CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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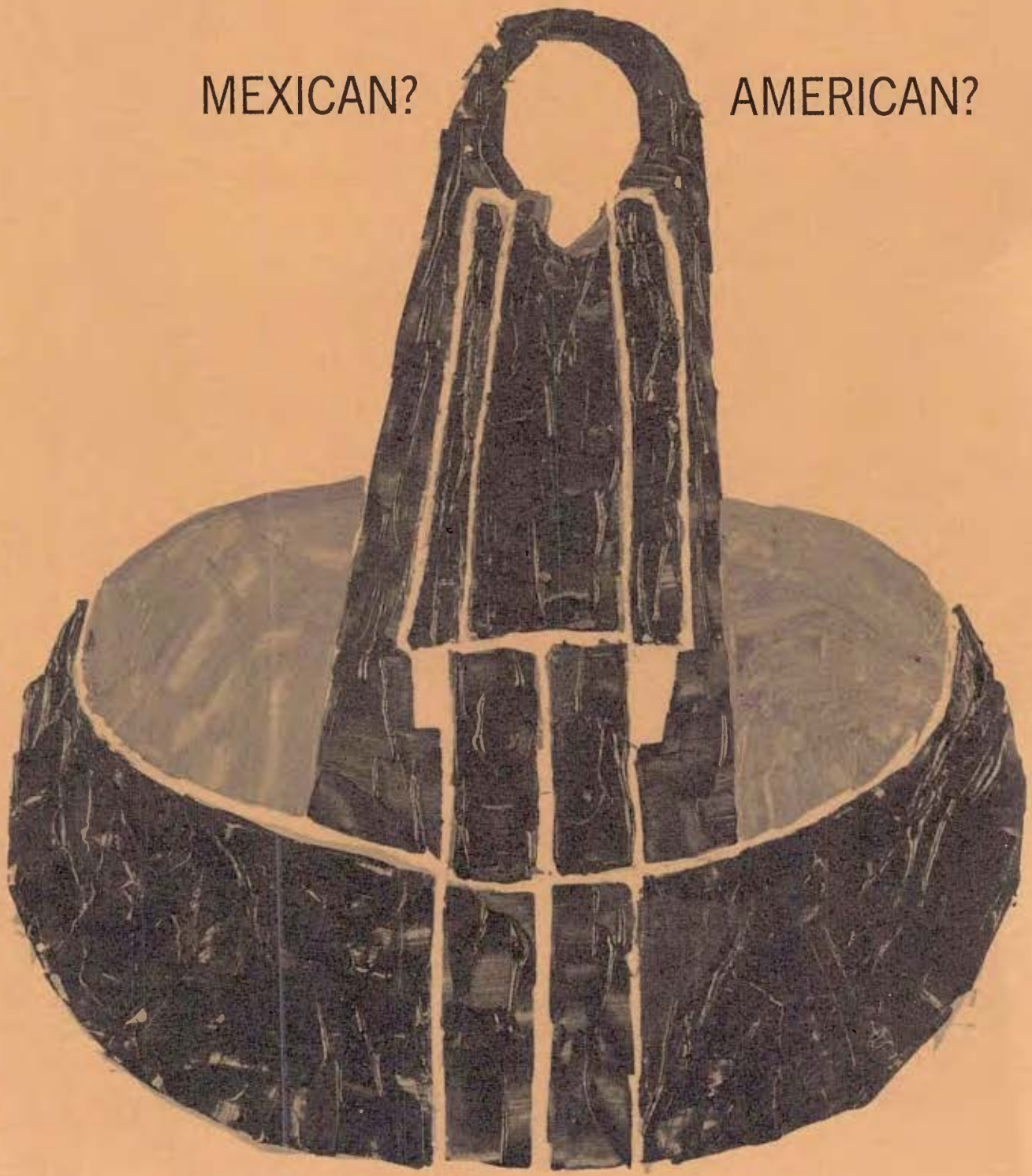
MEXICAN? AMERICAN?



CIVIL RIGHTS
DIGEST
Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter 1970

In this issue:

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THE RELATION OF LITERACY TESTS TO VOTING IN THE NORTH AND WEST

Extensive data have been collected, evaluated, and published concerning the passage of a literacy test as a criterion for voting in the South, where these tests have been used to specifically disenfranchise blacks. However, until recently, very little was known about their impact on voter participation in those Northern and Western States which also require passage of a literacy test. In the first study ever conducted in that part of the country, staff members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights have compared overall voter registration and voter turnout in non-Southern States which have literacy tests with those which do not.

In November 1968, the U.S. Bureau of the Census, as part of its *Current Population Survey*, asked persons of voting age about their participation in the election of 1968. In analyzing the data collected for the 35 non-Southern States, 13 of which used literacy tests and 22 which did not, Commission staff found that States requiring passage of literacy tests have lower registration and turnout than those without these requirements (see table 1).

Even though there is no single source of up-to-date and comprehensive information on voter participation by race, the sample taken by the U.S. Bureau of the Census was large enough to permit evaluation by the Commission of differences by race for regions of the country and for groups of States. In examining the voter information for these 35 States according to race or ethnicity, there is a clear indication that literacy tests have an adverse effect on the registration and voting of minorities, particularly Negroes and people with Spanish surnames.

In the non-Southern States which required literacy tests, less than 55 percent of the Negro people with under 8 years of schooling were *registered,* while in the States which do not have literacy tests, 76 percent of the black community with less than 8 years of schooling were registered. On the other hand, over 60 percent of the white people with under 8 years of schooling were registered in States requiring passage of a literacy test and over 72 percent were registered in those States without the tests.

For Negroes who had a ninth grade education or more, 69 percent were registered in States with literacy tests and 75 percent in those without these tests. The representation for white persons was: 78 percent in States with literacy tests; and 81 percent in those without literacy tests. Although the differences between these two groups are not as pronounced as with those in the lower educational level, black voter participation lags behind that of the whites. Actual *voting* comparisons generally follow the same trend (see graphs 1 and 2).

TABLE 1

Voter Registration and Participation in States of the North and West, November 1968

States with Literacy Tests (ranked in order of percent nonwhite)	Percent Nonwhite 1960[1]	Total Voting Age Population 1968[2]	Total Registered 1968[3]	Percent Registered 1968	Total Voting 1968[2]	Percent Voting 1968
Hawaii[4]	68.0	424,000	274,199	64.7	236,218	55.8
Alaska	22.8	154,000	NA	NA	82,975	53.9
Delaware	13.9	306,000	262,632	85.6	214,367	70.0
Arizona	10.2	948,000	614,718	64.8	486,936	51.3
New York	8.9	11,731,000	8,109,259	69.1	6,790,066	57.9
California	8.0	11,904,000	8,587,673	72.1	7,251,550	60.9
Connecticut	4.4	1,825,000	1,435,298	78.6	1,256,232	68.8
Washington	3.6	1,836,000	1,646,831	89.7	1,304,281	71.0
Massachusetts	2.4	3,361,000	2,725,058	81.1	2,331,699	69.4
Wyoming	2.2	186,000	142,739	76.7	127,205	68.4
Oregon	2.1	1,240,000	971,851	78.4	818,477	66.0
Maine	0.6	582,000	529,137	90.9	392,936	67.5
New Hampshire	0.4	424,000	NA	NA	297,190	70.0
States without Literacy Tests						
Illinois	10.6	6,605,000	5,676,131	85.9	4,619,749	69.9
Michigan	9.4	4,965,000	4,022,378	81.0	3,306,250	66.6
Missouri	9.2	2,818,000	NA	NA	1,809,502	64.2
New Jersey	8.7	4,412,000	3,310,043	75.0	2,875,396	65.2
Ohio	8.2	6,238,000	NA	NA	3,959,590	63.5
New Mexico	7.9	534,000	445,776	83.5	325,762	61.0
Nevada	7.7	284,000	NA	NA	154,218	54.8
Pennsylvania	7.6	7,261,000	5,599,364	77.1	4,745,662	65.4
Indiana	5.9	2,957,000	NA	NA	2,123,561	71.8
Kansas	4.6	1,372,000	NA	NA	872,783	63.6
South Dakota	4.0	386,000	348,254	90.2	281,264	72.8
Montana	3.6	405,000	331,078	81.7	274,404	67.8
Colorado	3.1	1,181,000	970,575	82.2	806,445	68.3
Nebraska	2.6	865,000	664,962	76.9	536,850	62.1
Rhode Island	2.4	561,000	471,122	84.0	384,938	68.6
Wisconsin	2.4	2,469,000	NA	NA	1,689,196	68.4
North Dakota	2.0	366,000	NA	NA	247,848	67.8
Utah	1.9	555,000	542,793	97.8	422,299	76.1
Idaho	1.5	401,000	NA	NA	291,183	72.6
Minnesota	1.2	2,091,000	NA	NA	1,588,340	76.0
Iowa	1.0	1,650,000	NA	NA	1,167,539	70.8
Vermont	0.2	246,000	208,293	84.7	161,403	65.6

NA—Not Available

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of Population: 1960.* Vol I, *Characteristics of the Population.* 1963.

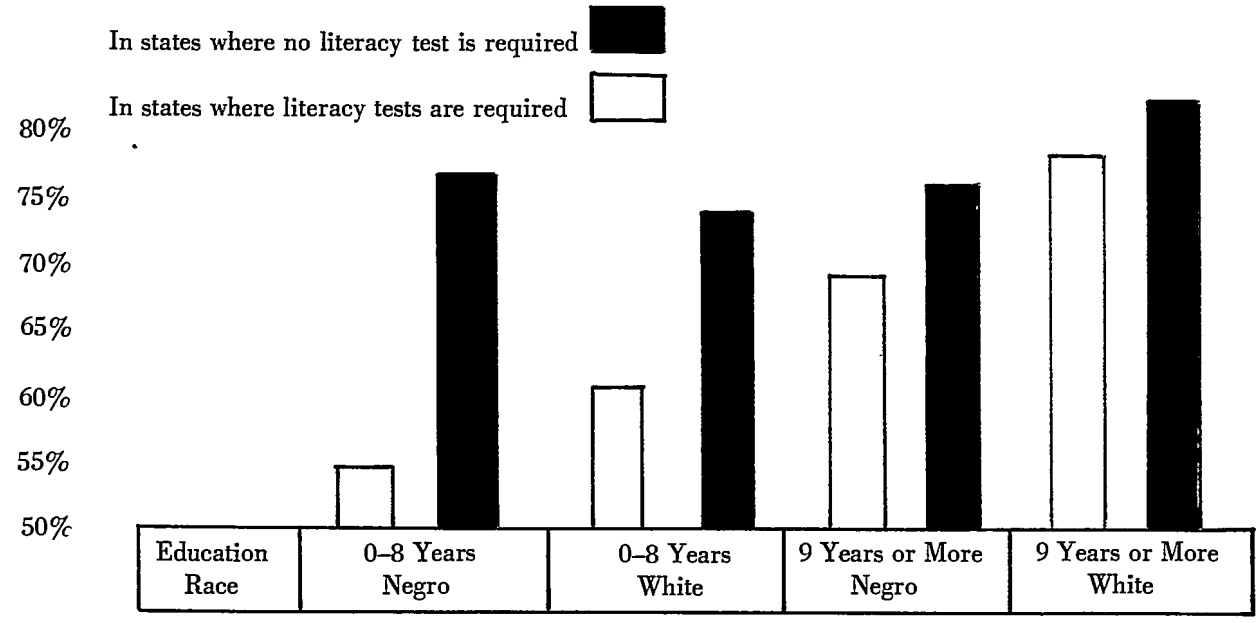
[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Current Population Reports.* "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advance Statistics)." Series P–20, No. 177. December 27, 1968.

[3] Published and unpublished records furnished by the States.

[4] Hawaii abolished voter literacy tests in 1969.

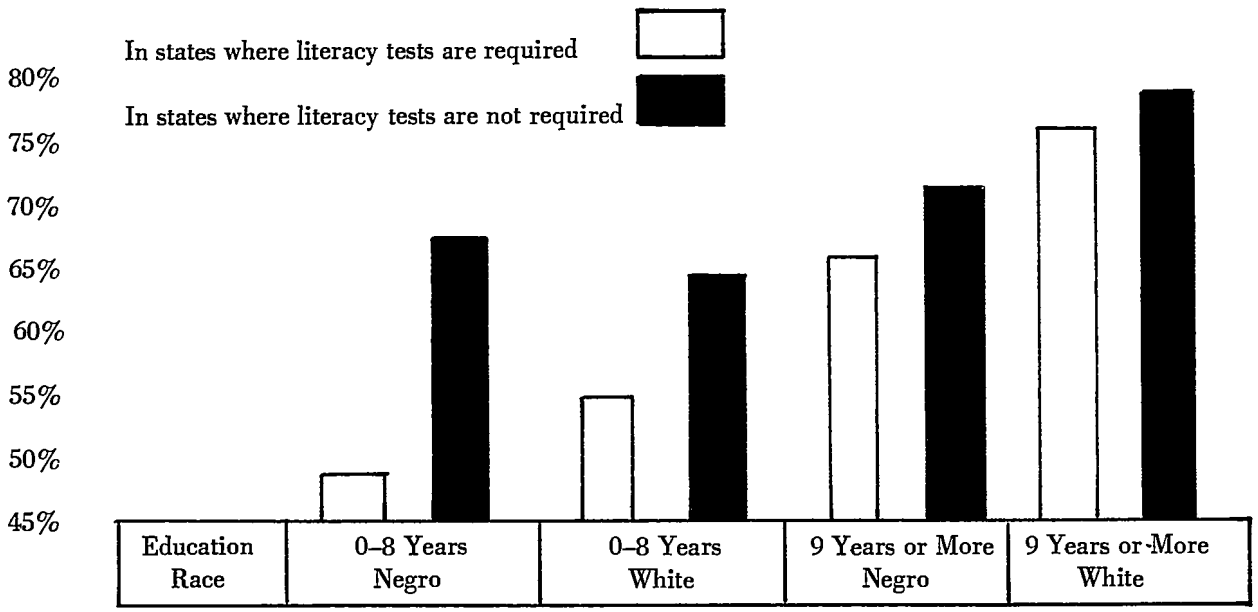
GRAPH 1

PERCENT OF VOTER AGE POPULATION REGISTERED IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN STATES NOVEMBER 1968



GRAPH 2

PERCENT OF VOTER POPULATION VOTING IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN STATES NOVEMBER 1968



In general, the Commission found that those counties having 15 percent or more Spanish surname residents in States using literacy tests lag behind statewide registration levels of similar counties in States not using these tests. For example, in Costilla, Colorado, where literacy tests *are not used,* with 72.6 percent Spanish-speaking people, voter registration was approximately 18 percent *above* statewide registration. However, in Imperial, California, which has 33.1 percent Spanish-speaking residents and where literacy tests *are required,* voter registration was approximately 32 percent *below* statewide registration. As indicated in table 2, many instances of this can be seen in comparisons between other counties with a high concentration of Spanish surname persons, and the same principle applies to those counties having a large percentage of nonwhite population (see table 3).

To further isolate statistics to determine the impact of literacy tests, reasons for not registering were tabulated and evaluated (table 4). The reasons fell within three categories: "Did not satisfy the citizenship requirement"; "Was not interested or was unable to register"; or "Other reasons", including "Did not know or did not report". This information, analyzed on the bases of race and level of education, shows a dramatic difference between States with and those without literacy tests in the category of "Was not interested or was unable to register." Over 27 percent of the Negro voting age population with 8 years or less of schooling in States with literacy requirements cited this particular reason for failing to register. In those States without literacy tests, only 15 percent indicated that they were unable to register or were not interested. Overall percentage in this category for white and Negro registrants having 9 or more years of education decreases but States using literacy tests had the highest amount of Negroes listing this same reason for nonregistration.

Interviews conducted with persons knowledgeable about the problems of voter registration in the North and West corroborated the view that literacy tests are a deterrent to minority registration. Many persons interviewed expressed the idea that fear of literacy tests may be a more serious obstacle than the tests themselves, particularly for persons whose native tongue is not English. In fact, some Mexican Americans in California, Wyoming, and Washington State have expressed a feeling of being intimidated by literacy tests. They feel that they are used especially for them.

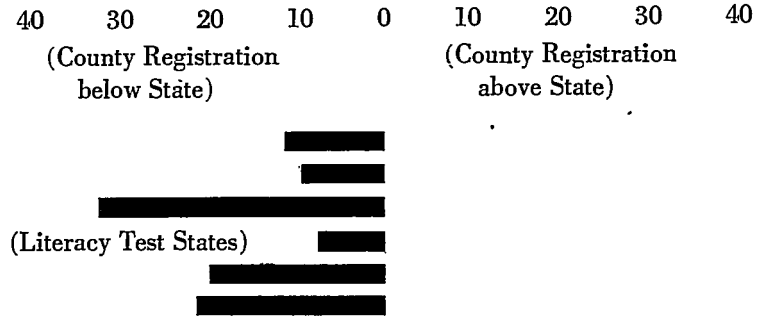
There are many who would point to other existing factors which may have influenced voter registration and turn-out levels in the 35 States studied. Since 11 of the 13 States using literacy tests are located on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and are most traditionally ports-of-entry for immigrants, they may have a larger portion of noncitizens and persons unfamiliar with the English language. The 22 States not requiring literacy tests are located in the Midwest and the Rocky Mountains and include the major agricultural States outside of the South. Few have received large numbers of foreign immigrants, at least since the mid-19th century.

These limitations may have significant effects on voter participation in these States. However, the data clearly show a negative correlation between literacy tests and voter registration and turn-out levels for the general population and particularly for minority group members.

