and not yet resolved, then it would further reduce the chances for an integrated society and for a peaceful resolution of domestic inequities. It will be a metropolitanism built on sand. □

ARMANDO RENDON

Every year schools, Government, corporations, and professional organizations squander one billion dollars on producing films which promote social inequities. Viewers who see these noncommercial educational and industrial films gratis pay a hidden price in the misconceptions they see.

Noncommercial films can reinforce and promote social inequities by using biased casting procedures. School children, college students, consumers, and industrial trainees who view these films see only white actors in lead roles, because minority persons are shunted to walk-on parts, if they're not completely excluded. Some Negroes, Orientals, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans have complained about these biased practices, but their grievances are not popular.

The importance of casting minority persons in educational and industrial movies is multiple: job opportunities are more widely distributed; minority viewers identify with the roles; an affirmative image of minority persons is established; and majority members get a positive view of interracial society.

The New York State Division of Human Rights recently reiterated these themes during its hearings on job opportunities for minorities in the film industry. College professors added another valid reason for including minorities in educational films: students sometimes base career decisions on the films they see. If an Oriental, Negro, or person of Spanish origin never sees his counterpart practicing law, installing electronic equipment, or supervising other employees, he may be convinced that those careers are closed to him. Further, when ma-



BIAS IN NON-COMMERCIAL FILMS

majority group members see only white persons portraying key positions in business and society, beliefs in white competence and white superiority are reinforced.

Professors who use audio-visual materials were interviewed by Dr. Philip Harris of Bernard M. Baruch College, New York, who conducted the bias in film casting study. A survey was made of 131 films shown 1,634 times in different departments of three colleges and universities from 1965 to 1968. Some professors who showed films with integrated casts to their classes could not recall seeing minorities when the movie ended. This kind of response indicates the role minorities play in education films is usually so trifling as to go unnoticed.

College professors and high school teachers said 18 percent of

the educational films they used had integrated casts, and most of these are directed toward special interests or designed for nonwhite audiences. If educational films are to present society positively, special interest films are not the entire answer; however, they do serve one beneficial need. Films about Puerto Ricans in New York City, Korean immigrants adjusting to American life, or an anthropological study of Borneo, inform students about subjects which most textbooks otherwise leave uncovered.

Of the billion dollars annually spent for noncommercial films, about half goes for educational movies. This sum is followed by business and industrial films which contribute more than one-third; Government spends about 10 percent, and community, religious, and medical associations spend 2 to 3 percent each. The 1966 industrial film market shows business used 63 percent of the films for sales; 14 percent for training; 11 percent for public relations; 8 percent for advertising, and 4 percent for other purposes.

The industrial film business is highly competitive, and producers say they must yield to the demands and prejudices of their clients in order to survive. This means clients can tell producers to omit minorities from certain productions without meeting much resistance.

The New York State study of casting patterns in industrial films reveals that two kinds of people are hired for parts—actual employees and professional actors. When the employees in a client's factory or office are used, the manufacturer and not the producer, is responsible for biased casting, because the actual situation—of

management's discriminatory hiring practices—is portrayed.

The industrial film producers who were interviewed said 20 percent of the actors they hired in a 3-year period were members of minority groups. Usually they are Negro, Mexican, or Puerto Rican. Seldom are they Oriental. Most industrial films which include minority group persons are highly specialized, such as films designed for Latin American audiences or for selling Latin America as a place to vacation.

Industrial films are also made to sell products, so producers again argue that they must adhere to their clients' demands. One producer said, "If you are doing something for a Southern client, you can bet your bottom dollar there won't be any blacks in it"; another said, "Casting Negroes is horrendous because of the limited market." However, Negroes occasionally get top priority. One producer said, "If I'm making a film for Chock Full o' Nuts and showed white hands, I'd be crazy."

Statistics on the number of minority group members who work behind the scenes on production crews are unavailable. However, producers in the survey said they employ more Puerto Ricans than Negroes for production work. This can be partly explained by looking at the burgeoning film industry in Puerto Rico. Many Puerto Ricans learn production skills in their native territory and then migrate to the continental United States. Upon arrival they frequently approach industrial film producers for jobs.

If businessmen and college professors were rated on efforts to change social attitudes through audio-visual materials, most of them would flunk. Universities

could influence film industry policies by establishing a University Consortium for Human Rights to help abort generally unequal employment practices. A major activity could be that of creating fair employment practices within organizations which depend upon Consortium members. Film producers would be notified that by a certain date, only films with integrated casts would be purchased or rented by Consortium members.

Improving employment opportunities in industrial films will remain difficult until producers and clients agree upon equitable hiring practices. Perhaps if several large industrial film producers met with their major clients and decided on casting patterns, the industry could forestall possible Government intervention through self-regulation.

If producers continue relegating minority persons to walk-on parts, crowd scenes, special purpose films, and production crews, they will perpetuate existing inequities. Only when producers cast minority group members in dominant screen roles do they promote positive social attitudes and make a sound investment in the future of their industry, their employees, their audiences. To fulfill their primary obligation—to educate students and stimulate business—producers must have minority persons appear in neutral social and professional roles.

This article has been prepared in collaboration with Dr. Philip Harris, assistant professor of management and department supervisor of graduate studies at Bernard M. Baruch College of the City University of New York.

RE-ORIENTING THE THEATER

The King of Siam was a makeup artist's delight last summer during New York City Center's production of "The King and I." A white actor was cast to star as the Oriental potentate and was painted yellow.

For a number of Oriental thespians, that was wasted greasepaint, a choice role lost to a non-Oriental, and one too many white 'Siamese' kings. They formed Oriental Actors of America and picketed every performance. One of their placards read, "Mr. Rodgers: Save on Yellow Greasepaint and Black Wigs—Hire Oriental Actors."

Even *The New York Times* got into the act. It reported that of a possible 51 parts for Orientals, only six adult Orientals had been hired.

Jean Dalrymple, City Center director, saw the placards and read *The Times*, but she still couldn't understand why previously docile Oriental performers were incensed. "The King happens to be Michael Kermoyan, of Armenian descent. Tuptim is a Filipino, Eleanor Calbes. I think that's pretty good."

The Oriental actors also complained that life for them in the American theater consists of stifling roles as geishas, houseboys, and prostitutes in third rate plays. They ask:

"What Oriental have you seen playing Mr. Moto, or Sakini in 'Teahouse'?"

"Does management believe the Oriental is incapable of portraying himself?"

"Do you realize that no Oriental has ever played the role of Charlie Chan?"

the méxican améričan

When in December 1968, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights opened a hearing in San Antonio, Texas, to explore, in a public setting, problems of civil rights among Mexican Americans, the predicament of the Mexican American in his own land was a paradox.

The people who could trace an historical and cultural bond to the land dating back four centuries, point to specific achievements in the arts and in science by thousands of years-old Indian civilizations and of Spanish forebearers, and still recall personal contributions to the economy and character of the Southwest, had the meanest poverty, the least employment, the worst education.

The hearing was designed not merely to review long-standing problems, nor even just to provide new data, but to obtain at first hand as comprehensive a view as possible of the causes, the efforts to meet the needs, and possibly new approaches for the future.

For the first time, a wide-ranging advantage was afforded the Commission and the public to observe and ponder the predicament of the Mexican American. What are the barriers that Mexican Americans face day by day as they attempt to gain a good education, to earn a livelihood and achieve a measure of economic independence, and to assure themselves equal treatment and protection under the law, in their communities, their State, their country?

In a weeklong series of sessions, the Commission heard and questioned high school students and school superintendents, businessmen, farm workers, barrio organizers, Federal and State officials, law enforcement officers, experts from various fields, clergymen, even three families. Like a painter gradually adding color and perspective to the canvas, the cumulative impact of people telling their story their way created a fresh perspective toward understanding the problems of Mexican Americans.

Outside forces predominate in the life of the Mexican American, the Commission learned. He is forced

to migrate thousands of miles to other States for farm work; he is forced to move into hostile cities in the quest for a better life; he is forced to cut ties with the familiar way of life, in order to relocate where opportunity is a stranger at best; he is forced to send his children to schools where an alien language and tradition may abort aspiration; he is forced to accept the lowest paying jobs, menial labor, and often forsake hope for anything better.

Yet, amid almost overwhelming oppression of frustration and deprivation, horizons do seem to be pushing out, awareness of self and group is growing, and a broader understanding of the special place and potential of the Mexican American is all that much nearer realization.

Chicago students are talking about real issues, quality schooling, bilingual education, job training, career counseling. In the barrios, community organizations are burgeoning around issues, improved public services, law enforcement problems, job needs, updating schools, greater political representation. A school district proves that a bilingual education program can be instituted and work. A large industrial firm relocates hundreds of South Texas families, trains and puts the fathers to work, and helps the family find housing and become oriented. Private and public supported organizations move into comprehensive training and job opportunity programs, rescuing men from the migrant stream, finding the unskilled meaningful jobs.

The Commission has yet to detail its findings and draw up the recommendations which it will transmit to the President and Congress. In many areas, its findings and suggestions may well support those of other groups or agencies who are also concerned with the Mexican American. Hopefully, the Commission's thrust will be toward urging new means for administrative and legislative change that will accelerate the movement among Mexican Americans, as well as other minority groups, to secure their full share of the responsibilities and benefits of the society.

Maria, your mother said that you do not participate in the program for free school lunches, is that right?

Commission Staff.

Yes. Miss Maria Garcia, of San Antonio

And why haven't you talked to the teachers? Staff.

This has to be arranged with the principal. Miss Garcia.

And why haven't you talked with him about it? Staff.

Because I am ashamed. Miss Garcia.

And if you wouldn't have to ask or beg for the food, if it were just offered, would you take it? Staff.

Yes, I would. Miss Garcia.



"We have before us two San Antonios—one a San Antonio growing and prosperous, with prosperity and economic viability, the other a San Antonio which has grown only in the intensity of its problems."

Father Ralph Ruiz,
Inner City Apostolate,
Archdiocese of San Antonio.



The Anglo American is not anxious to give up his group identity; he is not anxious to change his way of life. But no more can you expect the Mexican-American—a distinct people with a distinct identity and a cultural heritage to be proud of and a very beautiful and extremely useful language—to do what the Anglo American obviously would not.

Dr. Jack Forbes,
Far West Laboratory for
Educational Research and
Development, Berkeley,
Calif.



The reasons for my going into the union was what every Mexican American worker faces, that they have been cheated too long. I decided that this was the only thing we could do—join a union so that we could fight for our rights and for the rights of other people who don't know how to defend themselves. The organization of farm workers is the only way to get better wages, better working conditions, and to have insurance in our work if we get hurt.

Reynaldo De La Cruz,
(far left)
Colorado Migrant Council.





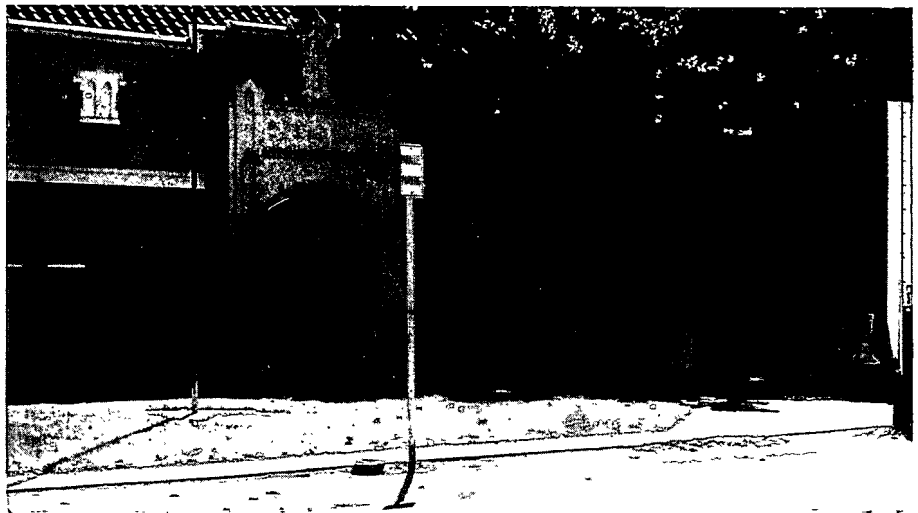
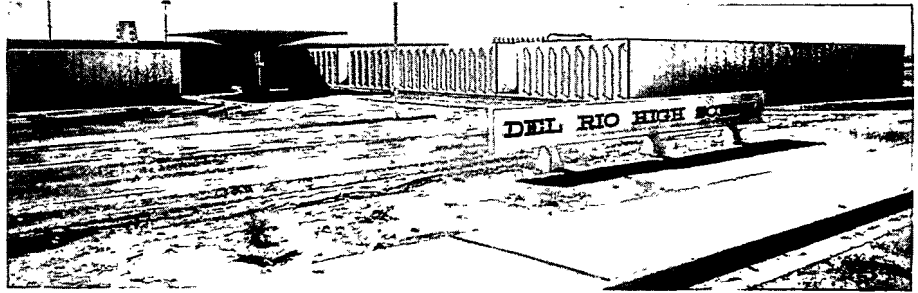
"The worst education"

(San Felipe High School, a nearly all-Mexican American school, lower right, in the San Felipe ISD, offers only 36 courses and cannot afford a vocational program. Del Rio High School, more than half Anglo American, upper right, in Del Rio ISD, offers 75 to 100 courses, including a full vocational curriculum.)