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND COUNTIES WITH 15% OR MORE SPANISH SURNAME VOTER REGISTRATION PERCENTAGES

COUNTY	STATE	% SPANISH SURNAME
Santa Cruz	Ariz	(57.6)
Greenlee	Ariz	(45.5)
Imperial	Calif	(33.1)
San Benito	Calif	(30.2)
Pinal	Ariz	(27.7)
Cochise	Ariz	(25.0)



COUNTY	STATE	% SPANISH SURNAME
Gila	Ariz	(21.9)
Yuma	Ariz	(20.1)
Graham	Ariz	(17.3)
Ventura	Calif	(17.1)
Fresno	Calif	(16.8)
Pima	Ariz	(16.7)
Tulare	Calif	(16.3)
Madera	Calif	(15.4)
Mora	NM	(85.4)
Costilla	Colo	(72.6)
Quadalupe	NM	(72.5)
Rio Arriba	NM	(69.6)
Taos	NM	(69.1)
San Miguel	NM	(68.5)
Santa Fe	NM	(54.3)
Conejos	Colo	(53.1)
Grant	NM	(47.2)
Socorro	NM	(46.8)
Huerfano	Colo	(45.9)
Torrence	NM	(41.7)
Hidalgo	NM	(40.6)
Colfax	NM	(40.1)
Las Animas	Colo	(37.2)
Archuletta	Colo	(36.2)
Valencia	NM	(35.9)
Luna	NM	(34.4)
Sandoval	NM	(32.0)
Saguache	Colo	(31.5)
Rio Grande	Colo	(31.2)
Quay	NM	(29.4)
Lincoln	NM	(28.9)
Catron	NM	(27.2)
Harding	NM	(26.5)
Bernalillo	NM	(26.0)
Crowley	Colo	(25.7)
Eagle	Colo	(25.4)
DeBaca	NM	(25.0)
Alamosa	Colo	(24.9)
Union	NM	(24.3)
Eddy	NM	(22.1)
Otero	Colo	(22.1)
Sierra	NM	(21.6)
Pueblo	Colo	(21.4)
Bent	Colo	(19.6)
San Juan	Colo	(17.1)
Otero	NM	(15.9)

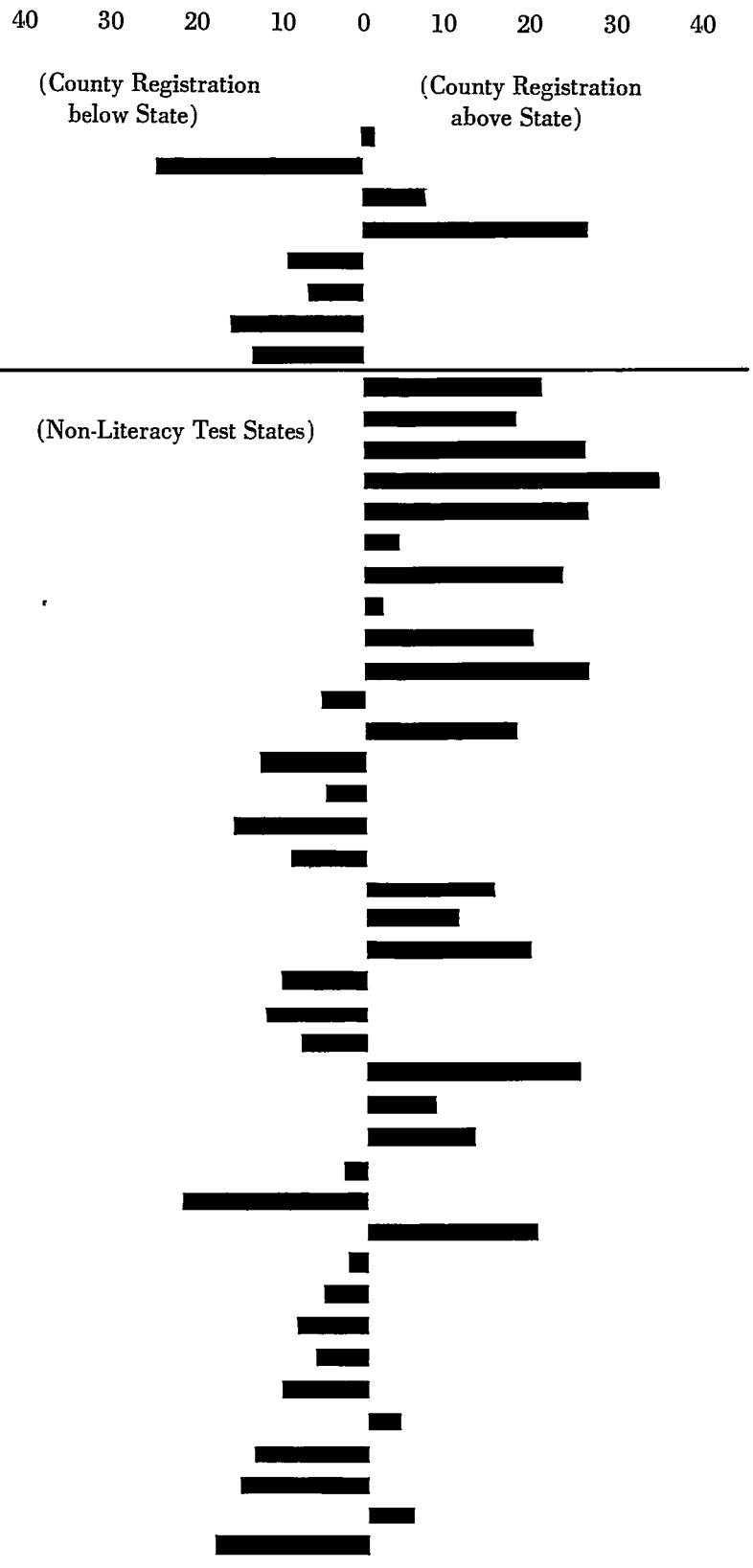
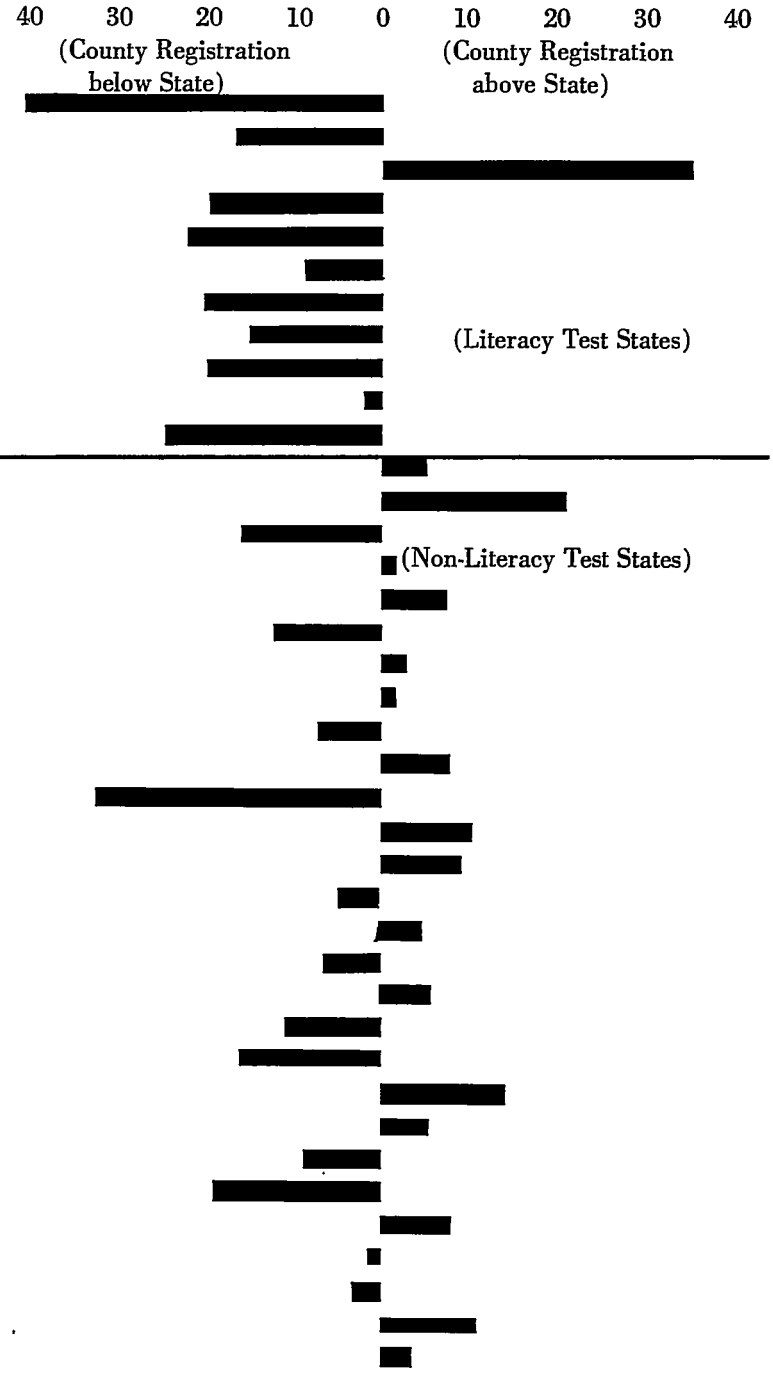


TABLE 3

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND COUNTIES WITH 15% OR MORE NONWHITE VOTER REGISTRATION PERCENTAGES

COUNTY	STATE	% NON-WHITE
Apache	Ariz	(77.5)
Navajo	Ariz	(53.1)
Alpine	Calif	(47.4)
Cococino	Ariz	(31.0)
New York	NY	(25.1)
Sussex	Del	(21.2)
SF	Calif	(18.4)
Ferry	Wash	(18.2)
Pinal	Ariz	(15.4)
Alameda	Calif	(15.3)
Kent	Del	(15.2)
McKinley	NM	(57.9)
Buffalo	SD	(50.5)
Sandoval	NM	(42.0)
Ziebach	SD	(40.0)
Dewey	SD	(38.1)
Glacier	Mont	(37.8)
Pulaski	Ill	(36.2)
Big Horn	Mont	(34.2)
Alexander	Ill	(33.1)
Mellette	SD	(29.9)
San Juan	Utah	(29.8)
Corson	SD	(28.9)
San Juan	NM	(27.6)
Phila	Pa	(26.7)
Lake	Mich	(26.6)
Roosevelt	Mont	(23.6)
Thurston	Neb	(22.8)
Rosebud	Mont	(21.9)
Blaine	Mont	(21.3)
Jones	SD	(20.8)
Bennett	SD	(20.3)
Wayne	Mich	(20.1)
Essex	NJ	(19.8)
St. Clair	Ill	(18.3)
Atlantic	NJ	(17.7)
Cook	Ill	(17.3)
Cuyahoga	Ohio	(15.7)
Salem	NJ	(15.2)



*County registration data were not available for Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, and some counties in South Dakota.

TABLE 4

REASONS GIVEN FOR NONREGISTRATION IN THE NORTH AND WEST, BY RACE, YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND PRESENCE OF A LITERACY TEST: NOVEMBER 1968

STATES IN NORTH AND WEST WITH LITERACY TESTS	PERCENT KNOWN NOT TO HAVE REGISTERED	NOT A CITIZEN OR RESIDENCE REQUIREMENT NOT SATISFIED	NOT INTERESTED OR WERE UNABLE TO REGISTER	OTHER, DON'T KNOW OR NOT REPORTED
Total voting age pop.	23.7	7.4	13.1	3.2
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	36.8	11.7	20.3	4.8
High School: 1 year or more	20.2	6.2	11.2	2.8
White voting age pop.	22.7	7.0	12.6	3.1
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	35.7	11.3	19.7	4.7
High School: 1 year or more	19.3	5.8	10.8	2.7
Negro voting age pop.	29.6	6.3	19.4	3.9
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	39.3	6.0	27.7	5.6
High School: 1 year or more	25.7	6.3	16.1	3.3
STATES IN NORTH AND WEST WITHOUT LITERACY TESTS				
Total voting age pop.	18.9	3.8	12.9	2.2
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	24.4	4.4	16.9	3.1
High School: 1 year or more	17.1	3.6	11.5	2.0
White voting age pop.	18.7	3.7	12.7	2.3
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	24.6	4.5	17.0	3.1
High School: 1 year or more	16.8	3.5	11.3	2.0
Negro voting age pop.	20.4	2.7	15.0	2.7
Elementary: 0 to 8 years	20.1	1.6	15.2	3.3
High School: 1 year or more	20.5	3.2	14.9	2.4

SOURCE: Special tabulations prepared by the U.S. Bureau of the Census from data published in *Current Population Reports.* "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advance Statistics)." Series P–20, No. 177. December 27, 1968.

IS THE BLACK PRESS NEEDED?

Separated in time by nearly a century and a half, John Russwurm and the Kerner Commission were closely aligned in thought when both concluded in language that differed but whose meaning was essentially the same, that the white press treats black Americans rather shabbily. Russwurm found his proof in the anti-black bias of the *New York Sun*—so pronounced that the editor refused to publish a letter refuting a racist attack until the black man paid for the space and the text of the letter had been edited. Somewhat embittered, Russwurm began publication of the Nation's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827.

With little modification, the credo that Russwurm set forth in the initial issue of his newspaper contains valid reasons for the existence of black newspapers today.

"We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentation in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles. . . . We intend to lay our case before the public with a view to arrest the progress of prejudice and to shield ourselves against its consequent evils."

Russwurm was saying in effect that the white press could not be trusted to represent the best interests of black people. So little changed in the intervening years that in 1968 the Kerner Commission could report:

"Most Negroes distrust what they refer to as the 'white press.' As one interviewer reported: 'The average black person couldn't give less of a damn about what the media say. The intelligent black person is resentful at what he considers to be a totally false portrayal of what goes on in the ghetto. Most black people see the newspapers as mouthpieces of the power structure."

The depth of this distrust of the white press is only dimly perceived by the white community, even those enlightened members who are sympathetic to the aspirations of minority groups. Stories about blacks appear with some regularity in the daily press—more now than pre-Kerner Commission; editorials sometimes support measures that will advance civil rights; black brides from the black elite have been pictured on some society pages from time to time; and these are judged by non-blacks to be evidence that the white press does care about the black community, and perhaps the antagonism of blacks is somewhat paranoid.

Based on their own experiences, however, blacks feel their suspicion of and cynicism about the white press are completely justified. Given the opportunity to air their views, as they were last May in Nashville during a 2-day consultation on Mass Media and Race Relations sponsored by the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission of Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, two daily newspapers, and the Community Relations Service, blacks literally rip the white press from page one to the back. They can cite instance after instance where they believe the white press has mistreated them and each instance has increased their bitterness. As the official and pessimistic overview of the consultation stated:

"If the views expressed . . . are an accurate reflection of black community sentiment, then Nashville is confronted with a serious racial problem. Sadly, there is every reason to believe that the views expressed were indeed an accurate reflection of black community sentiment."

The real tragedy of the Nashville session was that, with very few changes, the scenario would be applicable to the white press in almost any city in the country. Spokesmen for the press attempted to explain their sincere efforts to improve news coverage of the black community but the rage and frustration felt by the black participants were so great that the efforts were brushed aside. Out of what was said the sponsors compiled a list of general conclusions that can best be characterized as a blueprint of a failure in communications and a warning that the Kerner Commission did not understate the case when it spoke of distrust of the white press.

1. There is a gaping crevice of mistrust that stands between the black community and the white community in Nashville. The black people see the "press on the other side."

2. The black community sees Nashville's newspapers, television stations, and radio stations as all part

Illustration of Russwurm from "The Afro American Press and Its Editors," Arno Press, 1969.

JOHN B. RUSSWURM.

and parcel of the same "press" that looks not, sees not, and cares not for the community conditions that adversely affect Negroes.

3. The black community feels excluded from the press. It is, in the mind of the black community, a white press which does not honestly or adequately cover news about the black community, or cover news about black people in the same way it covers news about the white community.

4. The black community feels the press goes out of its way to find stories of interest about the white community, but accepts stories about the black man only infrequently and then when crisis threatens.

5. The black community feels that the "attitude of the white press" is intentionally discriminatory against Negroes.

6. The black community feels that this discrimination involves not only news coverage, but also the employment of black people in media jobs of importance and prominence.

7. The black community feels that stories concerning violence and rioting are overplayed by the press in order to sell papers or attract attention to a specific television or radio station.

8. The black community does not understand, and in fact has no sympathy for, internal media problems which limit the amount of local news that can be presented in any given newspaper or on any television or radio news show. The feeling is that there is no effort by any of the media to give to the black community a fair shake in what time and space there is available for local news.

Editors of the white press may well argue that the indictment alleging such massive failures, as represented by the foregoing conclusions, is too harsh; that as professionals they recognize past deficiencies and are undertaking every possible reasonable effort to insure the equitable treatment of blacks. That defense, though it is often made, as it was in Nashville, cannot overcome the reality that blacks see the daily press negatively. In any discussion of race and media, this is the important factor—not what the white press says it is, but what blacks think it is.

It would be a mistake for the white press to believe, if only briefly, that all that is required to overcome this attitude is the hiring of a few black reporters, the end of the use of racial designations in news stories, and finding space for a few more stories about black people. Much more needs to be done, but the purpose here is not to describe those methods but to demonstrate, through an examination of the shortcomings of the white press, why a black press* exists.

The attitude that has been described is held not only by black laymen, who may be unaware that publishing a newspaper is a complicated business, but by blacks who have spent lifetimes in the journalism profession and are no strangers to its problems. How many of them feel was summed up by veteran black newsman Simeon Booker, Washington bureau chief for Johnson Publications, in his book, *Black Man's America.*

"Of all the creative fields that are characterized as liberal and understanding, journalism ranks in lowest esteem; it has done little for the Negro, not only in the hiring of qualified personnel but in interpreting his plight. As a lifelong journalist, I am critical of my profession, which I love and feel is important in the maintenance of a free society. It has done much, along with the movies, to establish the image of the unworthy Negro."

To balance the scales, to fill the void left by the white press, to provide an image of more than the "unworthy" Negro, the black press was created. Told on every hand that they were inferior, blacks were forced to develop their own institutions in which they could function with dignity and a sense of themselves as individuals, and the black press was one of these institutions.

From their inception until today, black newspapers have been written primarily for black people, and it is in this context that they must be viewed if their peculiar relationship to the black community and civil rights is to be understood at all. Many of the critical appraisals that have appeared on the black press have ignored this peculiarity and made the mistake of attempting to judge the competence of these papers on the basis of how closely they resembled the white press. Black papers have emerged on the short end of such comparisons, not because they were inferior, but because they were being judged by someone else's standards and not on the more sensible basis of whether they did or did not fill a relevant role within the framework in which they operated.