We should, as Mexican Americans, start demanding our rights. Speaking as Superintendent of the San Felipe Schools, I want you to know that we are not seeking any power, or any base for political power; we are speaking for the students of San Felipe. I am only seeking justice for those students that have the need in the San Felipe area, in Del Rio, Texas. But let me tell you one thing, we have been raped too long already, and we are not going to stand to be raped and raped and raped.

Homero C. Sigala,
Superintendent,
San Felipe Independent
School District.



We tried to create an atmosphere in the classroom where the children from the dominant culture, speaking the dominant language, recognize that the Mexican American child has got something that they don't have, and that they ought to be interested in getting what this child can teach him. Now, can you begin to see what this does for the stature of the Mexican American child . . . when he is made to feel that he can do something that somebody else can't do, and that he has something that the Anglo child wants to learn about? Does that answer your question—what bilingual education does for the self-image of the Mexican American child?

Harold C. Brantly,
Superintendent,
United Consolidated School
District, Webb County.

Will you tell us briefly what the students were protesting about and what they were asking for? Commission Staff.
They were asking for democratic elections in which the student council officers would be elected by the students and not the faculty . . . Mainly speaking Spanish and not being hit like Edgar was, and like hundreds of other kids were . . . I would say that was the top issue, our curriculum. It was to our knowledge that it was not adequate, so it was worth fighting for more than anything else.
 Homer Garcia,
 Lanier High School student,
 San Antonio.

If I were to change the curriculum I would include more of the history of the Southwest, of New Spain, of Spain itself, of the various Indian cultures of the Southwest that have blended into the culture of the Mexican American. I would devote much more time to the language arts. I would also teach part of the curriculum in the home language of the students, in Spanish, so that they would attain language development in the language that is easiest for them.
 Dr. George I. Sanchez,
 Professor of Education,
 University of Texas, Austin.



The Mexican American student is led to believe that he cannot be identified with two cultures at the same time. This is brought about as a result of two conflicting messages. One message—and by message, I don't mean a verbal message, it can be done directly or indirectly—is given to him by his parents, his relatives, other Mexican American students, who tell him that if he rejects Mexican American culture and identifies with Anglo culture, he may be considered a traitor to his ethnic group. The other message comes from teachers, employers, Anglo friends, who tell him that if he doesn't reject the Mexican American culture then he will be unable to reap the educational and economic benefits that are available in the Anglo society.

Dr. Manuel Ramirez,
 Department of Psychology,
 Rice University, Houston.

"Least employment"



Mexican Americans suffer from the syndrome of a conquered people. And one of the characteristics of this is the frustration of powerlessness. This is caused, I feel, by the lack of control of our own destiny in the areas of economics, educational opportunities, and the administration of justice. It is the goal of our organizations to remedy this situation.

Richard Alatorre,
Director, Los Angeles Office,
NAACP Legal Defense and
Education Fund.



I at one time in my life would have been the first one to say that law is enforced equally upon all, and policemen are here to protect us, until you go to live in a ghetto or barrio . . . and see with your eyes the discrimination and the unequal enforcement by words and by deed, of law enforcement. . . . As I see it at the local level, State level, and the Federal level, the major problem is one of indifference and apathy to the justice and needs of the Mexican American.

Rev. John Luce,
Rector, Epiphany Parish,
Easi Los Angeles, Calif.



Can you tell me, whether the Texas Rangers are instructed in the use of restraint in the face of provocation?

Commission Staff.

We are not instructed in any way. We use what force we deem necessary to make any kind of arrest.

Alfred Y. Allee,
Captain, Texas Rangers,
Texas Department of
Public Safety.



Assuming that the plant at Grand Prairie right outside Dallas were transferred to the Rio Grande Valley, or assuming that you could find the same sort of pay in the Valley, what do you think you and your family would do?

Commission Staff.;

We would go back to the Valley.

David Pantoja,
Ling-Temco-Vought worker.
Why is that? Staff.

Well, I grew up in the Valley and my friends are over there, and parents, and I got used to living over there. Mr. Pantoja.

But the way the situation is now, do you think you would be able to find any such job in the Valley?

Staff.

No. Mr. Pantoja.

ANTI RACISM

(the new movement)

The racism which threatens America is principally a white problem which only whites can solve. That is the basic assertion of People Against Racism (PAR), a group of individuals organized to combat white racism. People Against Racism and a few similar organizations and individuals represent the beginnings of a new movement in this country. PAR symbolizes new perception, analysis, and new approaches to erase discrimination, unequal treatment, and racial injustice in America.

Applauding black liberation and other minority crusades for self-determination, the new movement offers direct support and involvement in those efforts only when requested. The programs of People Against Racism are not centered in the black ghetto or on Indian reservations; they are not concentrated in the rural South or Spanish-language barrios. People Against Racism believes that the struggle for racial equality and human justice is a battle that must be waged in the white community, with the white power structure, against white institutions.

The nucleus of whites who comprise PAR read the report of the Kerner Commission which officially exposed white racism and discarded the study as not only practically irrelevant, but also victimized by racist error. People Against Racism saw a classical mistake repeated: ignoring its own conclusions that the fundamental cause of racial injustice and strife is white racism, the Kerner report recommended that the Nation begin or expand programs to improve housing, education, welfare, and employment for deprived minorities. People Against Racism pointed out that such programs have failed in the past—and they predict failure in the future—because the problem is not in the ghetto, not in the minority community. The ghetto, the problems of minorities in poverty, are only a result or symptom of the illness of white racism. And until the illness is cured, the symptoms will not go away.

Before the Kerner Commission was formed, members of People Against Racism were living out their conviction that it is in the interest of white people to confront the roots of racism in their own communities. "For it is this white racism," an early PAR pamphlet said, "which carries the seeds of destruction of not only black people, but all of us."

People Against Racism realized from the beginning that they would be a minority movement: so few white Americans perceive the validity of PAR's basic assumption; most whites believe sincerely that they do not discriminate against racial minorities. And indeed

most do not in a direct, overt way. Separation of the races is so complete that they seldom get the opportunity. Because most whites do not directly discriminate against or exploit black people, they believe that such things do not occur—or at least they want to believe they do not. This proposition is reinforced by a 1967 Harris Poll which showed that only one out of a hundred whites believed or admitted to believing that Negroes were treated "badly" in this country. Three-fourths of those polled thought "Negroes are treated the same as whites."

The need to deny racism has led to the development of an extensive catalogue of euphemisms which obscure feelings and conduct toward minority citizens. Under the guise of "preserving the neighborhood school," Negro children are kept separate in segregated schools. Black people, Mexican Americans, or Puerto Ricans are not denied jobs because of their race or culture, but because "they are not qualified." Whites oppose housing integration because Negroes "lower property values." Police should use extraordinary repressive force in the ghetto, not to deny legal rights of the residents, but to "stop crime in the streets." Black students fail to learn in ghetto schools not because the schools are inferior, but because black students are inferior by virtue of their "cultural disadvantage" or "poor environment." Militant minority leaders are denied power or respect because "they are going too fast." Ghetto mothers do not receive prenatal services because they are undeserving or "lazy."

Seeking ways to confront a society which systematically denies its own racism, People Against Racism began by describing an historical base for their claim. PAR reviewed this Nation's history to show both the historical development of racism and the contemporary effects on society. The findings are a reiteration of aspects of America's past which have been pointed out before, but which have been virtually ignored, if not denied.

PAR's recapitulation of the history of racism in America lists two principal developments: the treatment of American natives who were "in the way" of westward expansion and the American system of slavery.

The first racist act in the New World, PAR asserts, was the first killing of a native "Indian" by a white colonist. Thus began the systematic reduction of the Indian population from more than a million in the late 18th century to less than 500,000 by the end of the 19th century. Through various methods, principally shooting and starvation (and the incidental scourge of the white man's diseases), some tribes were extin-

guished entirely and more than half the Indians were destroyed.

The ostensible justification for this slaughter was the concept of Manifest Destiny. God willed that white people civilize the West. As the Indians were pushed back by military tactics, pioneers took possession of the land, and missionaries of the church condoned it all by pronouncing the natives uncivilized, unchristian, barbarian and primitive—less than human. There was no reason that the “superior” whites should not take their land by any means necessary. This concept remains and is transmitted through generations by the “white” version of that period of history with its racist distortions; it is perpetuated particularly by cowboy ‘n’ Indian movies and television westerns.

The second pertinent historical development of white racism is related to slavery. The United States maintained a brutal and dehumanizing slave system based exclusively on race. Countless numbers of black men, women, and children died in passage from Africa. In America, they were treated as chattel—property. Families were purposely broken up, individuals bought and sold, punished, and stripped of human dignity. All this was possible in a Nation founded on the principle that “all men are created equal” by pronouncing Negro not a man or, as the Constitution deigned him, three-fifths of a man.

The modern implications of these historical developments, says People Against Racism, lie not so much in how whites defined the Indians or Negroes, but in how whites defined themselves. By categorizing other races as inferior, whites automatically defined themselves as superior. PAR concludes that the significant result is that white Americans as a society—do not know who they are, “because they have constructed an identity that depends primarily on who they are *not*.” White American society, to put it another way, suffers mental illness, a psychosis manifested by delusions of superiority based on the inferiority of others. The psychological need to identify others as inferior—and it is a need, since whites’ self-identity depends on it—becomes a compulsion to “keep them in their place,” because any change in their inferior status threatens the whites’ self-concept of superiority.

While it is important to understand this aspect of our cultural health, to set the historical record straight, People Against Racism points out that it is dangerous to simply leave it at that. It is a new and discomfoting interpretation of history and leads to a sense of historical guilt without proportion. It is not the intention of People Against Racism to create a sense of guilt only.

PAR contends that the Kerner Commission is to be criticized for doing precisely that. The Kerner report made a broad generalization on white racism and offered inadequate explanation, insufficient analysis or definition. The Commission thus further obscured the already perplexing concept of racism, implying that all white people somehow participated in some intangible disease passed on through generations. The resulting sense of guilt is mysterious and amorphous. Such vague guilt is too overwhelming for the individual to deal with: it paralyzes.

Insecure in a self-concept based on other people’s inferiority and unable as individuals to bear societal guilt, people are apt to repress, deny, over-react, or act irrationally. PAR’s assertion that this Nation is racist does not mean that all white Americans are racists. It does mean that the myth of white supremacy is engrained in the country’s history and inherent in its structure. It means that we all participate in a society and system which has been continuously and methodically racist.

As a beginning of understanding of how racism works in this country and what part it plays in the system—as well as a means of analyzing the individual’s participation in it—People Against Racism offers two basic distinctions—neither of them original or astounding—the distinction between attitudinal and behavioral racism and between individual and institutional racism.

Attitudinal racism is any concept which views other people as inferior on the basis of race, any attitude of white supremacy. Any acceptance of the ideas that Indians as a race are “drunks” or that Mexicans are “lazy” or that Puerto Ricans have less native intelligence or that Negroes, as such, “just want a handout”: these are examples of attitudes which are racist.

Behavioral racism, on the other hand, is any action or behavior which has the practical effect of disadvantaging nonwhites to the advantage of whites, no matter the intent. The action need not be consciously anti-black or derogatory to a minority. Most urban renewal or inner-city freeway programs, for example, are racist in a practical sense—since they render black people homeless—although there is no ostensible racist motivation.

The definition of behavioral racism cuts through the rhetorical declarations of innocence that all whites have learned to make about their attitudes and actions towards racial or ethnic minorities. While an individual may not hold racist attitudes, to the extent that he participates or condones actions which have the

practical effect of disadvantaging minorities, he is a behavioral racist.

The second simple distinction concerns individual and institutional racism. Individual racism consists of an overt discernible act against people of another race. Based on a racist attitude, the individual racist may bomb a Negro church, refuse to serve Mexican Americans in a place of business, or vote to exclude a person from a club because he is Puerto Rican. The death of Negro children, bombed in a Birmingham church, results from an individual racist act.

High infant mortality rates among blacks compared to the much lower rate among whites, on the other hand, or the lower average of achievement among minority students result from institutional, systematic racism. Institutions themselves work in such a way as to deprive minorities of equal opportunities. Institutional racism can continue to operate because of the formation and structure of the institution itself, even though no individual racist controls or participates in that institution.

Having made that distinction, People Against Racism asserts that all white institutions are racist, "or, more accurately, white supremacist, and all operate to perpetuate white privilege." Since racism is an integral part of our history and culture, it is an integral part of the institutions of society. PAR points out that some institutions are more vigorously racist, some manifest the racism differently, some are more strategically located within the system and more effectively racist. Whatever the variation, institutions, by definition, seek to

perpetuate themselves; in the process, they perpetuate racism as well.

Individual racist acts are based on racist attitudes. The racism of institutions—with the exception of white supremacist organizations—is almost always behavioral. In whatever form or guise, racism is built into the society and the way the "system" works. People Against Racism believes that the most serious problem to be dealt with is institutional behavioral racism—it is the principal reason for disparities between white and nonwhite income, employment, housing, education, and health care. It deprives this Nation's minorities of equal treatment. And it deprives the white majority of a decent and just country.

People Against Racism emphasizes that white people must begin to see that the present racist system is as destructive to them as it has been for blacks and other minorities. It is robbing white America of its humanity and preventing a healthy society. Says PAR: "Racist institutions are responsible for white people having no knowledge or distorted knowledge of the histories and cultures of people of color, and little or no knowledge and understanding of black people's struggle for liberation. Thus, white institutions have created a world of fantasy for white people. Unable to realistically and humanly coexist with people of color, White America pursues policies of repression and destruction at home and abroad."