If black papers were carbon copies of white papers, they would be worthless. They are purchased by their

**The definition of "black press," as used in this article, is restricted to include only newspapers. A number of black magazines are being published—among them* Ebony, Jet, Sepia*—but their role is somewhat different than that filled by the newspapers and they require separate treatment.*

readers for the specific reason that they are not white papers; that what they purport to do is to report events of concern to black people from a black viewpoint.

This approach carries with it the implication that news can be different when reported in the white and black press, and while this observation tends to fly in the face of the "objectivity" which the daily press says it maintains, the experience of blacks has been such that the implication has the strong ring of truth about it. The "objectivity" of the white press, from where blacks stand, has been more myth than fact.

The Kerner Commission gave substance to this when it reported: "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world . . . the white press . . . repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifferences of white America."

Thus, reports of police violence against black people are generally ignored by the white press, but taken seriously by the black press. A St. Louis newspaper dismisses as a "teapot tempest" allegations that a major Federal contractor has not performed well in the area of equal employment opportunity, while the black community regards this as a catastrophe. A Baltimore paper covers an Urban League affair and concludes the most interesting item is that a number of blacks rode up to the hotel in Cadillacs. In the Fall, 1969, issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Frank Ferretti, a New York Timesman, in writing on New York's thoroughly reported black anti-Semitism scare growing out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school dispute of 1968, concludes that "there was, with the predictable exception of Harlem's *Amsterdam News*, no real effort made to present the black man's side of the conflict."

In reading accounts of the same news events in the black press and the white press, it is sometimes difficult to believe that the same events are being reported on. Illustrative of this is an incident of several years ago that began at a public swimming pool in a park in the center of a white low-income neighborhood in Baltimore. A number of black families lived on the periphery and their children had traditionally by-passed the pool for another in a black neighborhood several miles away. Under the sheltering wings of a youth leader, black youngsters began to use the pool to the dismay of whites. Tempers boiled over on Labor Day when several thousand whites gathered in the park and acted in such a hostile manner that police had to take the black children out of the public facility in a paddy wagon.

When the caravan reached the black neighborhood a number of people, concerned about the children, were on the streets. They had heard a rumor that a mob planned to march on the area and were interested in what the police would do. They found out quickly. In a few minutes the police appeared with dogs and chased everyone off the street.

The only paper to give any attention to this was the black newspaper, the *Afro-American*. Other coverage centered on what had occurred in the park—a confrontation. The *Afro* editors felt that the attitude of the police, as expressed by their use of dogs to force peaceful citizens into their homes while no such efforts were made to disperse the mob in the park, was important; that if the entire story was to be told, the attitude of the police when they dealt with black people had to be reported.

What the *Afro* did was nothing more than it and other black newspapers do as a matter of routine—report the black man's views without apology or self-consciousness. That this perspective has legitimacy—that is, it has not been conjured up out of thin air as part of some black mystique—is clearly evident in the misreading of the inner feelings of black people that has characterized so much of black-white relations in this country.

More than any other formal institution, with the exception of the church, the black press is immersed in the life of black people. Through its closeness to the black community, the manner in which it is wrapped up in the totality of black life in terms of the people who make it function and its interests, it cannot escape a black perspective.

Black reporters employed by white newspapers have lately come to the realization that they too can hardly disassociate themselves from a black perspective. They are the sum of a thousand different experiences unknown to whites and to have lived through this is to have had perceptions and insights colored in a very special way. Many of these reporters have progressed past the point of pretending that their blackness makes no difference in reporting news—a bow here to the tin god of "objectivity"—to agressively asserting that their blackness does make a difference.

The position of the black journalist in the field of white media was stated bluntly in a full page advertisement that appeared in two black New York newspapers in February of this year following the subpoening of a black reporter for the *New York Times* by a grand jury investigating the Black Panther Party. The

ad began—"Message to the Black Community from Black Journalists"—and declared: "We will not be used as spies, informants or undercover agents by anybody. We will protect our confidential sources, using every means at our disposal. We strongly object to attempts by law enforcement agencies to exploit our blackness."

Having thus assured the black community that they were conscious of their close and sensitive relationship to this community and they would not allow this relationship to be used by outside agencies, the journalists declared:

"The black journalist is different—he is black. Many will, in all probability, cover the black community for the rest of their careers. . . . He will assign himself to cover the black community out of a sense of responsibility to bring about a greater understanding and clarity of the dynamics and nuances of the black revolution. This is frequently the black reporter's reaction to the lack of real understanding in too many of the media's stories about black people. For one thing, when the black reporter leaves the office to cover a black story, he goes home. Home is the black community. . . . We are not spokesmen for the black community. As black journalists we are attempting to interpret, with as great an understanding and truth as possible, the nation's social revolutions."

The advertisement was signed by reporters for the *New York Times, Associated Press, New York Daily News, New York Post, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Philadelphia Bulletin, Buffalo Evening News, Life, Look, Time, Fortune,* a number of radio and television stations, several black newspapers, and author-photographer Gordon Parks.

Whether they work for black newspapers or white newspapers, black reporters are almost universally conscious of the special relationship between them and the black community. Reporters who work for the

THE 15 LARGEST BLACK NEWSPAPERS

NAME		CIRCULATION
Amsterdam News (New York City)		82,123
Philadelphia Tribune		
Tuesday	38,571	
Friday	36,284	
Total		74,855
Michigan Chronicle (Detroit)		72,776
Baltimore Afro-American		
Tuesday	31,832	
Friday	33,022	
Total		64,854
St. Louis Mirror		51,500
Pittsburgh Courier		48,798
Los Angeles Sentinel		41,482
Berkeley Post		40,000
Chicago Defender (Weekly)		36,458
Birmingham Times		36,000
Chicago Defender (Daily)		33,320
Atlanta World (Daily)		30,100
Los Angeles Herald Dispatch		29,500
Norfolk Journal and Guide		29,213
Cleveland Call Post		29,183

(The information above was taken from the *Editor and Publisher Year Book,* 1969. While the several newspaper chains operate a series of newspapers so that total circulation would be higher than that shown here, the figures cited are only for individual papers. *Muhammad Speaks,* with an estimated circulation of 400,000, was not included in the E&P listing.)

black press, however, are better able to discharge their responsibilities to this community since they are working for organs that have a basic commitment to the community.

The black press began life as a protest organ against the mistreatment of its people and it has maintained this characteristic, to the consternation of some critics who charge that its strident tones often pass over into the area of "rabble-rousing." One of the reasons, however, that it does possess credibility with its black readership is this willingness to speak out on issues that it deems important. Among the many ironies of American history is that the black press, condemned and reviled in one decade for its "radicalism," has found that radicalism vindicated in succeeding generations. In espousing the causes of civil rights, the black press has continually been ahead of what the country was willing to do at that time—end lynching, secure the right to vote for all people, open public accommodations to all, integrate education, and a host of other causes.

When slavery ended with the Emancipation Proclamation, the black press turned its attention to securing the civil rights of blacks in the face of indifference and hostility. At best, most of these papers were marginal operations, unable to command the financial resources available to their white counterparts. That they were able to survive at all has to be regarded as a tribute to the tenacity and determination of their editors—many of whom were ministers and therefore able to exercise some degree of independence from white society.

Circulation of these papers in the 19th century was limited since their appeal was directed to the small but influential group of educated and informed blacks. The situation changed after 1905 when Robert S. Abbott established the *Chicago Defender* and aimed it at a much wider audience by using the techniques of yellow journalism. He introduced sensationalism to the black press, and having thus captured the attention of a mass audience, he was able to operate from a base of strength in pushing for civil rights. The formula worked so well that Abbott and the *Defender*, in the period following World War I, are generally given a great deal of credit for inspiring the flood of blacks to leave the South for the more hospitable climate of the North.

By 1940 some 200 black newspapers were being published and a survey of 144 of them in the period 1942–44 showed a circulation of 1,613,255. Most of them were published in urban areas where they could find concentrated circulation, but wherever they were, they hammered away at civil rights issues, sometimes as the only voice raised in public outcry. Typical of their concern were the publicity and editorial support they gave to a threat by A. Philip Randolph to stage a March on Washington, in the midst of World War II, on behalf of jobs for blacks. To prevent this, President Roosevelt signed his fair employment practices order.

One of the most articulate and effective of the black editors of that period was the late Carl Murphy who built the Baltimore *Afro-American Newspaper* into the major black institution in that city and established sister papers in Washington, D.C., Richmond, Philadelphia, and Newark. The *Afro* engaged in a running series of civil rights battles campaigning for black policemen, better schools, black elected officials and judges, better housing, open public accommodations, and many other issues. The *Afro* was not unique in its activities, and its record rather accurately reflects the same type of issues that engaged the attention of other black newspapers.

The period immediately after World War II saw the black press in a most favored position vis-a-vis the black community. Its credibility was at an all-time high and it enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the coverage of black news and in providing employment for aspiring black journalists.

On the matter of revenue, the position was not so favorable. The white press derived the principal share of its revenue from advertising, rather than circulation, but the reverse was true for the black press. Large advertisers refused to use the black press for their messages, and while their refusals were often couched in diplomatic double talk about duplication of effort, it was evident that many of them felt they could not offend customers by advertising in militant media or they held the black market in low esteem.

Black newspapers, as a consequence, had to take advertisers where they could be found, and this included hair straighteners, skin bleachers, and fortune tellers. Critics could point to these and cite them as an ambivalence on the part of the black press—preaching racial uplift on the one hand and catering to dubious tastes on the other. In their defense, the papers needed revenue to survive and it was more important that they continue to serve the information needs of their readership than it was for them to turn away advertisers to satisfy an outsider's sense of right and wrong.

Operating in such an almost complete monopolistic situation, black newspapers in the midfifties were scarcely prepared for the implications of the movement that began in Montgomery, Alabama, with a bus boycott and quickly spread to other cities throughout the South in the form of protest demonstrations, sit-ins, sleep-ins, and wade-ins.

Suddenly, the white press began to take note of black people. At times it appeared that the further away black people happened to be from the home base of the white press, the more attention they received, but at the very least, they were no longer ignored. This development brought the black press to a problem—if the Nation were to achieve the type of integration envisioned in such cries as "black and white together," there would be no need for a black press. Since there were to be no separate societies, no separate press would be needed.

One of the major newspaper chains thought this possibility so real that it offered cash prizes to its employees for the best essays on why there was a continuing need for the black press. As events later proved, worries over the possible demise of the black press were somewhat premature.

Integration as a complete and total fact has not been achieved and reflecting this the white press still presents an almost all-white picture in terms of personnel and coverage.

In the Spring, 1969, issue of *Journalism Quarterly*, Dr. Edward J. Trayes, assistant professor of journalism at Temple University, reported on a survey covering 32 of 48 major newspapers published in 16 of the 20 largest U.S. cities. Of the 4,095 news executives, deskmen, reporters, and photographers employed on these newspapers, 108 or 2.6 percent were black. Out of 532 news executives—assistant city editor through editor—only one was black.

The argument is not being made that only blacks can cover news in the black community, but certainly unless they are employed in increasing numbers the white press will continue to suffer from a lack of personnel capable of correctly interpreting a community whose very complexity is enough to drown a non-member.

Given time, the numerous recruitment and training programs undertaken by private foundations, schools of journalism, and the media themselves will result in more black journalists on more papers in positions of increased importance. This hopefully will improve the nature of coverage given to black affairs, but the white press will still be concerned with its primary readership, the white audience. This focus means that it can devote only limited coverage to a community that is becoming more and more aware of its own identity and more and more aware of its own informational needs.

Attention must also be paid to the already noted distrust of the white press which makes coverage by the white press of black affairs somewhat difficult, even when black reporters do the covering. Instances in which blacks refuse to talk to representatives of the white press are no longer uncommon, and while this development is regrettable, it has to be seen as what it is—a roadblock in the path of meaningful communication.

These reasons argue persuasively that blacks will continue to look to black newspapers as a primary source of news about themselves. Hoyt Fuller, managing editor of the *Negro Digest*, put this view in these words in the *Ball and Chain Review*, a monthly publication of black media workers in the San Francisco Bay area:

"I do think that the black community is turning inward and is no longer interested in having its activities interpreted for it by the white press. It is no longer interested in having anything interpreted for it by the white press, and this is why blacks will turn more and more toward their own newspapers."

This "put-down" of the white press is disturbing and quite understandably should arouse the hackles of the many white journalists who believe that the press has been made the scapegoat for the faults of the total society and that such an attitude contains the destructive seed of separatism. The point here is not to argue whether such an attitude should exist—and in truth this seems rather moot since it does exist—but to explore the role the black press can and should play today and tomorrow in advancing the cause of civil rights and one society.

The black press is in an unparalleled position to inform and influence its readers. Almost without exception it has the confidence of the public it serves. Its readers know that what appears in the pages of the black press is aimed at them. They know the men and women who produce it are part of them, have gone through similar experiences, and are not likely to desert them when hard decisions have to be made.

The black papers are not all paragons of virtue. They have their faults and their weaknesses. An alarming number of them are still designed primarily for the

middle class black, with too little attention paid to those who have not yet made it up the ladder. They tend to accept at face value the efficacy of old formulas, without taking full account of shifting priorities and techniques devised to answer new problems. They sometimes expend their resources on insignificant news events at the expense of those events that should be explored in greater detail. Their coverage, because of the thinness of staff, is sometimes spotty.

They have, by and large, not done well in attracting new recruits and they have lost key personnel to other media because of more attractive financial arrangements. Of all the new programs designed to attract black youth into communications, apparently only one —sponsored by the Ford Foundation and operated by the *Richmond Afro-American* and the Virginia Council on Human Relations—has been designed to attract young people into black journalism. Only one predominantly black school, Lincoln University in Missouri, offers a degree in journalism.

These are faults, however, that the black press can correct. The increased revenues it is receiving from advertisers, as more and more merchants discover the effectiveness of their messages in a black newspaper, should enable them to attract and retain capable journalists. Then, too, there is the freedom they can offer a journalist to express himself in a meaningful way. There is also the very real possibility that the wave of black awareness that is rolling through various communities will persuade young people that they can serve their "brothers and sisters" by speaking through the black press.

The black press badly needs to reevaluate itself in terms of relevance to today's problems, but even at this point, with its faults, it is the one institution with the potential of reaching and influencing people at all levels—the militants, the moderates, and the quietly resigned. It has no master except the people it serves, and from this vantage point it can work in the best interest of its community, it can report on blacks as three dimensional people, it can champion the cause of civil rights, and it can be a leader.

The black press cannot accomplish all that it should completely on its own. Schools of journalism, which have virtually ignored the black press, should pay more attention to this medium as part of their regular curriculums, and they should be interested in exploring methods by which they can utilize their knowledge to help the black press strengthen itself. More efforts should be undertaken to recruit new blood for the black press through foundation-backed intern programs and fellowships.

While the black press serves primarily a black readership, it can also serve the total community. At a time when frustration is a common commodity, it can point to those areas where positive achievements have been made within the framework of a democratic society, while never ceasing its demands for the correction of those ills still existing. It can and should argue against racism in any form, against a drift toward two societies. Its voice is accepted among its readers with a degree of receptivity that outside agencies cannot match—no matter how deep their commitment.

Any program that seeks to end this drift, no matter who the sponsor may be, should take this into account. In too many instances, the black press has represented a second thought, a low priority method of communication, and well intentioned programs with a civil rights or human relations focus have suffered as a result. This could be due to the ignorance of many whites about the existence of a black press, but the sorry state of interracial communications indicates that such ignorance is no longer tolerable. With more than 160 of these papers being published every week (there are two dailies, the *Chicago Defender* and the *Atlanta Daily World*) they are too important to be ignored in any effort that seeks to bridge the gap between the races. These papers can help blacks understand their relationship to a total integrated community and at the same time they can help whites understand the perspective of blacks.

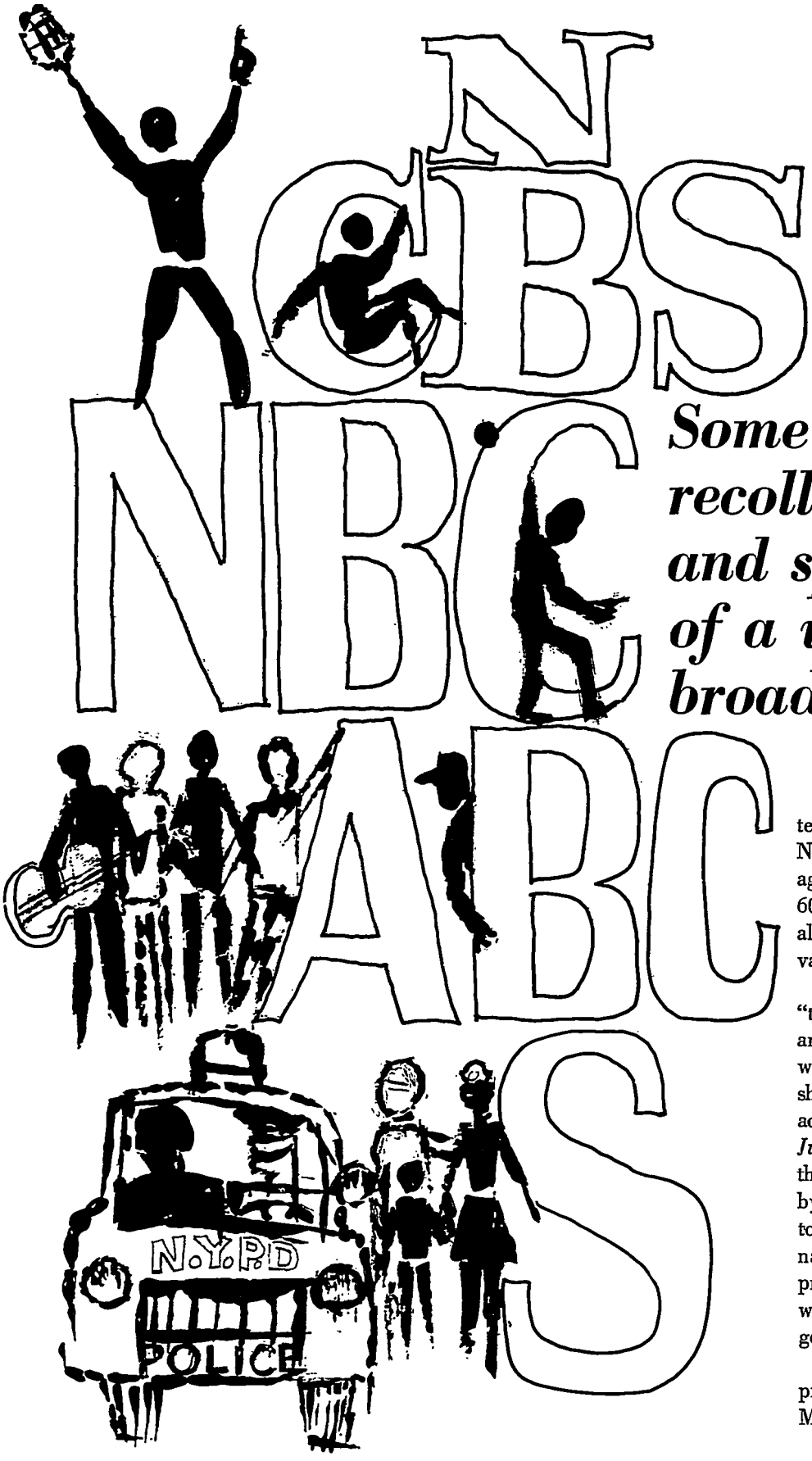
Looking to the future of the black press, the words Gunnar Mrydal wrote in 1944 are still valid:

"No feasible widening of the reporting of Negro activities in the white press will substitute for the Negro press. What happens to the Negroes will continue to have relatively low 'news value' to the white people and even the most well-meaning editor will have to stop far short of what Negroes demand if he wants to satisfy his white public. Whether or not this forecast of an increased circulation for Negro newspapers comes true, the Negro press is of tremendous importance."

In a fully integrated society, the black press would shrink and eventually vanish, much in the manner of the foreign language press. Pending that, however, it is alive and well.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS

Mr. Williams is Director of the Office of Information and Publications, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and is the former editor of several black newspapers.



Some recollections and speculations of a white broadcaster

Television discovered the black, tennis-player spy in 1966 and the Negro nurse-mother just 2 years ago. But back in the 50's and early 60's, when black-and-white meant almost "lily-white," a few color variations were visible.

Sports and variety, the natural "they've got-rhythm" shows, had an accepted integration. There were also other "integrated" shows. Although they did not achieve the publicity of *I Spy, Julia, N.Y.P.D.,* or *Mod Squad,* they did represent sincere efforts by socially-involved broadcasters to present some black faces on the national screen, long before it was pressured or fashionable. (No one would now deny it was always urgent.)

Arthur Godfrey's early 1950's presentation of the racially-mixed Mariners, which would be routine

today, was subjected to a large brouhaha from Southern stations. Mark Goodson-Bill Todman's integration of their many game-show panels drew mail of ironic mix: hate letters from segregationists, accusations of "tokenism" from militants. (But at least, on Goodson-Todman game show-after show, black skins appeared worn by people who were often very humorous, always very human.)

As befitted a true reflection of America's social-racial mores (whatever one's aesthetic reactions to the shows exploiting misery), Negro ladies not only could appear in quest of handouts on *Queen for a Day* but actually could be chosen Queen. Queen of impoverishment, officially! And though its producer, Bob Temple, received little recognition for it, audiences of his "lily-white" 1950's Wonderland saw an occasional black Alice.

From its 1958 inception, Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*—TV's only long-run show aimed specifically at teenagers—managed to sow seeds of generation gapism and enhance color variations by discriminating only against the mature.

Dance floors on TV included some blacks; but no miscegenated couples, mind you—affiliate clearances were tough enough, without risking the marginal Southern markets. Of course, those areas that could probably have profited most from seeing blacks at least kinetically equal to whites were either marginal or "not carrying."

Rock-and-roll itself, emerging largely from America's black heritage, also sped up gapism. At the turn of the 60's, as anxious parents worried about their children's "alien" (and sexual) musical preferences, the children themselves must have been developing some subtle realization from television music and dance that black and white are reasonably equal.

Common sense supported the progressive mayor of Savannah, Georgia, when he told me that television was "going over the heads" of bigots to their children. The young were "experiencing" that blacks, like whites, were people.

In 1964, the Ethical Culture Society of New York called a public forum and publicized a painful survey of nominal black appearances on all of New York's seven television stations, particularly in network daytime soap operas.

"Unofficially," I attended the meeting. Prominent Negro artists and white social scientists held forth persuasively. It was hard to tell if Harry Belafonte was condemning those white artists and sponsors who had "integrated," though not enough by his urgent standards, or those who avoided any effort. A psychiatrist, Dr. Israel Zwerling, presented both moral and objective evidence of "all-white" television's reinforcement of black psychological and social attitudes. To continue avoiding presentation of black people on television, he said, would be the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of two societies disparate in spirit and will.

For some programmers there could be no more excuses or delays. We immediately convened a meeting of ABC's daytime producers; it was guided by staffmen Peter Miner and Chuck Barris. Subject: "Daytime's relationship and responsibilities to its audience."

We all knew about ratings—which were then hard to come by for ABC. We knew sales were equally hard to achieve. But we were also, then, transforming large losses into substantial profits, certainly our clear business responsibility. But social responsibility was not to be posed as an either/or with the business responsibility. It, too, was a "given," and an urgent one.

After helpful consultations with serial drama's great writer, Irna Phillips; and social psychologist Dr. Toby Bieber, we explored the dynamics of soap opera. We found its audience was about 25 percent Negro women, with their strong psychological "identification" and role-playing, etc. Therefore, if our programs presented Negroes dramatically but accurately, "good deeds" could also be "good business."

None of the producers resisted. *General Hospital* already had black doctors and nurses passing through its corridors, although its several attempts at fuller story lines involving blacks had failed. The plaint was still heard that Negro actors did not have the exacting technical skill necessary for daily, live drama. But the need exceeded the problems, it was agreed, and the effort must be made.

It didn't succeed—at least not in 1964. Program "difficulties," all of the "usual" nature, with no affiliate or segregationist pressure, occurred regularly; and daytime drama stayed almost pure-white. But those responsible were determined to change it.

Within the year, Len Goldberg, who succeeded me in charge of daytime programs, was examining proposals for an all-Negro serial,

although ABC did not schedule one. But Ed Vane, Goldberg's successor, did program Aggie Nixon's highly-integrated *One Life To Live.*

At NBC and CBS, too, the serial community offered "open-housing," and the advertiser-produced shows finally followed suit.

Meanwhile, integration was also pushing forward in commercial prime-time drama; the turning point was 1965—a mere 11 years after the Supreme Court decision!

Producers like Dan Melnick, Norman Felton, Paul Monash, Herb Brodkin, Dave Dortort, Roy Huggins, and the many others—who had always reflected their social consciousness in their work—moved aggressively to have a reasonably high percentage of black faces appear on America's television screens. Today the black face is commonplace on TV, in programs of general nature as well as black oriented programs and commercials.

When I started my own company, I was urged by a highly responsible broadcaster and former ABC daytime colleague, Yale Roe, to package a daytime serial focused primarily on black characters and stories. I also benefited from Dr. Harold Mendelsohn's University of Denver research on the experimental impact of "learning" from soap operas (published in the *Television Quarterly*).

We wanted to "package" only what blacks created. We explored possibilities with many black writers and several black production people and commissioned treatments from three who are now succeeding in theater: Clifford Mason, Philip Dean, and Lonnie Elder.

But we were unable to sell the concept either to the networks, several larger station groups, or advertisers, so we had to abandon it. Not for any sinister reasons, but for all of the "usual" creative and business ones that especially plague a small independent.

I am confident that a primarily Negro serial drama will be presented successfully on commercial daily daytime television, and I still hope, someday soon, to be able to do it.

From here on, of course, audiences will see both "integrated" and all-black shows, from both commercial and public broadcasts. In TV programming, as well as in housing, education, business, and all other aspects of American life, the conflicts of segregation, integration, or black-desired separation will continue.

This sketchy history suggests only a miniscule portion of the relationship of TV to the black audience it must serve, directly and as a part of a larger society. My speculations about the future of the medium must remain painfully uncertain.

While watching, I try to imagine I am an adolescent, living in Harlem, in poor surroundings, probably behind in educational and cultural development, and black—if it is possible for a white man to imagine he is a black boy. As I watch even the most "innocent" of programs, I try to imagine what goes through that adolescent's mind.

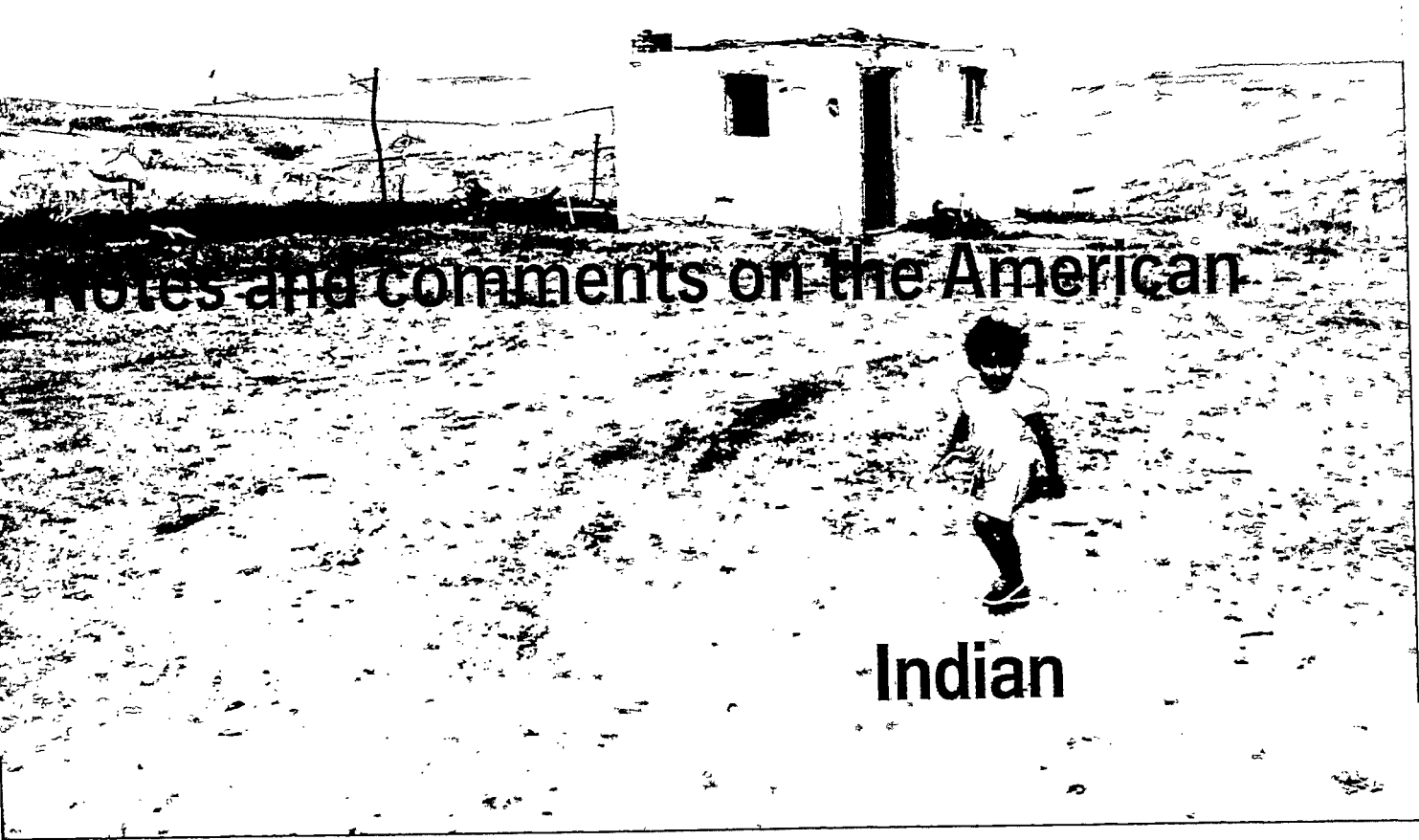
What, for example, is the implicit effect of *Ozzie and Harriet,* even in re-run? After all, ". . . that Ozzie's a pretty dumb cat . . . they're all laughing at him . . . but man, does he live good . . . look at that house, that car, those clothes. Where's mine?"

What does he think when he watches *It Takes a Thief?* ". . . that Robert Wagner's a groovy cat . . . he's working for what's supposed to be a good cause—the SIA. Hell, ain't Black Power a better cause! or, ain't I a better cause . . . so, The Man's telling me 'if it's a good cause, steal, baby, steal' . . . look at them chicks . . . if I steal good I get the groovy chicks too!"

Such fantasies could go on indefinitely. There is no one answer. *Anything* a broadcaster does will be "right" for some and "wrong" for others. But, sometimes, it helps the very comfortable, white broadcaster (100 percent of that population) understand a little better, if he watches from the minority point-of-view.

EDWARD BLEIER

Mr. Bleier is vice president in charge of network programming and sales for Warner Brothers Television in New York. Prior to this, for two years he operated an independent, TV programming company. Mr. Bleier was formerly with ABC-TV in New York City where he served as vice president and general sales manager; vice president in charge of public relations and planning, Broadcast Division; and vice president in charge of daytime programming and sales. He is a graduate of Syracuse University, 1951, and has taught in the U.S. Army Psychological Warfare School.



Notes and comments on the American Indian

The following information, gathered from various sources, is a random sampling of information on Indians and is in no way meant to be conclusive or all inclusive.

• There are over 600,000 American Indians scattered among approximately 300 tribes throughout the United States. When Columbus discovered America, the Indian population was estimated to be between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000; by 1860, this figure had dropped to 340,000; and by 1910 to 260,000. Is it any wonder that the Indian was once called "The Vanishing American"? Today, however, the American Indian is considered to be the fastest growing minority in this country.

• In 1924, the Wheeler-Howard Act was passed making all Indians American citizens. They were here first, before black, white, or brown men, yet a law had to be passed to grant them citizenship.

• The average income of an Indian is $1,500 per year, three times less than the average income of the black ghetto resident, the unemployment rate among Indians being 10 times that of the rest of the Nation; the life expectancy of an Indian is between 43 and 44 years compared to the national average of 65 years; housing conditions for these people are among the worst in the country, not to mention the lack of health facilities which leads to high incidents of respiratory infections, hookworm, and other diseases.

• The mortality rate of Indian babies is the highest in the United States and the suicide rate among Indian teenagers is three times the national average. Also, faced with low employment, lack of proper health care, and the stark reality of their existence, as much as 10 percent of many tribes are suffering from alcoholism.

• In 1967, thousands of Indians reasserted their fishing rights in the State of Washington by conducting "fish-ins". This past summer, a group of Indians protested the littering of their reservation by closing off 25 miles of the Pacific Coast Beach. Another group of

Indians stopped traffic on a section of U.S. 1 in Maine and made passing motorists pay tolls so that they could buy food and medicine.

• Last November, approximately 120 Indians seized the prison at Alcatraz Island to dramatize their plight, claiming that under a Sioux treaty dating back to 1868, Indians have the right to occupy any unused Federal land. At this writing, they are still there, and it has been indicated that the island might be turned over to them to establish an Indian educational and spiritual center. As one of the group said: "Alcatraz is still better than most reservations."

• In their struggle for self-determination, several Indian organizations have been formed. The National Indian Youth Council, composed of thousands of high school and college students, has been the main force in establishing programs at three universities dealing with the Indian in America; the National Congress of American Indians, based in Washington, D.C., is the largest of the Indian groups, whose primary function is to oversee legislative and judicial actions pertaining to Indians; American Indians United, an organization sponsored by a $90,000 Ford Foundation grant, has been set up to unite Indians in urban areas. These are just a few examples.

• With the emergence of what Stan Steiner, author of *Great White Father, Go Home,* calls the "new Indian", there is a growing movement for "Red Power", particularly among the college educated and those exposed to life outside the reservation.

As Janet McCloud, a young Indian leader, said: "Red Power means freedom of religion, freedom to be involved in the decision-making processes that affect our lives, the freedom to educate our children through meaningful education that allows them to grow up to be an Indian adult, instead of trying to make them white shadows".

• A contemporary example of attempts to blend both worlds—white and Indian—are the changes taking place in the Seminole tribe located on various reservations in Florida. A recent article in *National Geographic* magazine took a look at this once almost extinct tribe which had been reduced to a mere 150 persons at one time. They have now grown to 1,400.

Led by a young, educated group of Seminoles, they are on the threshold of a new, if not bewildering, world. As one of the leaders of the tribe stated: "There are good white things and good Indian things. We want the best of both."

The article points out that the "best of both" can be seen by the modern concrete and frame houses alongside open-sided, thatched roof huts; the new cars speeding through the reservations; the gymnasium, medical clinic, and new school building, as well as a coin operated laundry. One might see an open hut containing a television set, an electric iron, an electric fan, or a mini-skirted young Indian girl.

Just a few years ago, very few Seminoles could speak English, and only a handful could read or write. Now the importance of education for the young, as well as for adults, cannot be emphasized enough and most Seminole children attend public schools. Although administered by the tribe itself, a Head Start program is financed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, so that the youngsters may learn English and many other skills to better prepare them for elementary school. Adult classes in English, home improvement, and clothing and food preparation will be provided.

Industry has also found its way onto the Seminole reservations. Money obtained from land leased to developers is the largest and most constant source of income for the Seminoles and there are plans for supermarkets, motels, factories, shops, and restaurants, which will mean jobs for many of the tribe's people.

Medical and sanitation services, most of which are furnished by Federal funds, have improved but there are still problems. Although many Seminoles use the new medical facilities and doctors, the traditional "herb doctor" is still in business for some. Obesity, long a problem with the Seminole people, as with many Indian tribes, has been reduced by the establishment of weight-watcher programs and contests. Since the population growth among Indians is so rapid today—2½ times that of white people—birth control methods have been introduced to the Seminole women. Many have accepted this.