Whites, the People Against Racism insist, must help whites. The issue has been confused in the past by efforts to "help the Negro," or "educate the Indian." Those citizens committed to the attainment of equal treatment in America have sought to deal with the "Negro problem," the results of discrimination rather than the cause of it. These efforts have failed. Racial polarization has increased. And in spite of token progress in the civil rights struggle, People Against Racism avows that on the basis of its studies, the life situation of most blacks in relation to whites has deteriorated in this decade. It is conclusive proof, says PAR, that paternalism will not work, cannot save this society.

People Against Racism believes that the only way absolute social disaster can be prevented is for whites to confront the roots of racism in their own communities. Whites, no less than blacks, must struggle for the power to control the institutions which create and perpetuate a disastrously distorted system. Anti-racist whites must first recognize their own powerlessness, particularly as individuals, to take on institutions. They must, therefore, organize themselves and others.



They must build a base. They must begin the task of bringing revolutionary change to the white institutions that control and define the identity and destiny of white Americans.

With this objective in mind, People Against Racism was organized in Detroit about three years ago. Individuals decided to create a group with four primary objectives: "To educate ourselves and others to the existence and manifestations of racism and to the objectives of the black movement, to raise the issue of racism in our own communities, to confront institutions on issues which arise locally and nationally and to take action, to support the black movement in those instances where direct support is possible."

In the spring of 1968, the Detroit Area People Against Racism affiliated with groups in other cities (some of which they helped organize) to form a National PAR organization. The national office is in Detroit; the Detroit area local has offices in a Detroit suburb. Other local chapters are in Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, and Ann Arbor, Michigan. There are PAR members in other major cities, including Boston, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles. In all, People Against Racism has about 250 active members.

PAR locals are financed almost entirely from member pledges of from one to five percent of annual income. At least one initial grant was secured from the Episcopal Church's General Convention Special Fund for national organization; in the future PAR intends to concentrate its grant requests on special, more or less independent projects. PAR believes that white organizations which can support themselves should, leaving foundation money for black programs less apt to be financially self-sufficient. PAR's self-sufficiency is made possible by the financial pledge and volunteer time expected from members and the low salaries of the few PAR professionals, all of whom could command much higher pay elsewhere. (PAR staff persons refer to "unorthodox" salary scales as a matter of their conscious choice of personal life style and emphasis on the meaning of their work as a worthwhile effort rather than a task contracted for wages.)

The national office of People Against Racism is essentially a training, resource, and organizing agency. So far, the national staff has conducted more than 20 week-end seminars on racism for more than 600 persons in Detroit and other cities across the country. Groups requesting PAR training pay travel expenses and a small training fee. About a fourth of PAR's national budget comes from training session proceeds. National PAR officers also maintain a heavy schedule

of speaking engagements before high school classes, church groups, and civic organizations. Such talks are sometimes a first step in organizing new locals. The national office provides source material for more intensive seminars conducted at the local level.

People Against Racism has been concentrating on research into racism and how it works. Relevant, "action" research is emphasized, rather than more abstract, academic studies. PAR research activity includes working papers on institutionalized racism in such areas as education, police and courts, political representation, welfare and poverty programs, industry and labor; a position paper on Vietnam probing the relationship of racism to American involvement in the war; a study of the racist tendencies of American expansion, economic imperialism, and foreign policy in general; a major study on identity in white society, taking into account the effects of slavery and the practices of racial exploitation on the individual white person and on the national psychology. An updated and expanded version of "Repression in America," a background paper prepared for PAR's conference on Law, Order, and the White Backlash in Detroit, is available; the study documents the growing tendency toward military and legal repression and growing white hysterics in reaction to the dynamic of the black struggle for self-determination. Another study is available on white supremacy and the church.

Local chapters of People Against Racism utilize this and other source material in seminars which usually last 12 weeks. Study begins with papers on racist myths about Africa and Africans, the "Peculiar Institution," the Civil War, and the era of Reconstruction. A session on institutional racism covers educational and economic systems, both in the ghetto and in the white community, and attempts to show how the racist status quo is maintained. Institutionalized racism of the law and political process are considered. U.S. foreign policy is examined in terms of this country's involvement in the affairs of other countries under the rationalizations of "Manifest Destiny," "Free Trade," "Making the World Safe for Democracy," and "Anti-Communism." Discussions of increasing racial polarization are followed by several sessions on what can be done in terms of program, organization, and action.

PAR locals have had their most satisfying reception with high school students, but efforts are not concentrated on high schools simply because of the students' response. PAR sees the education system in America as one of the principal perpetrators of racist traditions

and myths in this country and therefore one of the most appropriate institutions to confront. In many cases, the impetus for PAR involvement comes from the students themselves, who may have formed a human relations club or who already have some awareness of distortions in their school's curricula.

In other cases, People Against Racism has offered its assistance in resolving racial problems which developed in local schools. In Detroit, for example, black students in two high schools organized around the issues of black studies, black pride, and militancy, to which white students reacted with misunderstanding and hostility. Racial violence threatened to erupt, and PAR moved in quickly to inform the white students (and parents) of the meaning and aims of the black students' cause. Efforts failed in one school, but succeeded in the other, where, on the basis of the increased understanding, white students organized not only to offer support and approval to the black demands, but also to work in their own self interest.

Local chapters of People Against Racism are also assisting students in the formation of their own free high schools. (People for Human Rights, the PAR affiliate in Philadelphia, has been most successful in this activity.) PAR offers its resources and advice, but the students run the schools and define the curricula, including besides courses in racism, classes in such subjects as communications techniques, new teaching methods, reinterpreted history, and new economic systems.

PAR locals also conduct seminars for adults. Besides speaking to groups on invitation and providing resource material and personnel to other organizations, extensive courses are arranged for teachers, college students, seminarians, social workers, or lawyers. A significant number of clergymen participate in PAR anti-racist sessions.

There has been virtually no contact with the white working classes. The bulk of PAR members are middle class, most have had some college education, and their intellectual rhetoric and class biases hamper attempts to communicate with working class people. PAR theorizes that white working people are exploited by the economic systems as blacks but are blinded by racism to their own exploitation. However, economic theories and philosophical discourses are irrelevant to a group of people who feel themselves in direct job competition with Negroes and who probably depend most absolutely on the myth of white supremacy.

In one metropolitan area, the local PAR has been contacted by a woman from a white working class

suburb who has experienced the effects of racism and harassment because of her acquaintance with Negroes in job training classes she attends. People Against Racism is trying to assist her in her present situation, attempting to help her understand what is happening and why. In the process, PAR hopes to learn how to articulate white working class frustrations and refine ways to make low income whites aware of how they are exploited by racism and why they should seek to combat discrimination.

As People Against Racism seek ways to speak to some segments of the society, techniques which have proven successful with other groups are being refined. In a conference of high school students, PAR staff was able to simulate conditions in society, allowing the students to experience prejudice themselves and to analyze the process and understand the dynamics of racism. The technique was enormously successful, resulting in intense awareness and educated attitude change about oppression and how it works. People Against Racism, confident that the technique can be used effectively in other situations, is seeking to adapt the approach to different circumstances.

As PAR refines its techniques for fostering change, membership is growing, but dedicated People Against Racism still number about one-millionth of the total population. Although PAR is working for a wider membership, they realize they will never be a mass movement. Active membership in PAR involves a commitment which most people are not able to make.

And while the anti-racist movement is growing, there is an even greater burgeoning of polarization, violence, repression. People Against Racism welcomes what some anthropologists have designated as a distinct sub-culture developing in America which consists of people who insist on moral imperatives in the decision-making process. But as this sub-culture—which includes People Against Racism—applies abstract standards of justice, humanity, compassion, and integrity to matters of foreign policy, economics, education, social class, the "other side" responds with increasing repression, brutality, undemocratic measures.

At the same time, People Against Racism are aware that they may delude themselves that they are being effective on the sole basis of the opposition they arouse. They also realize that free speech is not necessarily productive. The freedom to dissent may be granted simply because no one is listening.

People Against Racism are determined to do more than talk. Frank Joyce, PAR's national director, asserts, "We are out to mount a significant opposition to

the way things are done in this country." Joyce is pessimistic about the possibility of change through reform, and although he is somewhat cynical about the prospects of radical change, he is no less committed to that goal: "We can conceive of no non-revolutionary way to combat racism; at the same time, we know that no revolution is imminent. It is possible, however, to build a movement, to organize opposition."

David Kramer, executive director of Detroit PAR adds, "We are haunted by the fact that action is always running to catch up with theory. It is true of us. Part of it, of course, is a function of time; we're a young organization. But we have succeeded in constructing a workable analysis, a continuing program, and a strategy for further action."

Not that People Against Racism pretend to have the final answer. "The sad thing is," says Frank Joyce, "that there is no strategy to end racism. The institutions which perpetuate it are hard to get at. There is also that overwhelming pervasiveness of racism; the whole system is so saturated with it, it will be almost impossible to even begin to overcome the sheer inertia of racism."

People Against Racism traces its origins to the Civil Rights Movement of the last decade. Many individuals in PAR have similar experiences to recount: having worked in the South they began to realize that what they were doing was partly paternalistic, partly dishonest ("I began to see that essentially I was using these people, this movement, to prove that I was not like other white people, that I wasn't racist. . ."). Returning to their own communities, they worked in the ghetto, continued to "do what I could." Finally they saw that as a matter of both integrity and practicality, they could no longer work with the deprived—"help the Negro"—but should be confronting the deprivors, white society.

Such experiences are not the only means by which individuals have found their way to PAR. There are liberals, "men of good will," who have fought the fight for racial justice through the courts and legislatures, reformers who saw their proposals ignored, defeated, or watered down. And they watched the laws which were passed go unenforced. For the frustrated and cynical liberal whose definition of society and strategy of reform no longer seem valid, PAR is an opportunity to renew efforts for social justice.

People Against Racism includes young radicals whose commitment to anti-racism grew out of anti-war activities (reversing the route of graduates of the Civil Rights Movement, who progressed from concern for

discrimination to the issues of poverty and peace). There are a substantial number of clergymen in PAR, ministers or priests instructed by their bishops or presbyteries or consciences to find whether organized religion could have any relevance to the social issues of the ghetto; their perception of the ghetto and what caused it led them to PAR. People Against Racism also includes persons from an essentially apolitical background whose social concern resulted from professional contact with the ghetto—teachers, attorneys, municipal employees, social workers.

People Against Racism come from a variety of backgrounds and offer a variety of approaches to the struggle against racial injustice and exploitation in this country; what unifies them is the common conviction that the basic field of battle has shifted. The fight for human rights and social justice is now being waged where it should be, in the white community. White society must be made aware of the essential perception of People Against Racism and a few similar groups. As Pogo said: "We have met the enemy, and they are us."

By redefining the protagonists in the struggle for equality, the People Against Racism have declared a new war, strikingly analogous to an American war of a century ago. Again the conflict is between white and white. Again, the black man is an issue in the conflict, but his participation in the central struggle is limited. There are echoes of previous calls to conscience and morality, and once more there are governmental attempts at reform and compromise. Again, race is not the only issue but related to economics, political power, technological progress, even foreign policy. Once more, the struggle is to turn men's minds against established institutions and traditions, a similar attempt to eradicate undemocratic and unjust systems from the national life.

There, hopefully, the analogy ends. No one can imagine another conflict of such violence occurring, although there are those who warn us that increasing repressive tactics make the outbreak of widespread violence more probable. And while People Against Racism intends to change radically America's social and economic systems, both their aims and strategy are nonviolent.

In spite of the odds of history and numbers and the power of institutions and traditions, People Against Racism, their colleagues and supporters, show every sign of enduring as a new movement in a new civil war. □

ERBIN CROWELL, JR.

JURY DUTY



IN

CALIFORNIA

Thirteen young Mexican Americans led a walkout at four East Los Angeles high schools last spring. They face charges of conspiring to commit a misdemeanor. They say the school system is not responsive to their special needs as children raised in homes where the language spoken is other than English.

Mexican Americans and Indians comprise 8.1 percent of the Los Angeles County population, yet minority persons have made up only 1.6 percent of grand juries in the last 12 years.

An Indian boy in a Berkeley public school disobeyed his teacher, a woman, so the teacher called him to the front of the classroom. With the help of a colleague who held the child, she allegedly sheared his scalp. A charge of assault and battery was filed against her.

Indians and Mexican Americans comprise 7 percent of the Alameda County population. In the last 12 years 2.6 percent of the grand

juries there have been from these two minorities.

A grape picker in Kern County, California, was arrested last year while participating in a strike picket line. A car drove through the line and the grape worker was accused of hitting the car with a chain, and charged with disturbing the peace.

Only one out of every 10 minority persons have been represented on Kern County grand juries in the last 12 years.

A Ventura County Indian was convicted of larceny two years ago. Ever since he has been appealing the decision on the basis that Indians are systematically excluded from Ventura County juries. Armed with a writ of habeas corpus, he has appeared before several juries—always white.

In Ventura County Mexican Americans and Indians comprise 9.7 percent of the population. During the past 7 years only one of every two have been represented on grand juries.

In each case, representation of a minority group—Mexican American or Indian—on the grand or trial jury could be crucial to the outcome. Attorneys in the East Los Angeles walkout case say the 13 Mexican American youths will not get a fair trial if Mexican Americans are excluded from the jury. Last fall, their petition that charges be dropped on account of discrimination in jury selection was brought before the Los Angeles Superior Court and dismissed as unfounded.