• Progress is being made in other ways as well. In an effort to eliminate substandard housing in Lakota, a community located just north of Rapid City, South Dakota, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and FCH (Foundation for Cooperative Housing) Services, Inc., formed a cooperative. This program will provide housing for 76 off-reservation Indians and 24 other low-income families, many of whom have a yearly income of approximately $2,400 and many of whom are on welfare. The cooperative will consist of 100 detached frame houses built by a commercial firm and financed by a market-rate, rent supplement program of the Federal Housing Administration. Each house will have a range, a gas furnace, a refrigerator, and asphalt roofing.

Eligible low-income members will be given rent supplements based on their annual income. Compared to monthly rates of $202 on the open market, this supplement will reduce monthly charges to approximately $63 on a three-bedroom house or 25 percent of their income, whichever is greater. Residents will also have access to a hard-surface, multi-purpose play area, a 3-acre park, and a community building. This plan may be the beginning of a new housing program which could be extended to many other Indians with substandard housing.

• Federal funds have been made available to the Lummi tribe of the State of Washington to develop what has been termed the most advanced aquafarm in the United States. By spawning and cultivating oysters, breeding rainbow trout, and harvesting algae used in making toothpaste, this tribe may earn up to $1,000 per acre for its land.

• The Association of American Indian Affairs (AAIA) received an initial $28,000 grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to set up a conference with the goal of mapping plans to combat alcoholism among Indians. The first meeting, held in February, 1969, was attended by representatives of the health and welfare committees of each tribe. The entire program will be financed by the Federal Government and is designed to get at the source of the alcoholic problems. Harriet Paul, a Standing Rock Sioux, stated: "We have an extensive problem and will be trying to define it. . . . Most of our accidents and a leading cause of our deaths and hospitalizations come from alcoholism. . . . We are trying to change the image of the drunken Indian."

• Reservation Indians have made a living primarily from such activities as raising cattle, farming, lumberjacking, or creating arts and crafts. Many believe that one of the best ways to improve their economic condition is to bring extensive industrial development to the reservations. Beginning in the 1960's, partly through the efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Economic Development Administration, and the Area Redevelopment Administration, increasing numbers of factories and plants have been located on reservations. By the end of 1968, approximately 110 were in operation.

Due to the poor education of most Indians, these employers must lower hiring standards and provide on-the-job training. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Industrial Development Program includes a provision for reimbursing the employer one-half of the minimum wage for as long as the employee is in training. The possibility of paying low wages is one factor which attracted electronics plants to the reservations. For example, the starting rate on the reservation is usually $1.60 per hour compared to the starting rate of $2 to $2.25 per hour for electronic workers on the West Coast.

• Problems in bringing industry to reservations and maintaining those already there are numerous, however. The lack of proper roads, railroads, and airstrips is an obstacle to free flowing transportation; there is a rapid turnover and high rate of absenteeism among the Indians employed in these factories. Speculation is that these problems are due to a lack of familiarity and experience with industry and the discipline it requires. Both the high rate of turnover and absenteeism have forced many employers to hire non-Indians to keep operating. Employers have reported, however, that job attendance usually seems to stabilize after the first year, and extensive counseling and basic education are expected to alleviate some of these problems.

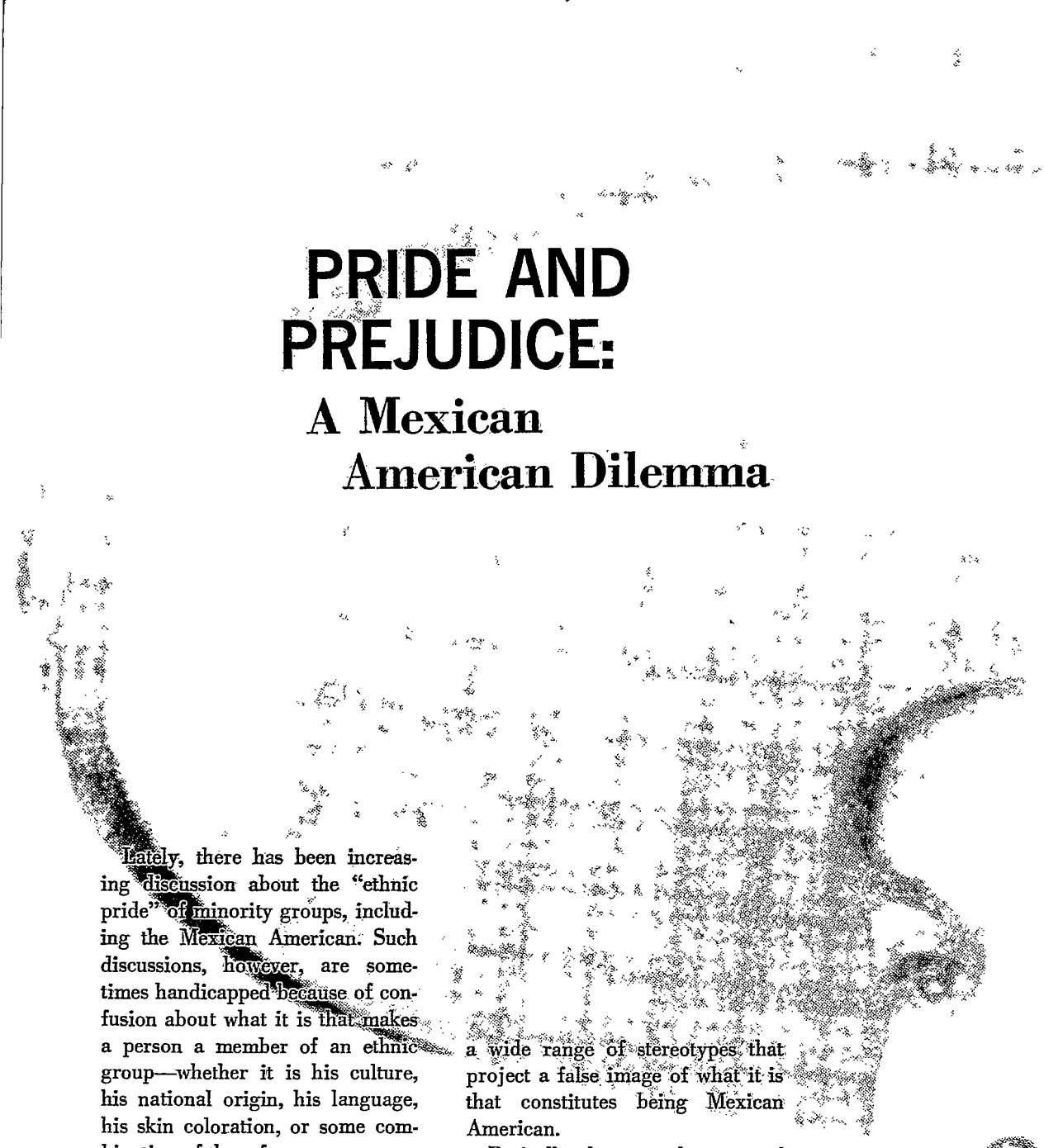
• A 200-page Senate report issued last November, culminating 2 years of Senate hearings, studies, and field investigations, urged that steps be taken to establish an educational system more responsive to Indian life. Designed to make this country more aware of the discrimination policies which have perpetuated an insensitive school structure, the study was begun under the leadership of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The report found that the Bureau of Indian Affairs "had done little to improve either the educational opportunities or the economic level of the 600,000 Indians". It went on to recommend the creation of a 15-man national Indian School Board, with the aim of having all-Indian control of their own schools.

• The average years of schooling for Indians is approximately 5.5; in general, Indian children lag 2 or 3 years behind white children; and there are only Indian teachers or principals for 1 percent of the Indian children in elementary schools.

• In January, the first meeting was held of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, a 2-year old White House Panel. With the Vice-President serving as Chairman, the panel heard several Indians plea for better educational and economic opportunities, legal aid, improved health care, and better housing. For people virtually without governmental representatives, the fact that the council finally met and received their 29-page list of requests indicates that the American Indian may begin to have a voice in matters affecting him.

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE:

A Mexican American Dilemma

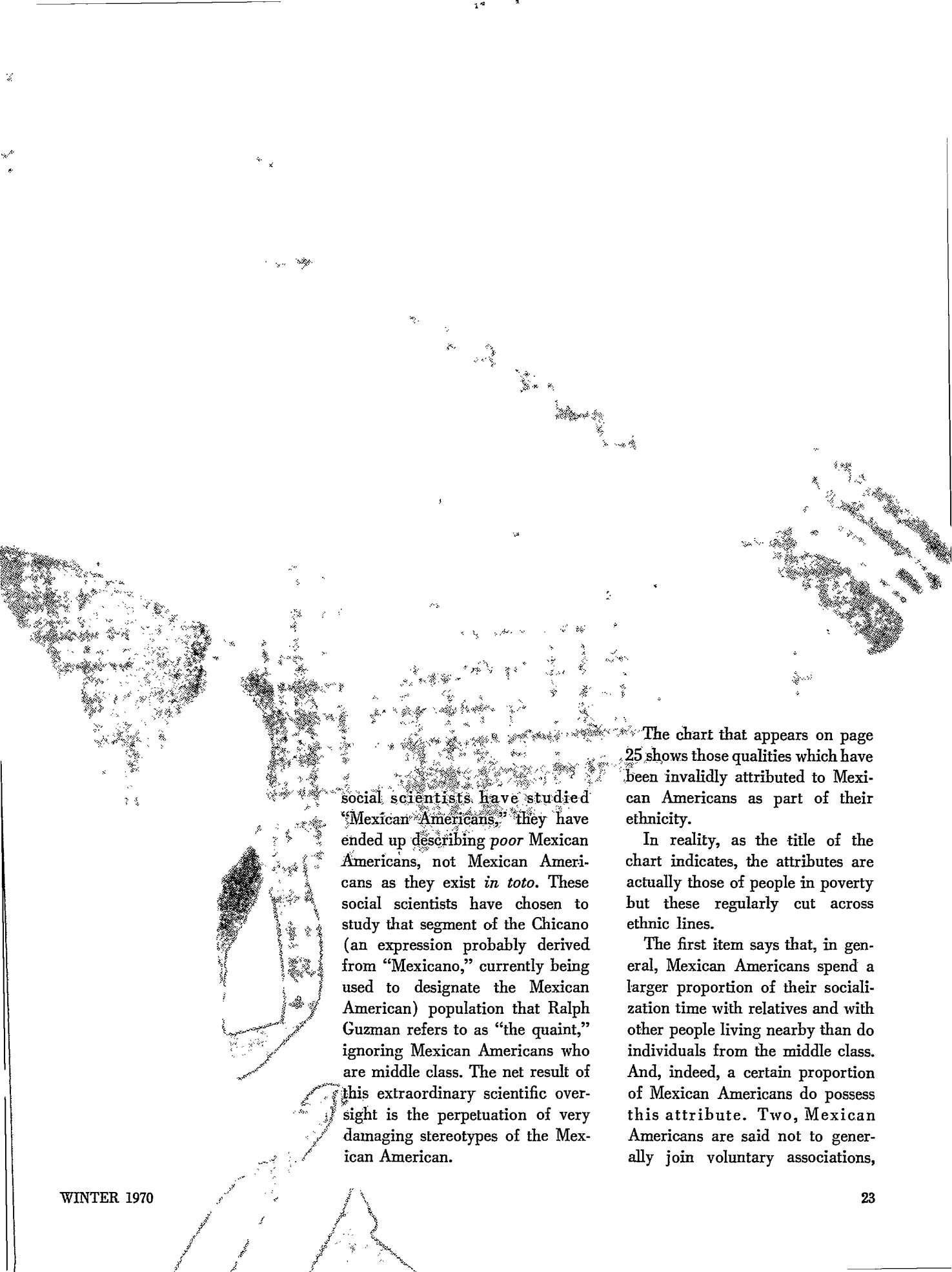


Lately, there has been increasing discussion about the "ethnic pride" of minority groups, including the Mexican American. Such discussions, however, are sometimes handicapped because of confusion about what it is that makes a person a member of an ethnic group—whether it is his culture, his national origin, his language, his skin coloration, or some combination of these factors.

The confusion is particularly pronounced in discussions about the Mexican American. For example, can one be middle class and still be called a Mexican American? Or can one be an intellectual and still be a Mexican American? The answer to both these questions is, of course, yes but an accurate ethnic definition of a Mexican American has been clouded because of the wide acceptance of a wide range of stereotypes that project a false image of what it is that constitutes being Mexican American.

Basically, there are three sets of qualities, or attributes—often hard to define—associated with being a Mexican American. The first set is not true at all; the second is true, in that it does describe the essence of the Mexican American; and the third is true in a limited sense, insofar as it does describe many Mexican Americans, but has really nothing to do with their being Mexican American.

With rare exception, every time



social scientists have studied "Mexican Americans," they have ended up describing *poor* Mexican Americans, not Mexican Americans as they exist *in toto*. These social scientists have chosen to study that segment of the Chicano (an expression probably derived from "Mexicano," currently being used to designate the Mexican American) population that Ralph Guzman refers to as "the quaint," ignoring Mexican Americans who are middle class. The net result of this extraordinary scientific oversight is the perpetuation of very damaging stereotypes of the Mexican American.

The chart that appears on page 25 shows those qualities which have been invalidly attributed to Mexican Americans as part of their ethnicity.

In reality, as the title of the chart indicates, the attributes are actually those of people in poverty but these regularly cut across ethnic lines.

The first item says that, in general, Mexican Americans spend a larger proportion of their socialization time with relatives and with other people living nearby than do individuals from the middle class. And, indeed, a certain proportion of Mexican Americans do possess this attribute. Two, Mexican Americans are said not to generally join voluntary associations,

which include educational, fraternal, church, and political associations. (Fortunately, though, the Mexican American is increasingly learning to join political organizations.)

Three, Mexican Americans are said to prefer the old and the familiar. They are reluctant to engage in new situations or to form new social relationships. They appear to be especially hesitant to initiate social interactions with strangers. Four suggests that they generally demonstrate an anti-intellectual attitude and have little admiration for writers, intellectuals, artists, college professors, and the like. Thus, Mexican Americans are seen as demonstrating a lack of behavioral support for the school activities of their children.

Five, the male of the species is said to demonstrate manliness, "machismo." "Machismo" comes from the word "macho," which simply means "male." The average Mexican American male is supposed to demonstrate a great deal of "machismo" instead of, for instance, intellectualism or interest in the arts. Men who show "machismo" are alleged to brag a great deal about their male conquests, and to regularly refuse to do womanly things such as dishwashing, cooking, diaper-changing, or minding the children.

Six, Mexican Americans are often said to use physical force to settle arguments or to punish disobedient children.

Seven, Mexican Americans have been described as being unable to postpone gratification. Most are said to live on a day-to-day basis and few make plans or provisions for long-range activities.

Lastly, the Mexican American is said to be very fatalistic in his view of the world, feeling that he has very little control over nature, over institutions, over people, or over events.

As I stated earlier, *while these eight attributes have been used to characterize Mexican Americans, they are really characteristic of people living in poverty*, in the lowest socioeconomic level. In this context they do have validity. The danger lies in assigning these attributes as the unique possession of one ethnic group—as has been done with the Mexican American—instead of viewing them in their proper light, as the products of the "Culture of Poverty," a phrase borrowed from Oscar Lewis.

By "Culture" in the phrase "Culture of Poverty," Lewis means, in part, the ready-made set of behavioral solutions for everyday problems that continually emerge: a style of life, a way of thinking, a series of attitudes and beliefs which emerge when an individual is forced to get along in his everyday activities without money. He does this by a unique and different way of using people. "Using" is not meant in a derogatory negative sense, but rather utilizing them. The reason is simple: *If you don't have money, you have to have people.* They simply do what they can to help each other. To give of themselves to each other, to lend emotional support, to help physically, this is the poor person's "money." Consequently, when poor Mexican Americans, or for that matter poor blacks or poor Puerto Ricans, don't have money, generally they must spend a larger portion of their time with relatives and other people living nearby than do middle class people.

Similarly, the poor generally don't join voluntary associations. The reason for this is probably wrapped up with the whole business of hopelessness which will be discussed in detail later. Thus poor Mexican Americans feel that joining an association will not do any good, because they have learned to live with hopelessness. In the past few years, however, Mexican Americans, as well as other ethnic groups, have increasingly been joining action groups when they have found that at times it does pay off.

Because they have had a poor education—thus a narrow and limited exposure to the world and its experiences—many seem to prefer the old and the familiar, rather than striking off in new directions, with new dimensions and new ideas. And, they don't like to form new social relationships, probably for the identical reasons that the more educated person sometimes feels awkward when walking into a completely new situation. Only the poor have many more such instances.

Poor people evidence anti-intellectualism in part because they haven't been well educated. People in poverty settings typically have no more than an eighth grade education, and quite often even less. It would be unusual for a man to be an intellectual without having had a relatively good exposure to "book learning". True, many poor have read a great number of books. But, in the main, the large portion are non-intellectual or anti-intellectual. Consequently, they don't have the feeling that school is really that necessary for success in life. Certainly, a high proportion will not see a college degree as necessary for success.

The males demonstrate manliness, "machismo," perhaps as an

overcompensation. *A man is his work.* But what kind of work does a man who lives in poverty have? Poor work, if any. He does not often have a job that he can be genuinely proud of; he does not have a vocation. Thus, he does not have a full identity. A man is supposed to be a working man, one who provides for his family, a protector, a giver of care and sustenance. Instead, the poor man has a low-paying job, or a half-time job, or maybe no job at all. Few men can live comfortably with the feeling of not being a good provider, and consequently, they often overcompensate and by this demonstrate that they nevertheless are strong and powerful. Therefore, they show excessive "machismo." This is probably what leads to the refusal to have anything to do with things that are "womanly."

What's wrong with "machismo," with being "macho?" There's nothing terribly wrong with it. It's only in the exaggeration, in the male demonstrating too much of a good thing, in the excess, that this becomes a dysfunctional thing. Perhaps dysfunctional "machismo" is best defined in terms of the motivation. If it is a greatly exaggerated overcompensation for feeling inadequate, and the overcompensation takes the form of excessive fighting, drinking, or bragging about conquests, then it is a dysfunctional "machismo."