The California Indian Legal Services is representing the Indian boy and has charged the teacher with assault and battery. So far the school board has refused to pay damages—\$100.

A non-biased jury for the grape picker's trial is particularly desirable, his defense attorneys point out, but nearly impossible. Most local Anglo Americans in Kern County are regimentally against the grape pickers' strike. Most local Mexican Americans are farm workers and support the strike. Tensions would be eased and a fair decision reached if the jury exhibited a diversified panel of opinion.

The Ventura County Indian has had to resort to filing his suit before the Federal District Court, where he plans to expand his charge to show that minorities in general, and not just Indians, are outcast from California juries.

The racial or ethnic composition of grand and trial juries and how jurors should be selected is an issue periodically thrashed out in Federal courts. It was even raised in the trial of Sirhan B. Sirhan, the accused assassin of Robert F. Kennedy. Although discrimination in jury selection is prohibited by the Constitution and proscribed by various Civil Rights Acts, violations are still flagrant today in certain counties, according to a recent study of 22 California counties. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recently contracted the California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA), to examine jury selection in California. CRLA is a legal services organization, funded primarily by the Office of Economic Opportunity, to aid rural indigents.

While California has not been dominated by mistreatment of minorities in the 20th century nor been kin to the Deep South in history, spirit, or geography, discrimination of Mexican Americans and Indians in jury duty is as severe—sometimes more severe—as dis-

crimination against Negroes in grand juries in the South.

Biased procedures used to select grand jurors are mirrored several ways during a single litigation. Judges violate the Constitution and Civil Rights Acts, when they discriminate against a prospective juror on the basis of race, color, ethnic origin, or economic status. Judges violate the Jury Selection and Service Act of 1968 if they discriminate against jurors or rely upon the "key man" system to nominate jurors in Federal Courts. Prior to this Act, judges could recruit jurors by asking prominent people in the community, or "key men", to recommend their friends and acquaintances. If a Federal judge who nominated jurors by using the "key man" system were subsequently accused of jury discrimination he could say he didn't know any minorities or none had been recommended to him. The Jury Selection Act outlaws the "key man" system and specifies that names of prospective jurors be chosen from voter registration lists or lists of actual voters. (The Act says U.S. District courts must prescribe some other source of names in areas of the country where voter registration lists may not equitably reflect the population.)

California county court judges who selected grand jurors for the East Los Angeles school walkout case told how they used the "key man" system. All judges who were questioned about their jury selection procedures swore they never discriminated against Mexican Americans and Indians, but most gave different reasons for not nominating minority persons. One judge said he hadn't nominated any Mexican Americans because he didn't know any, aside from his

gardener and garbageman. Another judge testified that he knew several persons of Spanish descent, but hadn't asked them to serve because they have families to support. A superior court judge admitted most of his nominees were affiliated with the Los Angeles Tennis Club, but pointed out that Pancho Gonzales and Pancho Segura were members when someone suggested that Mexican Americans are excluded from the Club. If these judges had been testifying in a Federal court, instead of a county court, they might have been violating the Jury Selection and Service Act of 1968.

Discrimination in jury selection is also reflected by the jurors, themselves. How can juries which represent only selected segments of the population be intimately familiar with the conditions of local minorities and make impartial judgments of their acts?

Serving as a grand or trial juror is the only opportunity most citizens have to participate actively in the administration of justice. Trial jurors sit for several weeks at a time and make final decisions on a few civil or criminal cases. Grand jurors serve single year terms and have two primary responsibilities: they vote to accept or refuse criminal indictments and they examine the conduct of public officials and the administration of local government.

Studies show that participating in government through grand or trial jury service often has a profound psychological significance on minority persons. However, the importance of grand jury service is more than just psychological.

When grand jurors discuss criminal cases the presence of minorities helps minimize potential prejudice. Minority group mem-

bers can alert grand jurors to laws which affect minorities that go unenforced. Also, they can lend greater understanding and equity to disputed cases by making fellow jurors aware of mitigating circumstances.

Grand juries act as the watchdog of justice by evaluating the conduct of public officials and by inspecting the administration of government. Racially and economically mixed grand juries are more likely than all-white juries to punish misconduct aimed at the poor and minority groups. Integrated grand juries tend to be more responsive to traditional minority groups complaints such as local government's failure to make services and facilities equally available to all citizens. Grand juries can censure the misconduct of police and other public officials. Within its official jurisdiction the grand jury indicts individuals for crimes against, or affecting, minority persons. In the course of general inquiry into government procedures the grand jury can examine biases in local hiring practices, jury selection, local welfare programs. By monitoring the operation of local government, grand juries can determine if all parts of the community have equal access to police and fire protection, sewer and water lines, sidewalks, streets, street lights, and recreational facilities.

The nature of an aggressive jury's investigations appears in the 1967 Final Report of the Los Angeles County Grand Jury. This report contains comment, criticism, and recommendations on: Aid to Families with Dependent Children; welfare programs; proposals to install a cafeteria in, and initiate admission fees for, the county museum; debt collection

practices of the county hospital; and real estate management for the county's land holdings.

Grand juries can indict public officials who violate California's criminal law. But where the misconduct does not violate a specific law, grand juries have two primary channels for action: public exposure and censure in an annual report. The effect grand jury reports have on community projects in terms of adverse publicity and public exposure should not be underrated.

Racially mixed grand juries could have a dramatic impact on California's poor and minority citizenry. Aggressive grand juries can stimulate enforcement of laws which protect the rights of California farm workers. Juries can censure misdemeanors such as failure to maintain humane conditions in fields and labor camps by providing fresh drinking water and sanitary facilities. They can investigate complaints that laborers do not always receive prompt and full compensation, and that health aid and safety precautions are absent on certain farms. Violations of these statutes are reportedly widespread in California, yet prosecution is practically nonexistent.

All California grand juries studied by CRLA have a history of inadequate minority representation. The study bases this on a disproportion between the percentage of minorities in the population and the percentage represented on juries. If there were three Mexican Americans for every one who served on a jury, CRLA maintains that unconstitutional selection of grand jurors can be presumed to exist. This disparity is evident in 17 of the 22 counties studied, and varied from substantial in the best

counties to grotesque in the worst. In five counties, the disparity between minority population and minority grand jurors was greater than 10:1. In one county no Indians had served on a grand jury during the years studied. In three counties only one Mexican American had served. In no county did the percentage of minority group grand jurors approach, equal, or exceed the proportion of minorities in the population.

When asked why such a great disparity exists, and why more minority group members do not serve on grand juries, many judges and jury commissioners have said, "minority citizens cannot afford time off from work necessitated by grand jury service. Grand jurors get only \$5 a day, and this makes it difficult for men to support large families."

This financial argument may be a valid explanation for the disparity in Los Angeles County where grand jurors sit for most of each year. However, the same argument cannot be applied to smaller counties where grand juries sit for only several weeks a year and the dates of service are tailored to juror convenience or to avoid peak agricultural seasons. Since most Mexican Americans in these counties are farm laborers, judges would not have to deviate from customary procedures to enable them to participate. Furthermore, a \$5-a-day compensation would be economically advantageous for many Mexican Americans during off seasons, and also for welfare recipients. It is hard to take the "financial inability" argument seriously.

Another explanation for the disparity might be that Mexican Americans are often disqualified for not having a "sufficient knowl-

edge of the English language." *People v. Davis*, a California State decision, says a juror must have a knowledge of spoken English, not necessarily literacy in English. The juror's knowledge of English need not be perfect, so long as he basically understands it. Although concrete figures are unavailable, it's probably true that more Mexican Americans than Anglos speak only Spanish. Those people who don't speak English are often aliens—and hence disqualified from jury service. None of the witnesses in the recent California Assembly Hearings on the grand jury used English as a reason for low minority representation. There seems little reason to believe that minorities are excluded from jury duty because they lack a sufficient knowledge of English.

If prejudice has affected grand jury selection in 22 California counties—as the CRLA study indicates—it is probably as much economic prejudice as racial prejudice. Judges cannot take solace in this because the Constitution requires that juries be selected so as to represent a fair cross section of the community. Juries which include farm workers are more likely to investigate grower violations or agricultural health and safety laws, than recommend that Federal funds for training the poor be withheld. Grand juries which include welfare recipients generally take a more sympathetic look at Federal assistance for the poor and a less nostalgic view of Federal expenditures for the rich, such as farm subsidies.

Minority grievances are seldom promoted by California grand juries. Perhaps if more minority group members were included on the juries the Constitutional ideal of equal justice would be reality.

There
Is
A
Hunger
Here



*There is a crime that goes
beyond denunciation.
There is a sorrow here that
weeping cannot symbolize.
There is a failure here that
topples all our success.*

With these words, John Steinbeck immortalized the plight of the poor in America during the Depression years. The lines from his novel, *Grapes of Wrath*, were never more timely than they are today. For at this moment in America, a land which boasts the highest standard of living ever known to man, there stalks the spectre of hunger and malnutrition, reaping its harvest of retarded and unproductive lives.

Although there have been various reports over the past two years describing the extent of hunger in the Nation, most persons have discounted them, refusing to believe that such a problem exists or believing that nothing more than isolated incidents are reflected by them. Any grounds for disbelief which may have existed were removed this past January by the release of preliminary findings in America's first National Nutrition Survey conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). The HEW survey revealed enough information, even if only on a limited basis, to confirm the prevalence of chronic hunger and malnutrition in this country, especially among people of low income. Some of the findings:

One-third of the examined children below the age of 6 were anemic with iron intake being low among 60 percent of this age group.

One-third of the examined children below the age of 6 had Vitamin A deficiencies. Prolonged Vitamin A deficiency can lead to blindness.

Eighteen cases of rickets, a Vitamin D deficiency, a disease thought to have been eliminated in this country during the 1930s, were discovered. Vitamin D, whose major source is fortified milk, is necessary for normal bone development.

Five percent of those surveyed had enlarged thyroid glands, an iodine deficiency known as goiter, and another disease thought to have been eliminated 30 years ago.

Seven cases of severe malnutrition bearing such exotic names as kwashiorkor and marasmus, due to

protein and caloric deficiency. According to one surveyor: "We did not expect to find (the two diseases) in this country." Only rarely found in developing countries, such cases result in hospitalization or death.

These are hard, impersonal statistics. They indicate that a critical problem of hunger and malnutrition does exist and should command national attention. What does the data mean in human terms?

A Crime Beyond Denunciation

Robert is a second-grader. He lives east of 55th Street in Cleveland. Robert is black and his family poor. Poverty and blackness seem to go together quite often east of 55th Street. Because so few grade school children in Cleveland get a school lunch, Robert probably misses the one decent meal a day that a child of poverty might eat. One-third of the school children in Detroit cannot be provided a lunch because half the schools have no food service facilities. In Washington, D.C., only 24 of the District's 138 elementary schools have lunchrooms although bag lunches are available. Nationally, there are 9.5 million children in school having no lunch facilities according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture.

When so many children, especially those from families who are seldom able to afford the price of a school lunch, do not receive a school lunch, a number of other serious problems also develop. Those who watched the CBS documentary "Hunger in America" last May can never forget the answer of the 14-year old Alabama boy who, when asked how he felt about not being able to afford the 25-cents necessary to buy a school lunch, replied that he was "ashamed." Nutritionists and school teachers know a hungry child finds it very hard to learn in school. A child who can't learn isn't able to compete when he enters the adult world. Is this not a crime beyond denunciation?

A Sorrow That Weeping Cannot Symbolize

Mrs. Moore lives in a sharecropper's shack on a Mississippi plantation. Like her parents and grandparents before her, she is a reminder that the legacy of slavery has not died in our country. She sobs softly as the coffin carrying the body of her 6-month old baby boy, Earnest, is lowered into the Delta clay. Mrs. Moore has had seven children but Earnest is the third to die before he was a year old, the victim of complications rooted in conditions of malnutrition, poor housing, poor sanitation, and disease. Deaths due to starvation or the lack of adequate diet seldom find their way into mortality statistics. However, we know that persons without an adequate diet are many times

more susceptible to disease and infections, severe and prolonged illnesses, and the possibility of death many times greater.

The Moore family lives in one of the 1,400 counties in America that distributes free surplus commodities to poor people. Commodities, which many people depend upon for their only food, are limited in variety and must be combined with meats, fruits, and vegetables to provide an adequate diet. Before this year if a person had to count on the 16 commodities then available, he was receiving 49 percent of the calories, 59 percent of the iron, 70 percent of the protein, and 72 percent of the calcium nutritionists recommend for a minimum adequate diet—provided he received all the 16 commodities. The number of commodities now available has been increased to 22 by adding such items as cereal mix, canned chicken, fruit juices, dried eggs, and evaporated milk. This year, if a person receives more than 20 commodities, his diet will meet all minimum nutritional requirements except for calories and Vitamin A—provided he uses them all effectively. Less than 30 percent of the areas now distributing commodities actually disperse more than 20 of the food items offered.

Scientists estimate that 90 percent of a child's brain development occurs by the age of 4. In these critical years, much of a child's personality, behavior, and learning ability are also determined. Half of the general intelligence he will have by age 18 is also developed during those early years. If sufficient protein-carrying food is not made available during the first four years, irreversible damage may occur and the child runs a high risk of being condemned to a half-life of retardation and certain unrealized productive capacity. No one has put a price tag on these costs of unrealized human potential resulting from an inadequate diet in early life, but the figure must be astronomical.

Calorie count and nutritional data probably do not occur to Mrs. Moore as she looks at her remaining four children. More probably she feels a sorrow that weeping cannot symbolize.

A Failure That Topples All Our Success

The Harrison family lives in an adjoining Mississippi county. They, too, are sharecroppers. Some would consider them lucky because, unlike Mrs. Moore and her children, their county is one of almost 1,200 counties in America that have a food stamp program. The food stamp program grew out of pilot projects initiated by President Kennedy in 1961 and made it possible for

families to purchase food stamps worth more than the purchase price which can be redeemed for food at the local grocery. The food stamp program is considered more desirable because, unlike the commodity items, the stamps can buy whatever the holder wants. That is if he can afford the stamps.

The Harrisons used to participate in the commodity program, inadequate as it was, because the commodities were free. That was before their county switched over to the food stamp program in 1966. The Harrisons are numbered among more than 113,000 Mississippians who were in a food program in 1966 and who have dropped out since then. The food stamps must be bought at a regular time each month but a sharecropper's money comes once a year when the cotton is harvested. At all other times, existence is maintained on credit. Lacking regular income, the Harrisons cannot afford the food stamps.

Does Hunger Exist in America?

There are thousands of Americans who are starving at this very minute. Starving in the sense described by a group of doctors who toured Mississippi in the spring of 1967:

We do not want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry, weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened; they are, in fact, visibly and predictably losing their health, their energy, their spirits. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them, which is exactly what "starvation" means.

Some people who eat three and four meals a day refuse to believe they are even partly responsible for seeing that food, more nourishing than dried beans and hominy grits, is on hungry persons' plates every day. These are the people who say, "What about the food stamp program, and what about the commodity food surplus program? Poor people can eat if they would only make the effort to apply for these programs."

For one thing not everybody participates in the programs.

In Virginia, for example, only 6.2 percent of the people in poverty benefitted from any Federal food program in 1968; in Texas, 9.5 percent; in Maryland, 10.8 percent; in North Carolina, 11.2 percent, and in South Carolina, 11.3 percent. The average percentage increase for the 16 Southern States was from 11.6 percent in 1966 to 15.3 percent in 1968.

Call to Action

When the public outcry for action to alleviate hunger was first heard in the late spring of 1967 (resulting from a Senate committee hearing on poverty in Mississippi and a report on health conditions of Mississippi school children by six eminent physicians), the Department of Agriculture's response was to concentrate on the country's 1,000 lowest income counties, 331 of which lacked a food program. Today, they all have a program. By October 1968, there were only approximately 500 counties in the country without a food program. Half of these counties are located in nine Southern States. The Department of Agriculture has announced a goal of placing a food program in every county in America. But again this depends on the willingness of Congress to provide the necessary funds.

The important factor is not the number of counties, but the number of people who receive food assistance. In the 16 Southern States, 17.5 million persons were estimated to be in poverty in 1965 (the latest year for which States estimates are available). In October 1966, only 785, or slightly more than half of the 1,419 counties in the region, were operating a food program. Slightly more than two million persons were participating in a food program—approximately 11.6 percent of the number estimated to be in poverty. Two years later, in October 1968, 1,185 counties, nearly 85 percent of the counties in the region, were operating a food program and nearly 2.7 million persons were participating—approximately 15.3 percent of the number of persons estimated to be in poverty. The number of counties operating a program increased by 51 percent but the number of persons participating increased only 32 percent. (This latter figure would be higher except the State of Mississippi suffered a decline of almost 113,000 persons participating in a food program during the two year period.) Low income people are most susceptible to hunger and malnutrition caused by the lack of an adequate diet. They are the least able to do something about it, yet less than one out of five low income persons are participating in a food program.

Food Programs

There are three basic types of food programs operated by the Department of Agriculture: commodities, food stamps, and school lunches.

The Federal Government has been directing various food programs for over 30 years. The basic program for most of those years provided for the free distribution of a number of surplus commodities purchased by

the Department of Agriculture under funds from Section 32 of the amended Agricultural Adjustment Act. Begun in 1935, this program has always been viewed as an effort to support farm prices and control surpluses. An incidental purpose has been to make the surplus commodities available to low income persons. Section 32 permits the use of 30 percent of the Nation's customs receipts, now amounting to approximately \$900 million annually, for this purpose. Not all available funds are used, however. Over the last 10 years over \$1.2 billion in funds that could have been used to alleviate hunger were never used.

The modern-day commodity distribution program began in 1954 when the Department of Agriculture assumed payment for the cost of shipping the commodities to distribution points within the 155 participating counties. By 1959, the number of participating counties grew to over 1,300. Food for hungry Americans was an issue in the Presidential campaign of 1960 as Senator John. F. Kennedy visited many of the country's poverty-stricken areas. At that time, only five commodities were distributed by the program.

When he became President, Mr. Kennedy's first executive order was to direct the Department of Agriculture to "expand and improve the program of food distribution throughout the United States" (Executive Order 10914, January 23, 1961). The number of commodities was doubled and eventually increased to 15. It 1968 it was expanded to 22. Peak participation in the program came in 1962 when 6.5 million persons in 1,800 areas were receiving commodities. Toward the end of 1968 with the advent of food stamps, the commodity program was being operated in only 1,400 areas with about 3.6 million participants. The fiscal year 1970 budget estimates that over four million persons will participate in the commodity distribution program by June 1970. Currently 2.7 million persons in 1,200 areas benefit from food stamps.

Among the counties currently operating a commodity distribution program are 188 in which the Department of Agriculture provides added administrative funds to insure that the food program continues: 152 of these counties are located in the South, with Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia accounting for 94. A significant number are counties in which Negro and Mexican American populations are heavily concentrated. Also among the commodity distribution counties are 49 where the Department of Agriculture is operating the program directly with Federal employees because local officials have refused to establish a program. Forty-four of these counties are located in the

South, with Texas and Virginia accounting for 28, and again, many have large minority group populations.

Several problems accompany the commodity distribution program. First, its statutory purpose is to stabilize farm prices. Second, less than a third of participating counties actually distributes more than 20 commodities. Third, commodities do not provide an adequate diet unless they are supplemented with additional fresh foods. Fourth, the commodity program cannot operate in counties where a food stamp program exists except under emergency conditions declared by the Secretary of Agriculture. This emergency power has seldom been used. Fifth, eligibility for the commodity program varies widely among States according to welfare assistance standards. Because income criteria for assistance vary from State to State, it is possible for a family to be excluded from the food program in one State and eligible for it in another. Some counties deny participation to welfare recipients. Between 22 and 30 million persons are in poverty or near poverty: less than 6.5 million are participating in a food program. Sixth, food and welfare programs are often used as weapons to control recipient behavior. In the past, commodities were discontinued in rural counties during summer months to insure a ready supply of cheap labor. A mother testified before the Mississippi State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at Jackson, in February 1967, that her family was inexplicably dropped from the commodity program after she registered her children in a formerly all-white school.

Food Stamps

The other food program for persons in need is food stamps which permit a person to purchase stamps worth more than their purchase price and are redeemable at local grocery stores. A food stamp program was instituted in 1939. By 1941 nearly four million persons were participating in the food stamp program, but it was terminated in 1943 because of the increased war effort requirements and high employment.

Although legislation to restore the food stamp program was introduced into every subsequent Congress, it was not until President Kennedy's action in 1961 that another food stamp program was begun and then only on a pilot basis. The pilot program was financed with Section 32 funds and was initiated in eight areas of chronic unemployment. By the end of 1961, approximately 140,000 persons were participating in the program. By 1964, when the number of pilot areas grew

to 43, as many as 392,000 persons were receiving food stamps.

In 1964 Congress authorized a full program of food stamps. Since then the program has grown steadily. Toward the end of last year nearly 2.7 million persons in nearly 1,200 areas were participating. The fiscal year 1970 budget estimates that 3.9 million persons will be participating in the program by June 1970.

The food stamp program is considered a more desirable and flexible program than commodity distribution, but it, too, has problems. First, the food stamp program does not operate concurrently with the commodity program. Second, eligibility standards are tied to State welfare assistance standards. Third, participating families must purchase a set amount of stamps, based on income and family size, at regular intervals. Many families simply do not have a regular income or cash at all so must go hungry.

Before the purchasing power of the stamps was increased last February 1, some poor families paid more than 40 percent of their income for stamps as compared to the average American family having only 18 percent of income for food. Families of less than \$70-monthly income can now pay less for stamps and receive more total food value. For example, a four person household in the South with a monthly income of \$50 formerly paid \$22, or 44 percent of their income, for stamps and received \$58 worth of food stamps. They now pay \$18, or 36 percent of their income, and receive \$60 worth of stamps. There has been no change either in purchase requirements or total value received for families with more than a \$70-monthly income. The Department of Agriculture has said its goal is to require a family to pay no more than 25 percent of their available income for food stamps. But this will not be possible unless Congress provides more funds for the program. It has even been suggested that the goal should be no more than 10 percent.

The requirements for purchase of the stamps have been criticized on several counts, primarily because they fail to take into account cost of living differences due to residence or other factors, and because the food stamp program itself is inherently self-contradictory.

As to the first source of criticism, there are only two purchase formulas for the stamps, one for the Southeastern States and the other for the rest of the country. While these schedules are based on income and size of household, they allow no leeway for such factors as special nutritional needs of children, re-



gional price differences within a region, and irregular income.

The self-contradiction arises out of the ostensible purpose of serving those in greatest need, while in actuality those poor families with the highest incomes can benefit more from food stamps than those with lower incomes.

This brings to light still another contradiction: most families in the food stamp program do not receive food value considered by the Department of Agriculture as the absolute minimum necessary for an adequate nutrition. Under the Department of Agriculture's "Economy Food Plan", which forms the basis for current projections of poverty, a minimum adequate diet is estimated to cost \$22.50 per person per month or \$90 per month for a four person household. Nutritionists say increased costs of living make \$107 per month a more appropriate figure. As an example of this point, the maximum allowable income for a four person household in rural Virginia to receive food stamps is \$150 per month. For their \$150 a month, the Virginia household pays \$52 and receives \$74 worth of stamps—\$16 less than the \$90 a month the Department of Agriculture says is necessary for a minimum adequate diet. The same situation applies in South Carolina and Louisiana where the maximum is respectively \$160 and \$165 per month for a four person household. Families in these States also receive \$74 in food buying power. In Alabama and Mississippi, where the income limits are \$175 and \$180 respectively, a four-member household receives \$78 in total food value—still \$12 less than that required for a minimum adequate diet.

Food Supplements

A promising but so far limited program of supplemental foods for infants, young children, and expectant and nursing mothers is being conducted in approximately 65 counties. The program, which it is hoped will reach 225,000 persons by the end of the summer and one million persons a year later, provides evaporated milk, iron-rich cereal, and corn syrup for infants, and a variety of canned fruit juices, canned vegetables, and canned meats for young children and mothers. The program is operated in conjunction with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through health clinics and medical centers. Since the determination of need is a medical one, clinic staff decide what items are necessary on the basis of individual need.

A program of nutrition education is being imple-

mented through the Cooperative Extension Service system. Using approximately 4,000 nonprofessional aides, it is hoped that 140,000 low income families can be reached with this necessary information. The program will bear close scrutiny especially in Southern rural areas where discrimination in extension services is a widespread problem.

School Lunches

The major child feeding program is the National School Lunch Program.

Almost 20 million of the Nation's 50 million school children receive a school lunch. But for the 6 million children from families in direst poverty (earning less than \$2,000 annually), fewer than one in three received a free lunch before this school year. Thanks to a one-year Congressional appropriation of an additional \$45 million in 1968, it is estimated that the number of free lunches to children in poverty will increase to 4 million. Two bills, H.R. 515 and 516, which would authorize an added \$100 million a year for the school lunch program and which would require additional State matching funds and other important program reforms, will be considered by Congress during the current session.

Federal cash contributions to the School Lunch Program are approximately 4-1/2 cents per lunch. States must match the Federal cash contributions on a 3 to 1 basis. Some States exceed this ratio, but the vast majority of "State" contributions comes from the price children pay for their lunches. In New York and Louisiana, State and local funds provide one-half of the non-Federal contribution. In Alabama, State and local governments contribute nothing. Perhaps this explains why 86 percent of the children from the lowest income families receive free or reduced price lunches in New York, but only 15 percent of such children receive them in Alabama.

There are still more problems. In many areas, especially urban ghettos, there are no facilities for preparing lunches. In addition, many poor children face humiliation by being made to work for their lunches, stand in separate lines, or eat in separate areas although such practices are specifically prohibited by Federal school lunch regulations.

Discrimination in Food Programs

Hunger and malnutrition is not a minority group problem alone. Nearly 70 percent of this country's poverty persons are white. Hunger and malnutrition recognize no color line and no regional boundaries.

Still, it must be recognized that race or ethnic origin can increase the burden of poverty. The Consumer and Marketing Service, the Department of Agriculture agency that administers the needy food and child feeding programs does not collect racial or ethnic data on participants in its programs, but there have been specific studies which indicate that race or ethnic origin do affect participation. In the school lunch program, for example, a study of school lunch participation in Cambridge, Maryland, schools in January 1964 showed that 46.4 percent of the white children, but only 18.1 percent of the Negro children, were receiving school lunches. A similar study in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and Virginia during the 1962-63 school year showed that average white participation was 62.1 percent while Negro participation was only 25.7 percent. Although more recent data is not available, the Committee on School Lunch Participation report, *Their Daily Bread*, which covered 40 States, detailed instances of racial discrimination and concluded, "There is enough evidence of discrimination in the school lunch program to warrant a thorough study by agencies staffed and equipped to do the job." In the needy food programs, prior to Department of Agriculture action to increase the number of participating counties, 256 of the country's 331 lowest income counties without food programs were located in 10 Southern States: 188 of these had Negro or Mexican American populations higher than the State average. These scattered findings justify the necessity of requiring the Department of Agriculture to collect information about its food program participants which would enable it to assure that race or ethnic origin are not factors in the food programs.