Inability to delay gratification is due, at least in part, to realizing the fact that if you don't have money, it is very difficult to adequately plan for the future. How can you plan for the future when you don't know what's going to happen tomorrow? When you don't even know if you will have a job? Even if a poor man wanted to plan for the future, and he had a relatively steady job, it is usually not a well-paying one. Thus, he would have few provisions—that is, tangible financial provisions—for long-range planning of activities. So then, it becomes a day-to-day existence, but not necessarily because of some perverse quality in poor people, but because, in the past, planning and its attendant postponement of immediate gratification of needs has been experienced as futile.

Fighting in order to settle arguments, or to punish disobedient children, probably comes about partly as a function of the same business associated with being "muy macho," which in turn stems, at least in large measure, from the many frustrations associated with a man's lack of ability to hold a job.

Fatalism is a basic feeling, attitude, or belief that does affect—and may be very damaging to—people living in the culture of poverty. If you had lost the game many times, if you had never been able to make headway, if you had never been able to get a good job and hold it, if you had planned for a lot of things that never came true, I suspect you would lose hope

CHARACTEROLOGIC OR INTERPERSONAL STYLES:

Attributes Of Most People Living In The Culture Of Poverty

1. Their life within the context of an extended family incorporates a *larger proportion* of available time (than is true of middle and upper class individuals) in interaction with relatives and with other people living nearby.
2. They are non-joiners of voluntary associations, including fraternal, church-related, and political associations.
3. They have a preference for the old and the familiar, demonstrated by a reluctance to engage in new situations, or to form new social relationships, especially to initiate interactions with strangers.
4. They demonstrate a marked anti-intellectualism, which expresses itself in little admiration for intellectuals, professors, writers, artists, the ballet, symphonies, etc., as well as in lack of support for schools or for the school activities of their children.
5. Males demonstrate "machismo." This is seen as opposite behavior to being intellectual or engaging in such activities as the ballet. Males who demonstrate "machismo" brag a great deal about their male conquests, and refuse to engage in any behavior which is associated with femininity, such as diaper-changing, dishwashing, cooking, etc.
6. There is a great deal of use of physical force, for example, to settle arguments or in the use of physical punishment with disobedient children.
7. They appear unable to postpone gratification. The tendency to live on a day-to-day basis looms extremely prevalent, and few provisions are made for long-range activities.
8. They are extremely fatalistic in their view of the world, feeling that they have very little control over nature, over institutions, or over events.

Adapted from: Cohen, Albert K., and Hodges, Harold M., *Characteristics of the Lower-Blue-Collar Class.*

too. This is regularly what happens to a man who comes from a poverty home. He simply has stopped trying because it has not done him—and others he has seen —a great deal of good to have tried.

The eight qualities just outlined are then basically the qualities or attributes of people from the culture of poverty, not the culture of Mexico. These same qualities have been used to describe blacks, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans.

From a combination of these stereotypes have arisen some totally false attributes of the Mexican American. And these stereotypes do not escape even the Mexican American himself. The following is a statement made by a Mexican American writer:

The Mexicano, or mestizo, a racial amalgamation of resigned stolid Indians and lighthearted Spaniards, has based his romanticism on the reality of the present and its relation to the past. The future is attacked with a fatalism, an indefinite term, mañana, which expresses a remoteness missing from 'tomorrow.' He lives an improvised, spontaneous existence. He never puts off for tomorrow what can be enjoyed only today. He is not lazy, but he works only enough to support his meager needs.

What then are the *real* qualities of being a Mexican American? Or, to put it another way, what constitutes the second set of attributes noted at the beginning of this article, those that accurately describe the essence of being Mexican American?

One, they have come or their parents or grandparents have come from Mexico (or from Spain in the case of the Hispano of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado) and brought with them many customs and many traditions. Secondly, they speak Spanish and many have a noticeable accent. These two qualities alone, I feel, comprise the major portion of the essence of being Chicano or Mexican American.

On another level, but also within the valid set of attributes, we know that the vast majority of Mexican Americans is Catholic. Of course, as is true of any group, insofar as it practices a given religion, much of its behavior is influenced by that religion. So, much of the behavior of the Mexican American is allied with his Catholicism. A simple example of this might be the 'Dia de Santo," the Saint's Day, where a small feast is planned to honor the Saint on whose day the youngster was born. It is very much like a birthday feast.

Lastly, in the group of five attributes, many Mexican Americans have darker skin and hair, and thus they are easily distinguishable. Many have what sociologists call "high visibility."

Here are in review—in my mind anyway—the true qualities or attributes of most Mexican Americans: They have come from Mexico, or perhaps from Spain via Mexico; they speak Spanish, many with an accent; they are Catholic; and, many have dark skin and hair. These are the things that a "true Chicano," a "real Mexican" must possess. These attributes are the things that make him Mexican.

Viewing three of these from a different perspective, however, we can see that you don't have to be a Catholic to be a Chicano; even less so, have darker skin, because dark skin is not a criterion for being Mexican, although many Mexicans have it. More essence comes from the first two characteristics: that their ancestors came—with their many customs and traditions—from Mexico and Spain and that they spoke Spanish.

Is it not the customs and language that make most people a particular people? If you are of Greek descent and you share Greek customs and speak Greek, then you can be said to be a Greek American. If you are Chinese, and you share Chinese customs and speak Chinese, then you are a Chinese American. Likewise, should a Mexican American identify himself as being Mexican American, the essential qualities that he must have are the language and customs that he has brought, or his forefathers have brought, from Mexico: *that is his heritage.* Some of the more *tangible* items from this heritage are reflected in such things as the Mexican music that Mexican Americans love so dearly, and obviously, Mexican food.

The third and final set of attributes are those that are true for the majority of Mexican Americans, but only in a limited sense. The first of these is that perhaps 80 percent of their five to six million live in the five Southwestern States of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California. The second is that the average Mexican American (over age 25) can be described as having an educational level of less than 8 years. Now mind you, that says *average,* which really means that roughly 50 percent have even less than an eighth grade education, an appalling situation. The third is that between 30 and 40 percent of the families earn less than about $3,-

500 per year and thus are seen to be living in the culture of poverty.

With that I conclude the third of three different types of attributes of the Mexican American. The first was a set of false attributes usually ascribed to him because he is poor and/or because he is perhaps from a rural locale. The second group has to do with his national origin, and this is the set of true attributes: that his parents —with their culture and customs— come from Mexico, that he speaks Spanish, that he is Catholic, and that he is dark. This set usually does define Mexican. The third set of attributes is potentially irrelevant. It describes many Mexican Americans, that's true. However, a black man could live in one of the five Southwestern States and be poorly educated and be living in the culture of poverty. These characteristics have little to do with ethnicity or national origin.

Perhaps we can now come to some important conclusions. One of them is that it is poverty, much more than ethnicity, that seems to account for so many of the "failures" of Mexican American children in the classrooms; and of their fathers' "failure" in vocational endeavors. "Failures," not because they are black or brown, but because they are so badly educated and so poor.

While the Mexican American cannot erase prejudice overnight, a great deal can be done to diminish the effect and impact of prejudice by helping the Mexican Americans become well educated and achieve adequate employment.

For it is lack of education with its attendant poverty that helps keep Mexican Americans (and other ethnic groups) in the impossible situation we see today.

It is clear that the main element which acts as a barrier to the full development of the Mexican American is prejudice. Countless instances of both gross and subtle discrimination have been documented. See, for example, "The Mexican American," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1968; "Civil Rights in Texas," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Feb. 1970; "Hearing Before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: San Antonio Texas, Dec. 9–14, 1968."

Some of this prejudice arises directly out of the acting-out of felt stereotypes such as those we have been trying to help destroy in this discussion. Other discriminatory practices are simply the result of obvious racist attitudes. When some or both of these are found in our schools, and deter or impede the adequate education of Mexican American children, forceful and decisive steps *must* be taken to eliminate them. For it is the school that offers the single best path out of poverty for the vast majority of Mexican Americans.

While racism and prejudice have no place in any part of our country, the practice is especially contemptible in American schools, for it is these very institutions that, with "forked tongue," *teach* the story of democracy and equal opportunity and then *act out* patterns of individual and wholesale discrimination.

Secondly, prejudice and discrimination in the schools are especially contemptible because they communicate to a child—that is, to an as yet not fully developed organism—feelings that suggest to him he is inferior, a notion that is false. Both common sense and some very recent highly sophisticated social science investigations thoroughly document the fact that the *native* capacity of the Mexican American child is fully equal to that of anyone else.

We also need to constantly stress to the individual Mexican American that he can make it; that many competent Chicanos have come from the ghettos, have come from small farms, from migrant camps; that he, too, has a good chance. Further, he needs to know that chances for success in life are becoming increasingly more open to him.

We must work to improve the self-image of the Mexican American so that neither he nor those he encounters act out a negative self-fulfilling prophecy.

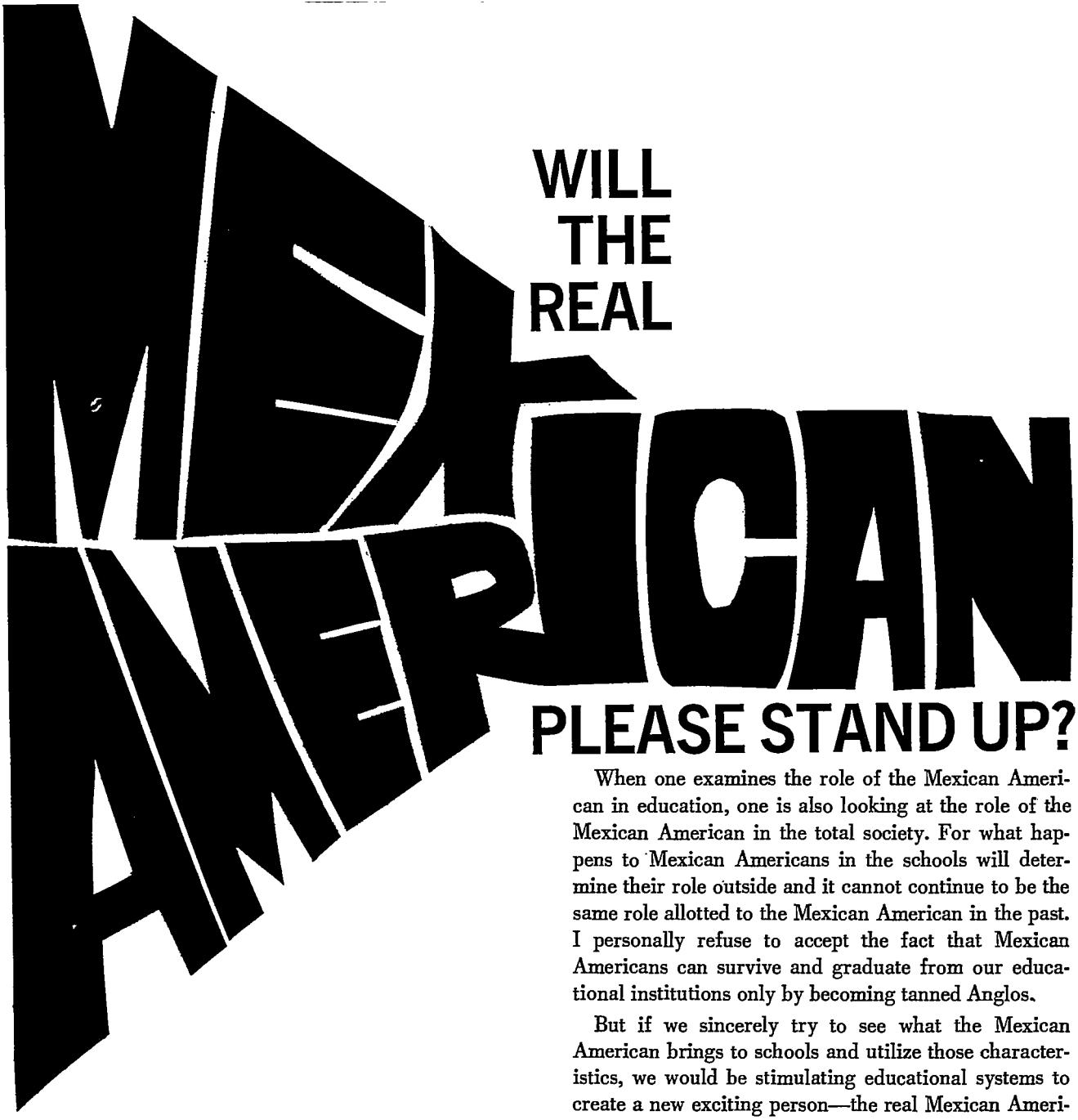
It is clear, then, that there is literally nothing wrong with the Mexican American, except that he is economically poor and poorly educated.

Thus, it is also totally clear that, if the Mexican American is to develop his true potentialities, all barriers to his development must be erased.

The Mexican Americans' Ethnic Pride, of which we spoke at the very beginning, is totally and completely legitimate, for we are confident that being Mexican American is something of which we can be proud. We need only to banish our poverty and our ignorance.

If prejudice and discrimination stand in our forward thrust toward those ends, then we will need to take action against that prejudice and discrimination.

EDWARD CASAVANTES
Mr. Casavantes, a psychologist, is Deputy Chief of the Mexican American Studies Division of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.



When one examines the role of the Mexican American in education, one is also looking at the role of the Mexican American in the total society. For what happens to Mexican Americans in the schools will determine their role outside and it cannot continue to be the same role allotted to the Mexican American in the past. I personally refuse to accept the fact that Mexican Americans can survive and graduate from our educational institutions only by becoming tanned Anglos.

But if we sincerely try to see what the Mexican American brings to schools and utilize those characteristics, we would be stimulating educational systems to create a new exciting person—the real Mexican American, a truly bilingual, bicultural person who epitomizes the best of two cultures.

As Harold Howe II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, said:

Mexican Americans are one of the few exceptions to this American rule of cultural elimination through cultural disdain. A distinctive Spanish-Indian-Mexican culture survives in the United States.

We have to develop a frame of reference, a frame of mind, which takes in the total personality of the Mexican American. I, for one, am perturbed that I, as a Mexican American, am constantly being tabbed as an

immigrant. If we look at the history of the Southwest, the status of the Mexican American as an immigrant is not realistic. The Southwest has been and will continue to be a cultural extension of our Latin neighbors to the south, especially Mexico. We are never going to eliminate that influence. This is not only historical reality, but cultural and linguistic reality, which will always exist. The Mexico Americano in the Southwest will always be bilingual, bicultural, regardless of those of us who become assimilated and despite the system whose purpose seems to be the assimilation of everyone.

Several times I have heard students elaborate on the all important Mexicanismo of the Mexican American. I disagree with the youth movement today on one point —its interpretation of history which pays little heed to past experiences—and it may be a part of the generation gap. The inferior status which was given to the Mexican American by the Anglos was accepted by the Mexican American. This acceptance forced him to relinquish much of his overt Mexicanismo; that same conflict which many of us are grappling with today within our own personalities. We are still dealing with the results of this historical phenomenon, trying to become Anglicized and simultaneously trying to retain our Mexicanismo. One thing which the students overlook is that the acceptance of this inferior status by those Mexican Americans was their means of survival in the Southwest. If they had fought that status, they would have been annihilated.

We don't have to kid ourselves about the past; we are all a product of it. When I recall the tears and sorrow which my parents absorbed as Mexicanos who couldn't understand the system; when I remember what they went through because they couldn't give me the necessary tools to deal with the society, I also remember that they encouraged me to try to get "in". I now remember their efforts, but for years, as many of us did, I rejected them—the older generations'—not really understanding that the Mexicano did not want to accept the role which he had been given; but he had no alternative if he wanted to survive. I think that this is important for us to understand, for in many ways the young people are stressing a philosophy which borders on a cultural vacuum. This emphasis is an important step toward destroying the inferior status given Mexican Americans. The young Mexican American wants to wipe out the experiences of his parents and grandparents. This, I maintain, can't be done if we want to build on our Mexicanismo. To get where we are going we have to accept where we have been, no matter how degrading the past. Our greatest asset has been family cohesiveness. Why destroy it now with a so-called generation gap?

Ironically, as I listen to many militants, and others in the community, I am not hearing Mexico Americanos; I am hearing Rap Browns and Stokeley Carmichaels, who say that they are Mexicanos. For example, "Tio Tomas" in Spanish is a phrase of endearment, "Mi tio Tomas". You can't literally translate from Uncle Tom to Tio Tomas. It just doesn't have the impact. We see that even the young people speak in the vernacular of assimilated people while struggling for their Mexicanismo. But the real Mexican American is very different in many respects.

The ambivalence of today's young people reminds me of some of the strains I went through. I thought for a while that I was the only Mexican American attending the University of Southern California, and I began to develop an illusion: "Man," I said, "I must be an exception to all the rules. I am making it." I recall when I graduated that the teacher placement office wanted to send me to a barrio school. I said: "Wait a minute, man, I know I don't own the suit I have on, but I am going to own it in another six payments. I've been through that Mexican thing all my life; why do I have to keep doing it?" Again, the conflicts of not knowing myself. I had a bachelor's degree and a general secondary credential and I was ready to become an Anglo. I thought I had all the credentials, but I had forgotten that I still looked like a Mexican.

There was another Chicano on the campus who fell in love with a nice blonde, blue-eyed Anglo girl. When they decided to get married, the father offered a compromise: "If you change your name you may marry; you don't really look like a Mexican, it's the name that bothers me." So the poor guy goes to court, goes through the whole ritual, and the judge says your name is now McKeever.

But one thing which always amazed me about Mr. McKeever, née Martinez, was that when he was married his parents couldn't even attend the wedding because they didn't speak English. They would have confronted the white world and blown my friend's illusion.

That was the era when the system gave the Mexican no other way but to become assimilated. Now, with the student movement, the pendulum has swung from one extreme—that of society demanding we become assimilated—back to Mexican Americans demanding that they retain their Mexicanismo. I see this step as a reflection of maturing democracy. But it is only a step.

It is my contention that neither extreme is going to do one bit of good. Because the people who are talking about Mexicanismo articulate in English, act like assimilated Anglos, and make demands like Anglos. So, consequently, that isn't our bag. We are not Mexicanos. If we travel to Mexico, we know that the educational system is as monolithic a structure as the Anglo system in this country. Only in a different language. On the other hand, is our answer total assimilation? NO! Because total assimilation has tended to destroy the personality that we are—a combination of both—Mexican, American. We cannot avoid that even in the barrios today. Families are speaking Spanish, *comida de tamales, tortillas, frijoles,* etc. But they leave that environment to go to the Anglo society to learn their ways, and it is a very difficult psychological position for people. It can be self-destructive.

When Dr. Jack Forbes testified at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing in San Antonio, Texas, in 1968, he was asked by the General Counsel, "Why hasn't the Mexican American assimilated in the Southwest?" He answered, "Excuse me, sir, but that is the wrong question. Why hasn't the Anglo assimilated?" That is what the problem is.

I am not concerned with who assimilated with whom, but I am concerned that we haven't produced the educational programs which reflect an awareness of the bilingual, bicultural personality of the Mexican American. In a democracy, it is my contention that no person should have to become assimilated at the expense of his personality. It is self-defeating. Mr. Howe has put this concept even more strongly:

[*Our society*] *equates Anglo American origin and Anglo American ways with virtue, with goodness, even with political purity. Other cultures are not merely different; they are* inferior. *They must be wiped out, not only for the good of the country, but for the good of the child. Not only must he learn to speak English; he must stop speaking anything* else.

Is that democracy?

Certainly, in this prevailing atmosphere, school districts in the Southwest are not attuned to doing the job of educating Mexican Americans. We don't have to cite statistics on dropouts and nonemployables to know that. Some professionals with direct knowledge of the needs of Mexican Americans have looked at programs developed specifically for them. It is their contention, and mine, that the programs are superficial at best. Since 1965, many new programs have been introduced into the schools, financed by the Federal and State governments to supplement and complement local resources, and especially to help minorities. Some of these programs have accomplished much, but a strange thing has happened. If money does not come from outside sources, these programs begin to diminish. It is my contention that if the program is really more than supplemental—actually reaching the students for the first time and producing results—it should be financed by all the resources so that it isn't discontinued if the Federal Government says that there is no more money. That is the kind of local commitment which is presently lacking.

Today, when we analyze current research on Mexican Americans done by people who have an Anglo frame of reference, we still see the abortive efforts to Anglicize Mexican Americans. A study was recently completed at UCLA, the main focus of which was the low aspiration level of the Mexican American. And they proved that it was so.

I have looked at other research by some leading scholars in the Southwest which also implies that I and people like me lack motivation. But the crucial point for Mexican Americans is that no scholars have researched the psychology of what happens to a group when the predominant society spends 100 years degrading, kicking, segregating, and dehumanizing them. Consequently, they are not given equal educational opportunity. These things which the researchers "discover" such as lack of motivation and low aspirations are not Mexican cultural values. They are standards which occur when people have been degraded to the point that all they know is to isolate themselves and to separate themselves from a system which knows only how to hurt, *y como duele.* Even the universities which produce our scholars in the Southwest have failed in attempting to know the Mexican American. They continue to place the cart before the horse. They look at motivation and aspiration before they know what society has done to us. By providing superficial programs, the society will never have to acknowledge what it has done to a people's culture in a supposedly democratic society. This indicates to me that in all the things we are trying to do for Mexican Americans nobody has accepted the fact that the system has done a poor job.

Let us look at the results of many of the programs now in the schools. What happens to Mexican Americans when they enter English as Second Language Programs, bilingual programs? They look around and once again the stereotype is perpetuated because the

only people in that program are Mexicanos. And they go—oooh, *otra vez*—and they are caught in a tug-of-war, again. They say to themselves, "This can't be very important because it isn't for the other kids. It can't have too much status; how come only us Chicanos come here?" A true bilingual program is a program for all the citizens of this country, not a superficial one just for Mexicans.

The youth movement of today has shown something to us and I hope that some of us who are a part of the older generation have shown something to them. The students have shown us that the Mexican American personality can pull itself together enough to survive this devastating system which I have talked about. It is my contention, and I say this to the young and the old, that the Mexican American has the ability to be functional in two societies, the Hispanic as well as the Anglo.

The young people are showing us that not as one person but as a group of people we can have a sense of self-identity: that I, Felipe Montez, alias Philip Montez, can believe in a democratic society in which I was brought up and that I can be a Mexican American with dignity and self-respect.

This acceptance of the Mexican part of me—by me and by others—is not nationalistic. It is a real day-to-day way of life for the people who live it. And this is the contribution to the educational institutions which the Mexican Americans extend with open arms. We bring our superior ability to schools not only for other Mexican Americans but for the total society. All peoples, black, brown, white, yellow, or whatever color, can share in the beauty of being bilingual and bicultural if they want. We are not going to force it down their throats. But we ask them, if they want a piece of it, *aqui esta.* If they don't, fine. Dr. Edmund Gordon warns us how difficult this interaction will be:

Few of us are really able to straddle cultures and to use knowledge of other cultures creatively. Even fewer of us have the capacity to adopt experiences from our own value systems to alien value systems without being patronizing.

As difficult as this is, the Mexican American is willing to go half-way.

It is my contention that every person who graduates from high school in the Southwest should speak Spanish and English. We have the natural resources to do it. Mr. Howe commented on this direction by saying:

Mexican American children offer their Anglo classmates a great natural teaching resource. It is time we stopped wasting that resource and instead enable youngsters to move back and forth from one language to another without a sense of difficulty or strangeness.

We saw a program in Webb County, Texas, outside of Laredo. The superintendent, an Anglo, said we have bilingual education for all students. It is not just because we have Mexican Americans in our district, but because we believe bilingual education is good for all young people. If you go to that district in Webb County, you see black, white, and brown children spending half a day speaking Spanish and half a day speaking English. The superintendent is developing truly bilingual, bicultural personalities in his district. It is the only real program I have seen.

What does this mean for the future? We as Mexican Americans are very responsible to the society in which we live. We always have been and we always will be. Mexican American is not a political term. America is a political term which means we owe our allegiance to this society; there is no need to go into our war record or anything else to illustrate our allegiance. Culturally, however, we are Mexican American. The question is, will society give the Mexican American a greater opportunity to make a contribution as Mexican American.

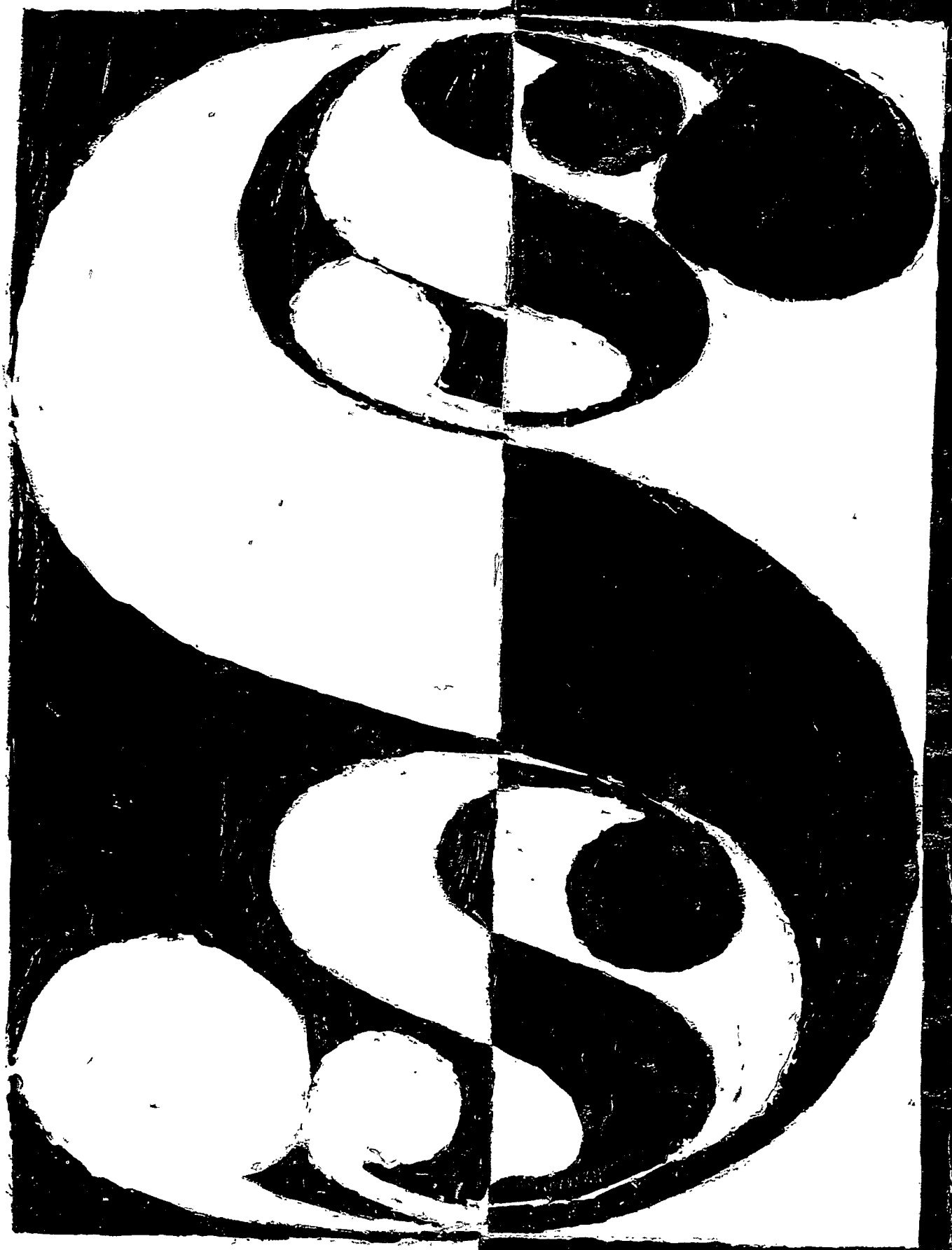
As to the future, I repeat that assimilation is not the answer. Mexicanismo all to itself is not the answer. The Mexican American cannot survive trying to play both ends against the middle. It's impossible. We can't do it.

Young people today cannot survive that way. This is the tug-of-war; a tug-of-war which has been going on for the Mexicano for over 100 years. I don't think that in a democratic society anyone should have to become Anglicized or assimilated. What I do contend is that we must accept the Mexican American as a functional personality who is bilingual, bicultural, who can take the best of two cultures, and make a major contribution to this society.

So we hope with the coming of young people to the colleges, with the help of the institutions (or with or without their help), and with the help of realistic programs in the public schools, that we will see emerging the true Mexican American, the real Mexican American whom I mentioned at the beginning. Will the real Mexican American please stand up!

PHILIP MONTEZ

Mr. Montez is Director of the Western Field Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.



FRANCHISING FOR MINORITIES:
An avenue into the economic mainstream

The phrase "all men are created equal" was entered into our Declaration of Independence as part of the promise of freedom for all people of this Nation. This has not become a reality for all. And if black Americans and other minorities are *ever* to obtain full equality, they must be afforded the opportunity to use and develop all of their capabilities, particularly in the area of employment, in work, the backbone of any man's existence. To this end, every avenue of employment should be made available. Much has been said on the subject of providing more and better jobs for blacks and other minorities in the construction and trade unions, in Federal and State governments, and in private industry as well. Indeed, the struggle in these areas has just begun.

However, private industry has been inadequately responsive in taking the initiative to ease the economic problems of minority America. These persons should have the freedom to move vertically in American business. Therefore, businessmen should promote and invest in blacks and other minorities as owners and operators of their own business enterprises if they [minorities] are to fully participate in, and contribute to, the economic structure of this society.

One effective and successful way to do this is by designating minorities as franchise holders. As defined in *Franchise Company Data for Equal Opportunity in Business*, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Business and Defense Services Administration, franchising is "a continuing relationship in which a franchisor provides a licensed privilege to do business, plus assistance in organizing, training, merchandising, and management in return for a consideration from the franchisee". This also applies to activities classified as dealerships and distributorships. In the United States, franchises did not become really prevalent until after World War II when such businesses as McDonald's, Dunkin' Donuts, AAMCO Transmission Centers, United Rent-all, Holiday Inns, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Dairy Queen, Sheraton Inns, and many others offered franchising opportunities.

In 1967, the sales aggregate for all franchises exceeded $89 billion. This sum is equal to 10 percent of our Gross National Product and more than 25 percent of all retail sales in this country for that year. Further, it is estimated that there are approximately 1,500 franchisor companies in the United States and about 600,000 licensed franchises presently in operation. The chart on the next page illustrates the important role franchises play in the total economy of this country.

Last year marked the biggest boom ever in franchising with the emergence of what has been termed "the Great Franchising Game". Many well-known persons such as Minnie Pearl, Tony Bennett, Willie Mays, Mickey Mantle, Rowan and Martin, Johnny Carson, and numerous others attached their names to franchising businesses ranging from fast-food diners to day care centers. The 1970's promise even a bigger boom in franchising, this "game" in which everyone supposedly can participate. To date, very few of these businesses involve minorities. Needless to say, they are being excluded from a large and important slice of the American economic pie. To what extent is this exclusion? Documented statistics are not extensive, as some company executives have said: "We don't keep records on how many minority people there are in our organization". However, what information is available is not encouraging.

As of the end of last year, there were but 24 car dealerships owned and operated by blacks out of the country's 30,000 dealers. Within General Motors, there were seven; Chrysler had eight; American Motors, two; and Ford had seven. This is a participation rate of approximately .08 percent. In addition, of the 250,000 service station franchises across the country, approximately 5.5 percent are owned by minorities.

According to Dr. Charles L. Vaughn, executive director of the Center for the Study of Franchise Distribution at Boston College, ". . . a statistical study of all fast food franchisors in six categories of restaurants: chicken, hamburger/hot dogs, pizza, roast beef, sandwich shops, seafood. The 136 firms in these six categories have approximately 16,000 franchises, and of these 45 are held by Negroes and 33 by Spanish Americans (or about 0.5 percent total for both minorities) . . . ." Another statistic—blacks own approximately 7 percent of Chicken Delight outlets.

Until last year, only eight out of approximately 1,150

McDonald's franchises were owned and operated by black persons. After a 2-month economic boycott and picketing of four McDonald's restaurants located in *black neighborhoods* of Cleveland, Ohio, the McDonald Company consented to turn over these four additional enterprises, worth $2.5 million in sales per year, to a coalition of black groups. A spokesman for McDonald's implied that "special financial arrangements would be made". I dare say there are many other franchising companies in the position to make "special financial arrangements". For instance, an article in a November issue of *Newsweek* pointed out that Holiday Inns did more than $397 million worth of business last year; Howard Johnsons, $229 million; two entrepreneurs of Kentucky Fried Chicken, John Brown, Jr., and Jack Massey, "have cleared well over $50 million apiece"; and many owners of Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises became millionaires. The article also indicated that Ray Kroc of McDonald's is "worth at least 100 million" himself. These are just a few examples.

Considering the large amount of franchisors and the profits being made, the above statistics reflect a marked disproportion of participation of minorities in this phase of private industry.

A sore spot among those advocating equal opportunities in business is automobile dealerships. Automobile and truck dealerships account for 49.4 percent of all franchise sales. Think for a moment of the population of minorities and the business they provide the automotive industry alone, and then consider the ratio of 24 out of 30,000 black-owned automobile dealerships. This is a poor representation of equal opportunity.

Granted those dealerships and franchises such as the automobile, and perhaps those in McDonald's class, are out of the financial reach of many minorities without special financial considerations, but certainly they are within the financial capacity of more than exist at present. Also as indicated before, those in the position to grant franchises and dealerships are able—and must in some cases—alter their financial standards, even if there is a risk. As Secretary Maurice H. Stans of the

THE FRANCHISE INDUSTRY

Franchise Groups	1967 Sales	Percent of the Industry	Franchised Outlets
Auto & Truck Dealers	$44,043,000,000	49.4	27,774
Gasoline/Service Stations	15,884,000,000	17.8	244,000
Tire/Auto Parts Suppliers	11,500,000,000	12.9	110,000
Soft-Drink Bottlers	2,560,000,000	2.9	4,000
Motels/Hotels/Travel Inns	2,150,000,000	2.4	3,850
Convenience Groc. Stores	5,720,000,000	6.4	20,800
Drive-In Food/Drink/Ice Cream	4,048,000,000	4.5	31,420
Moving Companies (Assoc.)	1,100,000,000	1.2	5,350
Auto Transmission Parts	810,000,000	0.9	8,600
Coin-Op Laundry/Dry Cleaning	620,000,000	0.7	41,600
Water Conditioner Service	231,000,000	0.3	2,950
Variety/Drug Stores	192,000,000	0.2	2,450
Temporary Help Services	135,000,000	0.1	650
Carpet/Upholstery Cleaners	107,000,000	0.1	4,150
Hearing Aids	75,000,000	0.1	3,750
Swimming Pools	55,000,000	0.1	1,300
TOTALS	$89,230,000,000	100.0%	512,644

Source: J. F. Atkinson, *Franchising: The Odds-On Favorite* (International Franchise Association, Chicago, 1968), p. 5.

Department of Commerce said on the subject of franchising—

". . . *any business is a risk. You all know a small business is the biggest risk. And it is certainly no secret that a minority business is the biggest risk of them all. But all of us know that the bigger the risk, the bigger the potential gain is . . . the higher the odds, if you win, the greater the gain. . . .*"

I contend that this gain will be financially and morally right for our economy and our country.

What about those franchise businesses where the capital investment is infinitesimal compared to the automobile dealerships for example? The representation of minorities is also low in these franchises, therefore the argument that money is the biggest problem is not valid. Fast-food enterprises, the most popular of all, are among the less costly and yet, according to the Boston College survey, there is only a 0.5 percent involvement of minorities, 7 percent of which are in Chicken Delight stores. Surely if this franchisor (Chicken Delight) can find suitable persons, why can't other companies?