No Room For Doubt

Many people refuse to believe that Federal food programs are not meeting the needs of the Nation's poor and hungry. They remain unconvinced in spite of reports such as *Hunger U.S.A.*, published by a private group of concerned citizens, which stated:

We found concrete evidence of chronic hunger and malnutrition in every part of the United States where we held hearings or conducted field trips. . . (We) are convinced that chronic hunger and malnutrition are not confined to those places we visited personally but are national in scope and distribution. . . . This prevalence is shocking. A thousand people who must go without food for days each month would be shocking in a wealthy nation. We believe that, in America, the

number reaches well into the millions. And we believe the situation is worsening.

At hearings held in rural Alabama last spring, Dr. Alan Mermann, a professor of pediatrics at Yale Medical School, told the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that some 80 percent of nearly 500 school age children from Lowndes County, Alabama, he examined "had anemia sufficient to require treatment in any doctor's office anywhere in the country." The basis for such medical findings was supported by responses given to a group of Southern Rural Research Project volunteer interviewers who visited 900 low income rural Alabama homes in the summer of 1967 and found:

71 percent of the families had meat twice or less during the week, and 23 percent had no meat.

80 percent had fresh fruit twice or less during the week, and 44 percent had no fresh fruit.

53 percent had fresh milk twice or less during the week, and 30 percent had no fresh milk.

Dr. Mermann, concluded:

There is another area which is a little more sophisticated, a little more subtle, but which I think is very, very critical . . . If the parent cannot feed his child, or her child, as parents feel a child should be fed, this produces a certain apathy and perhaps a mistrust or maybe a real distrust of the adult world when those earliest crying infant needs are not being met properly. This, I think, has profound influence on the way one sees the world from then on.

Statistical studies and testimony before Government agencies reach a limited audience. But a CBS television program brought the reality of hunger in America into millions of homes.

CBS Reports' "Hunger in America" examined four areas of poverty and hunger: the Mexican American barrio in San Antonio, Texas; the marginal existence of white tenant farmers in Loudoun County, Virginia; nutritional problems on a Navaho Indian reservation in Arizona, and the situation of rural blacks in Alabama. CBS reporter Charles Kuralt concluded: "The families we have visited tonight are, sadly, more typical than unique. Hunger can be found many places in the United States—too many places. Ten million Americans don't know where their next meal is coming from. Sometimes it doesn't come at all. . . . We are talking about 10 million Americans. In this country, the most basic human need must become a human right."

The response to the CBS documentary indicated that millions of Americans had been visually exposed to, and emotionally moved by, this report of hunger in



their own land. The response of some segments of Congress, however, differed.

The House Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Jamie L. Whitten (D-Mississippi) arranged for FBI-detailed investigators to visit places where hunger was alleged to exist, and to interrogate those who had agreed to CBS filming. Father Ralph Ruiz, who accompanied CBS cameras into poor homes in San Antonio, stated before a U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio last December, that government agents had attempted to discredit, even harass, some of the poor persons who appeared on "Hunger in America."

The House Agriculture Committee, chaired by W. R. Poage (D-Texas), sent a letter to county health officials in 256 counties mentioned in *Hunger U.S.A.* asking them to:

. . . advise me whether you have any personal knowledge of any actual starvation in your county (or) personal knowledge of any serious hunger in your county occasioned by inability of the individual to either buy food or receive public assistance.

Although a fair portion of the responses admitted to some hunger problem, it would seem obvious that no official would want to be in a position of not seeming to do his job. On the basis of the responses, the House Agriculture Committee attempted to discredit the previous reports of hunger, stating that hunger conditions were caused by ignorance and laziness rather than lack of food programs.

Other Congressional committees, like the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate subcommittee on Nutrition and Human Needs assumed that there was a problem and sought to determine its extent. The Department of Agriculture responded by increasing the number of its surplus commodities, liberalizing the purchasing power of food stamps, and, with additional funds voted by Congress, expanding the number of available free school lunches.

The Department of Agriculture, however, is not the only villain in the story of hunger. It depends on funding and legislation authority from Congress, which depends on the will of its constituency. The people of America who tolerate such conditions are ultimately to blame. But it is Congress, which has the

power to do something about the problem, that must act now.

Since the National Nutrition Survey was released in January, there is no longer any doubt that we have a serious problem of hunger and malnutrition in America. One person without an adequate diet is too many. Millions, in the words of Steinbeck, constitute a failure that topples all our success.

When will the Nation believe? When the doctors' report regarding Mississippi first came out, few persons believed that this was indicative of a serious problem. When the school lunch report, the rural Alabama report, the *Hunger U.S.A.* study, and the CBS documentary were presented, some people began to wonder. Others sought to discredit the reports. We now have the first findings of a systematic, medically documented survey which confirms the earlier reports. There is no longer room for doubt.

The question facing all of America now is, are we yet ready to believe? If we do believe, what are we as a Nation which prides itself in being able to respond to all situations going to do about it. Nothing short of a national commitment, on the scale of the effort we mounted in World War II, in producing an atom bomb, and in sending men to the moon, will suffice.

That national commitment must result in a guarantee that every American, regardless of his standing, will have an adequate diet to insure his maximum potential as a human being. The crime, the sorrow, and the failure must be acknowledged by all and the growing wrath must be shared and the commitment made by all.

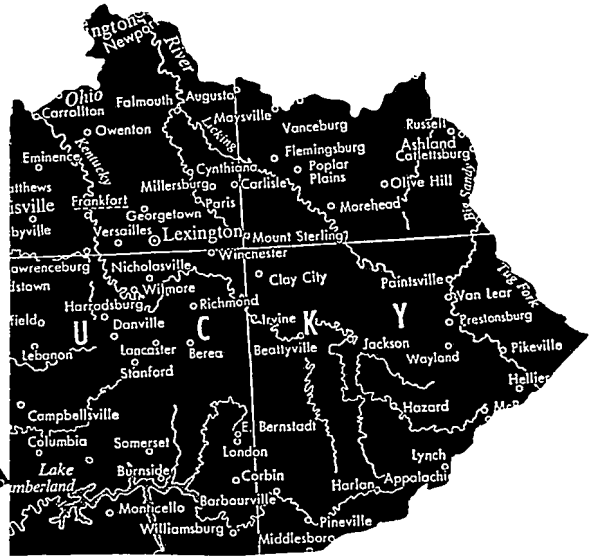
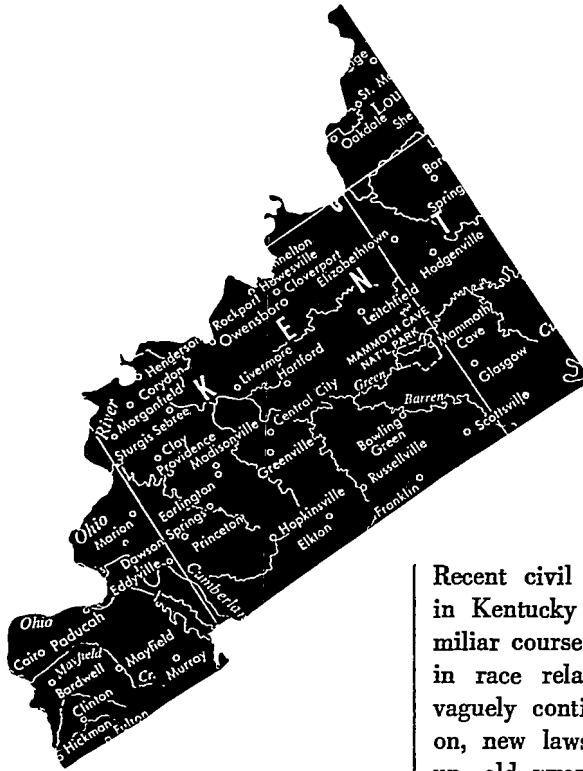
Until the Nation listens and acts, Steinbeck's words, written over 30 years ago, will stand unrefuted:

*and in the eyes of the people there is a failure;
and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath.
In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are
filling and growing heavy,
growing heavy for the vintage.*

WILLIAM PAYNE

Mr. Payne is a Program Analyst for the Office of Federal Programs of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

No
Easy
Course
to



Equality

Recent civil rights developments in Kentucky seem to run a familiar course: one senses that, as in race relations nationwide, a vaguely continuous struggle goes on, new laws and policies build up, old wrongs are righted. But the remarkable and unexpected progress in Kentucky actually points to a distortion in this unilateral account, for violence and racial tension are greater today in the Blue Grass State than they have been in a decade.

The significance of Kentucky's traumatic last few years of civil rights developments is that the sequence of events is better understood in the context of corresponding progress and reversals, of new misunderstandings, and of renewed resistance at each step.

The racial tension and scars of violence which have occurred are due partly to a strong reaction among those who feel that too much has been done too soon. The national tone of political and social upheaval in 1968 bred fear and resentment among many groups, both white and black. White backlash has met predictably with renewed Negro militance.

But the roots of the problem go deeper. Kentucky may be viewed as a microcosm of the whole Nation in terms of the seemingly contradictory events in civil rights to be found there. State and local governments have taken progressive action, yet bitterness and resentment have flared at the grass roots. An atmosphere of racial ambivalence breeds unrest in the State, symbolizing the dilemma of the Nation.

Kentucky, a border state historically, geographically, socially, is marred today by digressions and deprivations which originated in antebellum years. Kentucky had numerous slave holders and a significant abolition movement. During the Civil War, the division continued, but Yankee ties were strengthened: twice as many Kentuckians served in the Union Army as in the Confederate. Some historians say Kentucky seceded ideologically after the war by aligning herself socially and culturally with the defunct Confederacy. This alignment is manifest in displays of Confederate memorabilia—automobile tags, Dixie flags, Confederate monuments.

After the war, civil rights in Kentucky wavered between Northern ties and Southern sentiments. Jim Crow laws in the first half of the 20th century success-

fully suppressed the black citizens of the State and separated the races. This legal extension of slavery perpetuated the absolute dominance of whites, effectively discouraged blacks from accomplishing economic, educational, or social progress, and stalled the emergence of black awareness.

In the early 1950s, prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, certain public schools and colleges in Kentucky were desegregated. After a series of court battles, Paducah Junior College in Western Kentucky was desegregated. Public schools in Clay County and the town of Sturgis were desegregated in 1956 after a searing battle. About the same time, Louisville leaders, seeking an image of racial harmony for their city, gained a national reputation for equity and understanding. Louisville's national image was improved and although racial tensions seemed to be soothed, day-to-day conditions for local blacks remained basically unchanged.

In 1967, attempts to enact an open housing code in Louisville resulted in delays, demonstrations, and destruction of the city's reputation. In the first half of 1967 Rev. A. D. Williams King, pastor of the largest Negro Baptist Church in Kentucky, organized marches in Louisville and led a fight for open housing.

On two occasions Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., his brother, made appearances in Louisville to revive sagging spirits and to build support for the demonstrations. His efforts were futile. The marches ended in June 1967, after the Republican-dominated Board of Aldermen defeated an open housing bill. Five months later Democratic candidates for the

Board of Aldermen campaigned on the open housing issue and defeated all incumbents who had opposed the measure. Once in office, the new Board overturned the original open housing decision. Several smaller cities followed the Board's lead, but prolonged demonstrations in Louisville over open housing had solidified hostile tempers there and throughout the State.

In rural areas, cries of "outside agitators" and "Communist inspired leftists" challenged further progress; nevertheless, in 1968 the State passed an open housing law. Prolonged debate in both houses of the State legislature preceded the bill; heated letters to the editor appeared in every paper; and violence following the assassination of Dr. King renewed for many whites their fear of violence following the passage of progressive legislation. Despite the restless atmosphere, Kentucky passed its open housing law while the U.S. Congress continued to debate a similar measure.

The bill has brought gradual but visible changes: last September, the State Commission on Human Rights reported more Negroes than ever before were moving into previously all-white neighborhoods without incident.

Real estate ordinances are not the only example of progress in Kentucky. More and more public accommodations are being made available to the whole population—however grudgingly—and "white only" signs are disappearing.

Kentucky civil rights groups, according to Darryl Owens, vice president of the Louisville Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

(NAACP), now have three main goals as overt racial discrimination at the level of public policy begins to disappear: breaking job and union discrimination, making the black man a potent economic and political force, and teaching young Negroes to understand and appreciate their racial heritage.

An important move toward recognition and appreciation of Negro heritage and Negro contributions to American history was made when the State Board of Education decreed on May 1, 1968, that Negro history must be included in public school curriculums at all levels. Kentucky is the first State to declare such a policy.

The Board had been discussing the curriculum proposal in closed meetings since December 1963. In January 1965, the Department of Education began a study of how minority group history was taught in other States. Since no Southern States included minority history in their school curriculums, questionnaires were sent to Northern and Western States. Maryland was the only State below the Mason-Dixon line to be contacted. When the study was completed, a recommendation to include the history of Negroes and other cultural minorities in public school curriculums was presented to the Board. It was adopted by an unanimous vote.

While the State Department of Education prepared the curriculum guides, objections were raised by persons in and outside the State who questioned the Board's motives. The possible use of a bibliography on Negro history published by the National Education Association was also questioned by a critic who charged that 43 of the 200 books on the Board's list were written by "well-

known Communists or Communist propagandists." The Board listened to its critics and finally decided to list only bibliographical guides on black history which had been previously published by various States, school districts, and other agencies.

The guide also made it the teacher's responsibility to determine whether material used in the classroom is "subversive." *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, the State's leading newspaper, declared editorially that the Board was evading its responsibility. The Board made no provisions for teacher-training in the area of Negro history, and left to local boards the decision whether to create a separate Negro history course or to include such material as a unit within the traditional American history courses. The Board's final resolution did specify, however, that "failure to utilize said curriculum guidelines by the various schools will be considered a deficiency in the accreditation process in this subject area."

The Board originally scheduled implementation of the Negro history curriculum for last fall, but since the final guidelines were not published until October 1968, real curricular changes in Kentucky schools remain to be seen. How diligently each school district follows the guide and how accurately each teacher introduces the material within his course remain matters of conscience for each individual involved.

At another level, several of the State's colleges and universities have introduced Negro history courses within the last year. These changes have usually been preceded by prolonged debate.

Murray State University, in Murray, one of the first universities in the State to include a Negro history course, is the key exception. Dr. Bill C. Malone, a white professor at Murray State, sought departmental and administrative approval of a two-semester course on the Negro in American history. His petition was approved without sustaining overt outside opposition in October 1967.

At the University of Kentucky, Negro history courses emerged only after long debate. Some members of the history department said they were reluctant to introduce courses which fragment American history—yet, courses already existed on the South, the frontier, and other segments of American life. One veteran professor was asked if he thought a black history course would ever exist at the University. He said, "This is special interest education and we have been able to resist that pressure so far." Pressures by the Black Student Union, a militant student group at the University finally resulted in an interdisciplinary course on black culture. Several other colleges and universities in Kentucky have since followed the first two schools by introducing courses in Negro history.

As more and more militant student groups formed, civil rights activities throughout the State have taken a more militant stance. Since Rev. A.D. Williams King, Kentucky's black leader in the open housing crusade, moved to Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta to fill the pulpit vacated by his slain brother, more militant leaders and groups have assumed leadership. Older and more middle class Negro groups, including the

NAACP and the Urban League, are beginning to reflect militant group pressures. Most civil rights groups are adopting the theme of the Poor People's Campaign and emphasizing the plight of poor people, regardless of race. Militant groups, such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are being supplemented by the new campus organizations which aim to improve the position of black students. In Kentucky these groups include the Students for Total Equality at Murray (STEAM) at Murray State University, and the Black Student Union at the University of Kentucky.

Civil rights in Kentucky have not remained static in recent years; they have moved forward. But tension between the races still exists. According to the State Commission on Human Rights, racial hostility is more serious now than 10 years ago. Segregation barriers have been made illegal by Federal and State laws, but still exist in many areas where little effort is expended to correct them.

Occasionally, hostility flares into open violence:

—The Louisville open housing demonstrations in 1967, and the riots there following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination.

—The recent gun fight between whites and blacks in Berea, a small college town.

—A rash of church bombings in the summer of 1968.

—The bombing of a drugstore owned by a Negro member of the Human Rights Commission in Lexington, and the bombing of Wallace for President headquarters in Paducah.

Another measure of racial hos-

tility and mistrust is the tendency to brand any act of overt violence as racially motivated. Cases which may have resulted from personal or political struggles are frequently assumed racial in nature even though no real evidence of either the culprit or the cause has been found.

Racial tension may also be measured by legislative action in Kentucky. The same legislature which passed the open housing law also created the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) to investigate and expose subversive activity within the State. When KUAC was formed many people feared it was racially motivated. Their fears heightened when KUAC officials announced plans for their first investigation: the Louisville riots which involved blacks predominantly. Another fear—that genuine Negro grievances would be suppressed or branded "subversive"—also became widespread. White sympathy and aid for civil rights activities were expected to decline in such a climate of opinion. The tendency to link Black Power with subversion is rampant not only in Kentucky, but throughout the country.

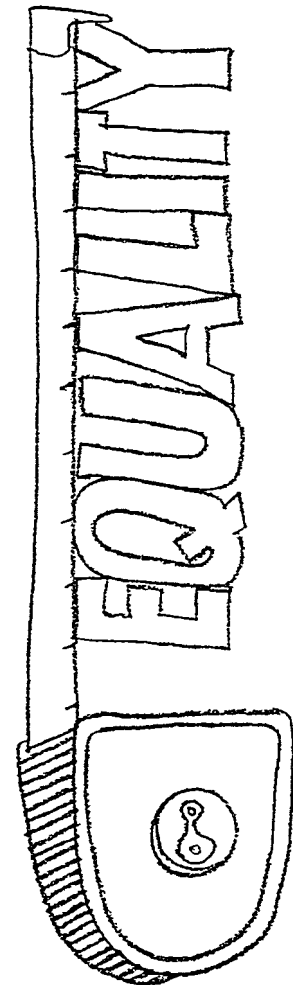
Civil rights activity in Kentucky remains paradoxical. Progress has been made: the passage of open housing, the establishment of Negro history courses, the election of a Negro mayor (the State's first) in Glasgow, and greater integration of public facilities. At the same time—and perhaps as a result of "official" progress—racial tension flares.

The circumstances surrounding civil rights in Kentucky illustrate that progress in this important facet of society is measured by a

variety of yardsticks. Black or white can view a single incident, whether it is truly racial in nature or not, with conflicting degrees of awareness and wariness. Also, it is apparent that justice and equality of opportunity and treatment for all citizens is achieved only along uncharted and painful ways. Most importantly, Kentucky's trials in civil rights should be clearly understood for what they are, the effects of a rising sensitivity among Americans and, hopefully, the growing pains of change. □

Donald W. Whisenhunt

Dr. Whisenhunt, an associate professor at Murray State University, Kentucky, specializes in social history of 20th century America.



Book reviews

Police Power, by Paul Chevigny. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969. 298pp.

Paul Chevigny's focus is New York, but the story is the Nation's. Although Mr. Chevigny, a staff attorney with the New York Civil Liberties Union, limits his discussion of the patterns of police misconduct exclusively to New York City during 1966 and 1967, the book's relevance reaches beyond New York. The case studies presented by Mr. Chevigny in *Police Power* illustrate what has gone wrong with law enforcement on a national scale.

Yet the author does not return an indictment against police officers as a group. On the contrary, Mr. Chevigny places the responsibility for police abuses on the society whose permissiveness has allowed these abuses to exist. The police are merely society's "whipping boy." In Mr. Chevigny's words,

The police do all the 'wrong' things—club people who are outcasts or defiant of authority—but the unfortunate truth is that much public disapproval of their actions is sheer hypocrisy. Many, perhaps most, citizens feel that it is desirable for a policeman to coerce adherence to this code by punching a 'wise kid' or ransacking an apartment without a warrant. . .

For legislators and judges the police are a godsend, because all the acts of oppression that must be performed in this society to keep it running smoothly are pushed upon the police. The police get the blame, and the officials stay free of the stigma of approving highhanded acts. The police have become the repository of all the illiberal impulses in this liberal society; they are under heavy fire because

most of us no longer admit so readily to our illiberal impulses as we once did.

What has gone wrong with law enforcement is what has gone wrong with America. The Walker Report depicts the same America as does the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder. The "unrestrained and indiscriminate police violence" of the Walker Report does not stand apart from the social violence of slavery, segregation, and persistent discrimination described in the "riot" Commission Report. Both are physical manifestations of a society unable as yet to establish social justice as the overriding function of the law, fully shared by all Americans.

The Commission on Civil Rights has been long interested in the causes of police-community conflict. Presently, some of the problems facing the administration of justice in the Southwestern United States is the subject of a report to be issued during 1969. One aspect of the report will deal with allegations of police physical abuse.

Numerous complaints claiming police misconduct have been received by staff members. However, because of the nature of an allegation of police brutality, few can be adequately substantiated. Part of the reason is that in some cases complainants may be either lying or mistaken, but the major problem is the difficulty in determining the point at which the officer has used excessive force. Furthermore, the police have learned to protect themselves against charges of misconduct. Officers will charge their victim with assaulting an officer in any case where a possible claim of police brutality may arise.

According to the Director of a Police Malpractice



Complaint Center in Los Angeles, the rate of assaults on officers between the years of 1945 and 1963 maintained a continuous but slight increase. In 1963 the number increased by 323 percent. The increase was not attributed by the Director to an increase in the number of actual assaults. What has occurred is that policemen realize that courts are reluctant to believe a subsequent allegation of police brutality from a defendant initially charged with assaulting an officer. Furthermore, the felony charge itself forces many defendants to "cop out", that is, plead guilty to the lesser charge, a misdemeanor in this case, of resisting arrest.

Police Power does not concentrate on the conflict between minority communities and the police, but it does contribute to the understanding of the type of situations which give rise to police-community conflicts. Minority members in America are dissatisfied with their lot. To the disaffected ghetto inhabitants the lone emissary from the established white (or Anglo) community entering the ghetto is the police officer. He is the representative of a society that is hated, and, if not hated, at least held responsible for the conditions in the ghetto. Likewise, the police officer believes himself the incarnate version of authority. "Policemen," states Mr. Chevigny, "apparently do see themselves as personifying authority, and a challenge to one of them. . . is a challenge to the Law."

It would be strange indeed if, under these circumstances, the police officer were able to avoid being the focal point of America's racial tension. □

EVERETT SANTOS

Mr. Santos is a Staff Attorney in the Office of General Counsel of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Coming of Age in Mississippi, by Anne Moody. New York: Dial Press, Inc., 1968. 348pp.

Hundreds of books by blacks, about blacks, and for whites have been ingratulating publishers to the dollar power of black literature lately. The deluge has created a new genre of hipness for publishing houses and for readers. It's hip and it's now for white literati to sit in acoustically padded dens with soft lights and encyclopedias and read about blacks. Armchair scholars of black society who patronize their local library or corner drugstore bookshelves

diligently are convinced they know what it is like to grow up black in Harlem, loot in Watts, crusade in Selma, starve in Appalachia.

If Anne Moody wandered into some of these pine studded dens she might say to the hip breed, "You ain't learned nothin' yet." And they probably haven't.

The events which shaped Anne Moody's childhood and adolescence are as common to Negroes in the Deep South as they are foreign to Mississippi whites. Anne Moody was born in Mississippi, and grew up in Mississippi, and now lives in New York City. She's 28 and married, but can never go home again to her native southwest Mississippi county, because she has been on the Klan blacklist since her early twenties. Anne Moody says a trip home would mean death for her, and for her family.

Her story of coming of age in Mississippi is the story of an echoing belly; unwanted brothers and sisters; no Daddy; work after school; a few dried beans for dinner, and family fights. Occasionally there was bittersweet humor in southwest Mississippi, especially when the recalcitrant 13-year old Anne Moody was dodging baptism. Baptism at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church was one of the biggest annual events in Centreville. Some families saved all year to buy new clothes for it. The ceremony was held in an open pasture where the congregation sang "Take Me to the Waters" and cows mooed. "When Reverend Tyson and the two deacons were standing in water up to their chests, the first candidate was led out. . . I heard Jack, one of the wildest-crap-shootingest boys around, whisper from behind me, 'Lookit all that cow shit in that water!' I looked down at the water and saw big piles of cow manure floating around. The thought of being ducked under that water made me want to vomit."

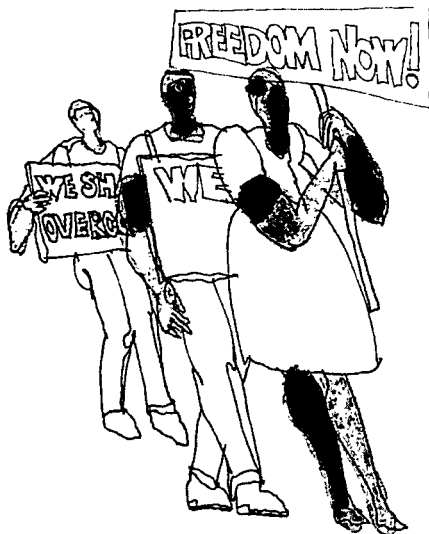
When she was 7 Anne Moody got her first job, not selling lemonade with her white playmates for fun and a dime, but as a parttime maid. Times were hard. "Mama was trying to buy clothes for the three of us, feed us, and keep us in school. She just couldn't do it on five dollars a week. Food began to get even scarcer. Mama discovered that the old white lady living in the big white two-story house on the hill sold clabber milk to Negroes for twenty-five cents a gallon. Mama started buying two and three gallons a week from her. . . Things got so bad

that Mama started crying again. And she cried until school was out," so Miss Moody cleaned the milk lady's house every day for 75-cents a week and two gallons of clabber.

From the time Anne Moody discovered the downstairs section of the local movie house was different and better than the upstairs balcony where she sat, she knew whiteness made some playmates better than herself. "There is a secret to it besides being white," I thought. Then my mind got all wrapped up in trying to uncover that secret."

In 1954, almost a decade after Anne Moody started wondering about the great white secret she hated all people, not just whites. It was the death of Emmet Till—the black Chicagoan who moved to Mississippi, who made a pass at a white woman, and was found murdered several days later—that made Anne Moody hate people. "I hated the white men who murdered Emmet Till . . . But I also hated Negroes. I hated them for not standing up and doing something about the murders. In fact, I think I had a stronger resentment toward Negroes for letting the whites kill them than toward the whites."

Life changed after Anne Moody received her high school diploma. The parchment didn't matter but leaving the shackles of Centreville, Mississippi, and getting to college did. She washed dishes, waited on tables in New Orleans, disemboweled chickens in a factory, and then went to Natchez Junior College. After Natchez: more work, Tougaloo College, and the civil rights movement. She describes the 1963 Woolworth sit-in in Jackson from a vantage armchair scholars will never have: her body plastered



with mustard and catsup while 90 policemen leered. Then came the 1963 march on Washington when Anne Moody discovered Negro "dreamers" were replacing black "leaders."

After she heard about the Birmingham church bombings, Anne Moody took a meditation walk. "As long as I live, I'll never be beaten by a white man again. . . You know something else, God? Nonviolence is out. I have a good idea Martin Luther King is talking to you, too. If he is, tell him that nonviolence has served its purpose. Tell him that for me, God, and for a lot of other Negroes who must be thinking it today. If you don't believe that, then I know you must be white, too. And if I ever find out you are white, then I'm through with you. And if I find out you are black, I'll try my best to kill you when I get to heaven."

Mississippi pushed Anne Moody through every sieve of torture and hate it had, but she fought with venom and came out whole. Her story stops abruptly in 1964 on a bus headed for Washington, D.C. Others sang "We Shall Overcome"; Anne Moody mused, "I wonder. I really wonder."

Anne Moody brushes aside only one segment of the maturation in Mississippi saga—her personality. The reader momentarily sweats in corn fields, is confined to the Jackson "concentration camp" for demonstrators, and struggles to get Negroes on voter registration lists, but Anne Moody remains curiously distant. Instead of a vibrant young woman we see an angry, bitter psyche so obsessed with what is wrong in this society, that it blights hope for what can become right. Throughout high school and college Anne Moody studied hard, worked hard, and crusaded even harder. Close girl friends were few and dates even scarcer. Fun was constantly overshadowed by her companion obsession.

Anne Moody reaches a personal threshold—"Nonviolence is out"—and then concludes her book. Why she is silent about the last four years or why she originally decided to indulge the white man's appetite for black literature with *Coming of Age in Mississippi* remain mysteries.

Armchair scholars need your answers, Miss Moody, in another book, please. □

LAUREL SHACKELFORD

Miss Shackelford is a staff writer for the Civil Rights Digest.

Reading list

The Black Messiah, by Albert B. Cleage, Jr. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1968. 278pp.

Presents the theology of Black Power Christianity—a movement which believes in prayer and religious ritual but also believes in political action and economic pressure, in black control of black communities, and one which many black Americans see as their only road to dignity and justice.

Black on Black: Commentaries by Negro Americans, edited by Arnold Adoff. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1968. 236pp.

Includes penetrating and highly readable analyses of the American racial dilemma, moving personal experiences of Negroes, and dynamic, thought provoking recommendations for the resolution of our racial conflicts.

Business Leadership and the Negro Crisis, edited by Eli Ginzberg. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969. 175pp.

A collection of speeches made at a three-day conference on the subject, including statements by Kenneth B. Clark, Bayard Rustin, Nathan Wright, and a number of business executives.

City With a Chance, by Frank A. Aufoer. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1968. 146pp.

The story of the Milwaukee open housing demonstrations, and the people who were, in various ways, involved in them—Father Groppi, the young, black

Commandos of the Milwaukee NAACP Youth Council, and the others who created tension but somehow managed to keep the movement peaceful and integrated.

Cane, by Jean Toomer. New York: Harper & Row, 1969. 239pp.

A miscellany of stories, sketches, poems, and a one-act play which depict the black man's search for his heritage and the wisdom which evolves when he finds it; a commercial disaster when published in 1923, now hailed as a classic among American Negro letters.

Civil Rights and the American Negro: A Documentary History, edited by Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando. New York: Trident Press, 1968. 671pp.

This summary of Acts, legal briefs, court decisions, manifestos, Executive orders, editorials, and public addresses set forth the documentary record of the struggle of the American Negro for his constitutional rights from the first shipment of slaves in 1619 to the shocking facts and conclusions of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders.

Colonel of the Black Regiment: The Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, by Howard Meyer. New York: Norton, 1967.

A biography of an almost-forgotten commander of the first regiment of ex-slaves in the Union Army, an Active abolitionist, a supporter of woman's suffrage, a pioneer in physical fitness, and confidant of Emily Dickinson.

Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian, by Dale Van Every. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1966. 279pp.

Outlines the events preceding the Removal Act, its shattering effect on the eastern Indians—more than 20 nations—and what significance it had (and still has) for all Americans.

Harlem on My Mind, edited by Allon Schoener. Illustrated. New York: Random House, 1969. 255pp.

A profusely illustrated pictorial history of the Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900-1969, as the subtitle refers to New York Harlem. The introduction is a term paper written in 1967 by Candice Van Ellison of Harlem as a high school senior. Basically incorporates in a single volume the Harlem on My Mind Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Howard Street, by Nathan C. Heard. New York: The Dial Press, 1969. 284pp.

Howard Street, Newark, New Jersey, is two blocks of bars, tenements, back alleys reserved for muggers and rapists, and the "escape route for everybody . . . when the cops are out to make a bust." Preserves Howard Street in print even though someday urban renewal may obliterate it.

Let's Work Together, by Nathan Wright, Jr. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1968. 271pp.

Based on the thesis that before black and white can work together they must each work out their own problems, this volume is concerned with three main areas: those problems which the white people need to deal with; those which the black people must solve for themselves, and those which involve cooperation and unity.

The London Novels of Colin MacInnes, by Colin MacInnes. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969, 629pp.

A trilogy based on: The black outsider, teenage disaffection, drug addiction, and police brutality.

Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850, by Aileen S. Kraditor. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969. 296pp.

The author reexamines the traditional negative verdict cast upon abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's activities in an effort to show he was not guilty of stubborn fanaticism and of attempting to impose his radical religious and social ideas on the American Anti-Slavery Society:

No Easy Victories, by John W. Gardner. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968. 177pp.

Deals not only with subjects of immediate concern but with broader and more fundamental questions: How may large-scale organizations be made to serve man rather than diminish him? What are the requirements of leadership in our society? What are the values that represent the best in the American tradition?

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

Analyzes the failure of the present institutional structure and the inability of the schools, no matter how devoted and compassionate individual teachers may be, to educate the majority of New York City children.

The Politics of Fair-Housing Legislation: State and Local Case Studies, edited by Lynn W. Eley and Thomas W. Casstevens. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968. 415pp.

Relates the politics of fair-housing legislation in five cities and five companion States and discusses the history of fair-housing legislation in the country and the current political situation confronting such legislation, as disclosed by case studies and other observations.

The Politics of School Desegregation, by Robert L. Crain. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968. 390pp.

An analysis of the politics of school desegregation based on case studies

of 15 northern and southern cities. The causes of violence which accompanied desegregation of New Orleans schools are examined, and later contrasted with the scene in six peacefully desegregated southern cities.

Poverty and Politics, by Sidney Baldwin. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

A history of the brief liberal spasm in agriculture programs during the New Deal. Shows that, despite sympathy for plight of Negro tenants and farm laborers, farm programs discriminated against Negroes.

The Speeches of Malcolm X at Harvard, edited, with an introductory essay, by Archie Epps. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1968. 191pp.

Includes all three of Malcolm X's Harvard speeches, as well as rebuttals to the last two speeches by Harvard faculty members James Q. Wilson, Martin L. Kilson, and Archie Epps, and the provocative answer periods between Harvard students and Malcolm X.

Strategies Against Poverty, by Frank Riessman. New York: Random House, Inc., 1969. 279pp.

Disagrees with the emphasis on the deficits and damages of the Negro people propounded by the Moynihan Report, and sees blacks more readily moved through emphasizing their strengths and their abilities, and outlines the New Careers program which enables the poor "to move out of poverty rather than to become more comfortable in it."

Up From Poverty: New Career Leaders for Nonprofessionals, by Frank Riessman and Hermine I. Popper. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968. 352pp.

Explores the practice and potentials of new careers for the poor and the nonprofessional by examining the goals of the New Careers movement from the standpoint of theory and practice: what they mean, how they have worked, and what we can hope for in the future.

FOR YOUNG READERS

Black Bondage, The Life of Slaves in the South, edited by Walter Goodman. Illustrated. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969. 160pp.

Using the slaves' own narratives, a sense is conveyed of what it was like to be a slave on a Southern plantation, instructive about what is happening today and what may happen tomorrow.

A New Home for Theresa, by Betty Baum. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. 182pp.

The story of a young black girl, orphaned in Harlem, then placed in a beautiful, clean, airy—and frightening—foster home.

The Soul Brothers and Sister Lou, by Kristin Hunter. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. 248pp.

Louretta Hawkins is a skinny, self-conscious 14-year old who is involved with black teenagers of all stripes: militants, hoodlums, decent kids, and those inbetween.

NEGRO MIGRATION TO CITIES IS FOUND TO DROP SHARPLY

At Same Time, White Exodus to Suburbs Accelerates, Urban Study Reports

GHETTOS' DENSITY DOWN

Follow-Up to '68 Riot Study Says Racial Polarization of Society Increases

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—Whites have sharply accelerated their movement from the central cities in the last year while Negroes have even more dramatically slowed migration into them. At the same time, the inner-city ghettos have spread in area and slums have begun to emerge in the suburbs.

This "long-term change" in the pattern of urban growth as a major finding of a study of the country's social behavior since the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reported last March 1 that the nation was moving toward "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

Greater Polarization Seen

Study Finds Urban Ills B

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study, "One Year by release yesterday. The Urban Coalition and Park Service, Inc., two private profit organizations. For last year, on March 1, Columbian International Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, issued a report. The 11-city field study was approximately 100,000 people, including 50,000 Negroes and other groups. The study was conducted in 1967.

Dr. Corbin, who headed the study, said that the university officials had not been aware of the study. He said that the study was conducted in 1967.

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White Students Here P

By MORRIS KAPLAN

A group of 150 white students from Thomas Jefferson High School marched on City Hall yesterday to protest racial slurs by Negro students at an assembly program Wednesday.

Six of the students from the Brooklyn school met afterward with city officials to protest what they termed "an upsetting program."

"Some told City Council President Francis X. Brennan that a Negro girl had read a poem during a memorial to Martin Luther King that contained references to 'white pigs' and 'white bastards' and even stronger obscenities."

Others conferred with David Love, an assistant to Mayor Lindsay who directs the Mayor's East New York Urban Action Task Force. The youngsters charged that the school principal, James Hoffmann, a Negro, had made no effort to stop the program from the stage of

"The deepening of concern about conditions in the slums and ghettos on the part of some white persons and institutions has been counterbalanced—perhaps overbalanced—by a deepening of aversion and resistance on the part of others. The mood of the blacks, wherever it stands precisely in the spectrum between militancy and submission, is now moving in the direction of patience. The black neighborhoods in the cities remain slums, marked by poverty and decay; they remain ghettos, marked by racial concentration and confinement. The Nation has not yet made available—to the cities or the blacks themselves—the resources to improve these neighborhoods enough to make a significant change in their residents' lives. Nor has it offered those who might want it the alternative of escape."

alarming" increase in crimes by police. Such a course, the Commission has said, would probably not be surprising if the lag in Northern school integration could be laid solely to hardening residential patterns.

Violence broke out between white students and Negroes at Ferris State College in Burton, Mich., early today as white students of their dormitory rioted. The alarm came from another dorm.

Sixteen students were injured—two held for treatment of head injuries—in a riot in which students broke out boards, chains and zip guns. One student was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon.

Ferris State had been simmering since following a sit-in by 70 black students at the student center. Last night, apparent students had prepared

STUDENTS CLUBBED

At the University of California, students swung clubs and charged pickets at the entrances to the dormitory and arrested a dozen persons on an advisory board for the study.

Guidelines

By Peter Millius
Washington Post Staff Writer

Outright Southern defiance of the Federal school desegregation guidelines has increased markedly in recent months. More Southern school districts are

there are districts complying with the five-year program across the nation.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22—The head of the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare believes that the South has perhaps pulled even with the North in desegregating its schools.

The North has slipped backward while the South has groped reluctantly forward, and now the gap has probably disappeared, according to Mrs. Ruby Martin. She is leaving the Civil Rights Office to enter private law practice later this month.

Mrs. Martin's observation during a recent interview probably would not be surprising if the lag in Northern school integration could be laid solely to hardening residential patterns.

But there is a growing awareness in the Government, particularly in Mrs.

Two members of the commission—Mayor Lindsay and Senator Fred R. Harris, Democrat of Oklahoma—and its staff director, David Ginsburg, a Washington lawyer, served on an advisory board for the study.

The authors of the report concluded that, although some progress had been made toward eliminating discrimination and poverty, the polarization had increased in the last year and a "serious start" had

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DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
MEMORIAL OBSERVANCES
APRIL 4TH THROUGH 12TH

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., *Chairman*
Frankie M. Freeman
Dr. Hector P. Garcia
Maurice B. Mitchell
Robert S. Rankin
Howard A. Glickstein, Acting Staff Director

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

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

equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;

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