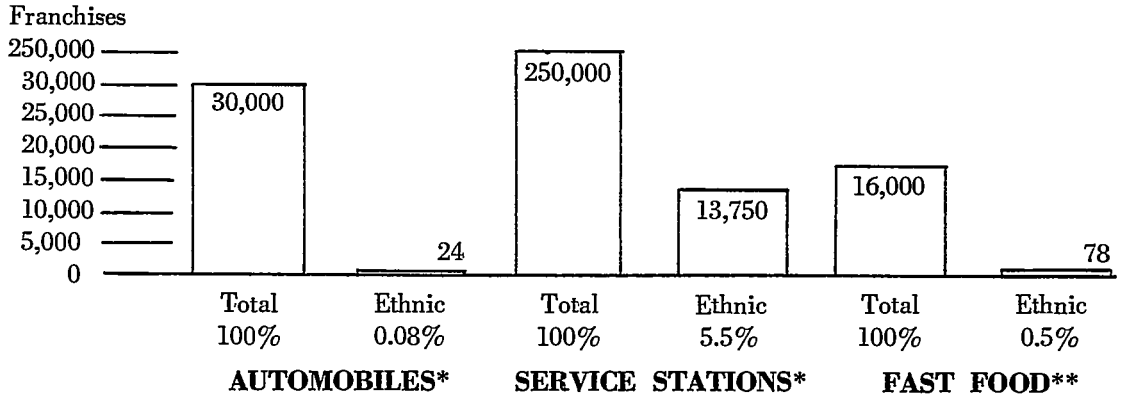
The available data appear to indicate also that what franchises are held by minority persons are concentrated in certain types of business to the exclusion of others. The 5.5 percent of blacks and Spanish surnamed Americans in gasoline service stations is a more respectable accomplishment. However, certain questions came to mind as to whether this statistic really reflects equal opportunity. Could the nature of the franchise place it at the lower levels of entrepreneurial opportunities and profitability where white people are not available or are less likely to be? Is it a case of image, a projection where it hurts the least—away from the office and executive suites? Where are these franchises physically located—if there is a clear pattern of assignment to the ghetto areas, then this would not be nondiscrimination. Of course many profitable businesses located in predominately black and/or ghetto areas should be owned and operated by blacks and other minorities, but to place them in these areas exclusively is only continuing racial and ethnic discrimination.

Just how realistic is the aspiration of minority persons to become franchisees? The University of Minnesota, under a grant from the Small Business Administration, explored the reasons why franchising, distributorships, and dealerships are so prevalent. They found that, among other things, compared with other distribution systems, particularly manufacturer or supplier outlets, a franchised system of distribution requires less capital, less personnel, and less training time for personnel.

In light of these facts, surely engaging blacks and other minorities in this aspect of business appears to be very feasible, and the quickest method. Of course special attention and extra efforts in training disadvantaged persons will be necessary, but if the motivation, commitment, and potential are there, as they are in many cases, additional training programs will be successful.

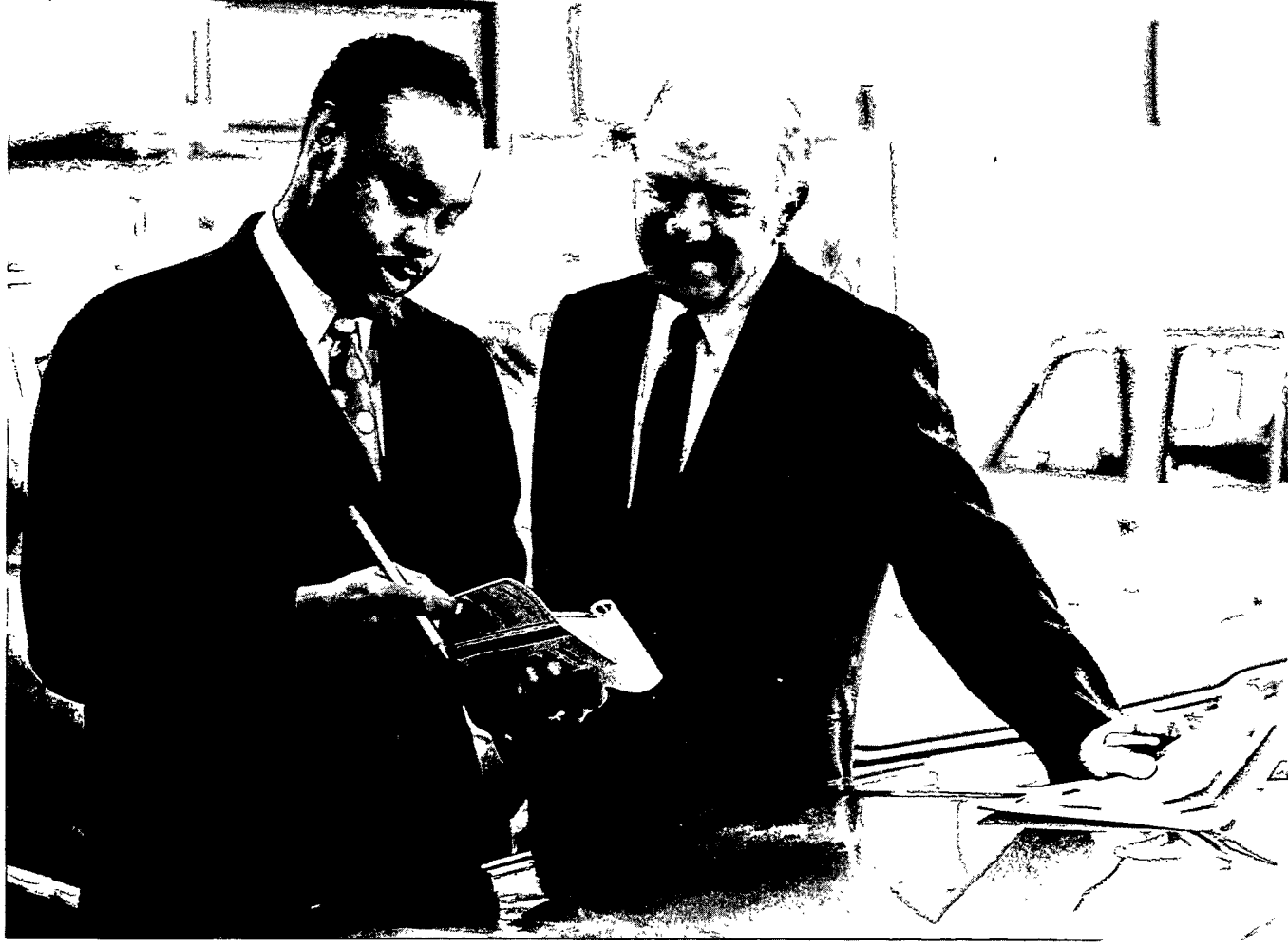
Another advantage to the franchising method of including minorities in private industry is the nature of franchising itself. As set forth by the International

MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN FRANCHISE OPPORTUNITIES



Sources: **U.S. Department of Commerce*

***Center for the Study of Franchise Distribution, Boston College*



Franchise Association, under this system of operation:

**There is a contractual and continuous relationship between the franchisor and franchisee, which includes a common universal name.*

**Both parties usually put up money and/or tangible resalable merchandise toward a common goal to finance the operation.*

**The contract between the two parties also outlines and grants the benefits and rights of all parties involved.*

**The franchisee must use certain operating methods and procedures that have been formulated by the franchisor, as guaranteed by contractual agreement.*

**There is a system or formula that is used to determine the amount of money the franchisee returns to the franchisor on a permanent basis.*

**The franchisee works for the franchisor on a full-time basis.*

Based on the above, the franchisor has every opportunity to continually oversee and supervise all aspects of the running of his business. He is able to put in his own ideas and insure that they are carried out properly, thus training the franchisee to operate a successful business in the name of the backing company, in that company's image. Company leaders are able to evaluate performance on the spot in this type of setup, particularly since there are so few personnel involved, and also profit from, as well as evaluate, the innovations and suggestions of the franchisee. And, what probably interests the franchisor the most, he is guaranteed a certain amount of profit. Since this is a partnership and success or failure would depend partly on the type of supervision and training provided by company leaders, the risk of failure is minimized.

The criteria for selection of "qualified" potential franchise holders must be changed to include the disadvantaged minorities. Too many worthy candidates are locked out by conventional methods of selection. Perhaps franchisors derive a profile of presently successful franchisees whose backgrounds include, for instance, ownership of a home valued in excess of $20,000; life insurance policies of at least $25,000; and some previous experience in business management. Criteria such as these eliminate the disadvantaged minority immediately. To conclude that each potential franchisee must have certain characteristics in order to succeed is

unrealistic. An analogy would be a company that enjoys good profits each year and recruits from one particular university or seeks management trainees who are at least six feet tall. It would be difficult to explain why this organization would automatically lose money if it broadened its recruiting criteria. Personnel psychologists have devised excellent indicators of a person's motivation and potential, which I am sure are more relevant than homeownership and many of the other criteria used. The successes of many minority persons in the face of severe limitations should indicate the untapped potential in this group.

Changing selection and screening methods should not jeopardize the franchisor's business. The advantages of a franchised enterprise previously cited give the franchisor the edge as opposed to other types of independent, small businesses. A major reason for so few mortalities in franchises is the very support given by the franchising company to insure the security of its source of income. The definition of franchise includes ". . . assistance in organizing, training, merchandising, and management."

Another relevant aspect of selection is the means employed by the franchisor in recruiting for franchisees. Active recruiting of minorites must involve advertising in those areas and among those organizations which will reach blacks and other minorities. Franchisors should inform such sources as the Urban League, the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, and the black and ethnic news media. The franchisor with a good product will continue to enjoy his share of the market and even increase his profits by expanding recruitment efforts with the goal of granting new franchises in several new locations. Therefore, parent companies will not only reap intangible rewards by giving their time and personal resources to the cause for equal opportunity, but also tangible benefits—profits.

Companies are willing to trade off one desirable personal characteristic for another when hiring employees, whether it be experience for demonstrated potential or vice versa. Why then shouldn't special consideration be given to the disadvantaged who have potential as established by *objective* measuring techniques? This also applies to the financial requirements for the otherwise "qualified" franchisee. A special fund should be set up by franchising companies with the aim to bring minority people on board (and not in token numbers).

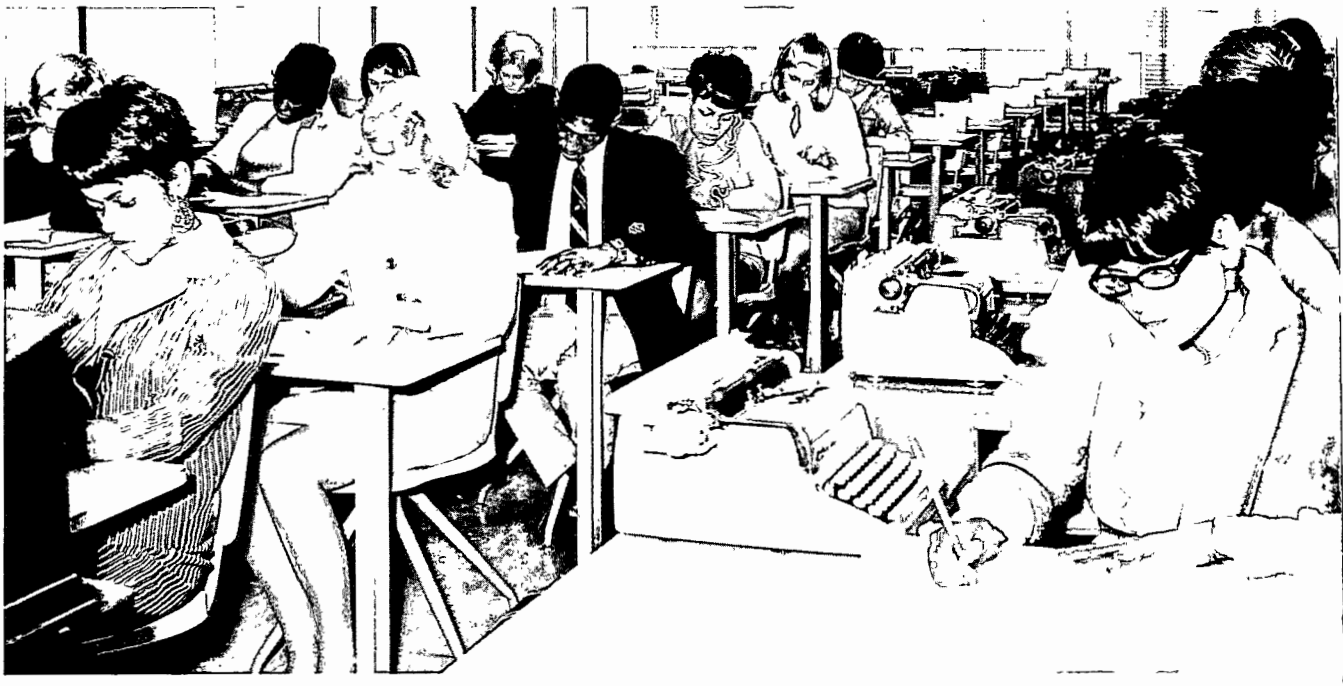
As to the acceptability of differential treatment, the Federal Government, along with many States and cities, is providing resources for the purpose of extending help to those who most need it. The President and the Department of Housing and Urban Development have implemented programs which use the taxpayers' dollars for Model Cities. Further, Congress approves tax incentives, such as rapid write-offs, for defense industries. Consequently, we have ample precedence for franchisors to follow. According to the *Service Bulletin,* National Better Business Bureau, Inc., May 1968, "In some franchise fields, contracts with franchisees are not uniform within an area; one operator may pay more than another for the same services". On this basis it is acceptable to negotiate different financial arrangements, depending on the relationship.

It also might be worth mentioning that the franchisor is not the only one taking a chance or risk, no matter how large or small. The franchisee, particularly a minority person, has everything at stake. If he is able to put up capital, he more than likely risks losing all tangible assets, and in any case, he is risking his chance at a life-long dream for a good and financially secure life, in all probability his *last* chance. The franchisee is the one who works the long hard hours and then when profits are realized, the franchisor must get his share, sometimes half. This is not to say that this arrangement is unfair, both parties obviously benefit, but I do submit that the franchisor is in a better position to take chances. He has the finances to move forward and assist minorities in achieving a better future.

The University of Minnesota study on the popularity of franchises also revealed that there appears to be a strong drive in most men to accomplish something of significance during their lifetime. Both franchisor and franchisee would be satisfying this desire by "having a business of his own". There is no doubt that the black person and other minorities want a share in this American ideal of being self-employed, self-sustaining. It would definitely be an accomplishment to own and operate an establishment of one's own when previously there was, for some, little hope of a decent job, little hope for self-respect, and the respect of one's peers. For the sake of the future of the economy of this country and all of its peoples, it is time for the affluent to share the wealth.

PHILIP HARRIS

Mr. Harris is Associate Professor of Management at The Bernard M. Baruch College of The City University of New York.

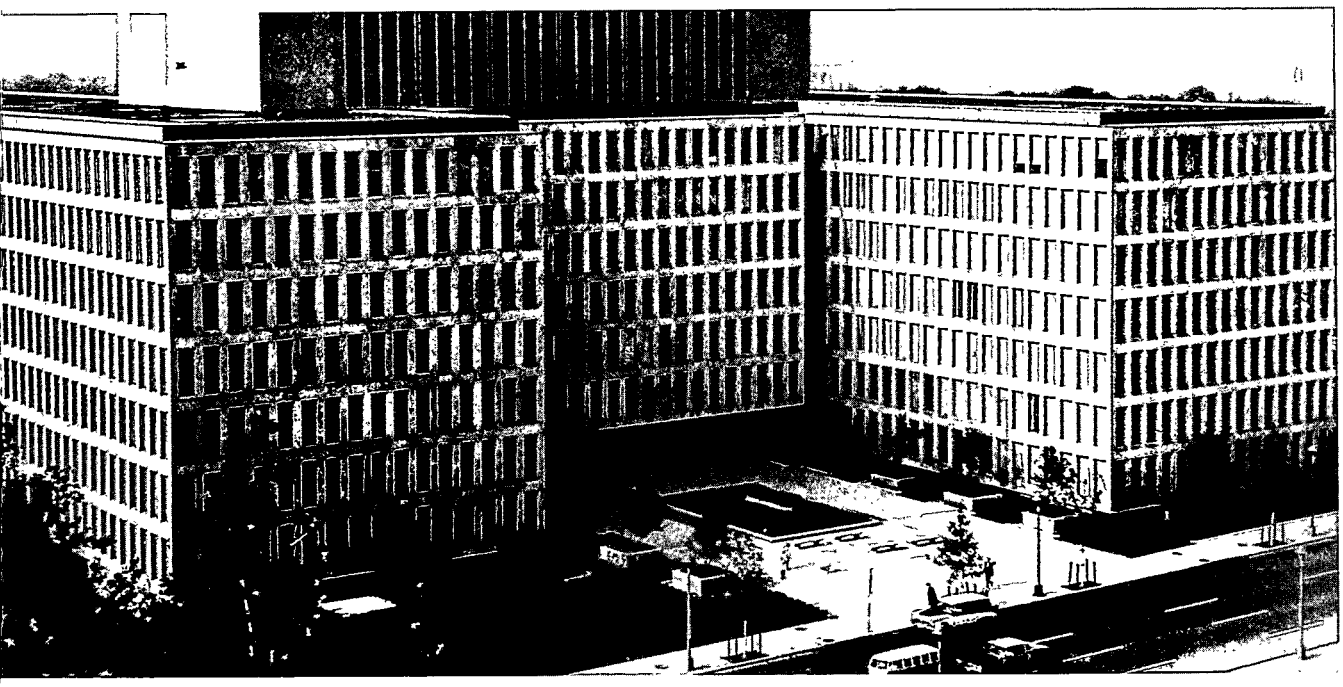


MAKING EQUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY A REALITY IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE

The employment practices of the Federal Government have evolved gradually from positive discrimination to passive nondiscrimination and only very recently to a positive commitment to genuine equality of opportunity. The progress in eliminating barriers has been handicapped by the problem of reconciling equal employment with the merit system and by problems of communication between the Federal agencies and minority groups, especially the black community.

If everyone competing under the merit system started from an equal beginning there would be no problem. But everyone does not start equally and there is a need for a more flexible approach to the merit system which will place more emphasis on potential and less on formal measures of educational achievement and experience.

The successful implementation of equal employment programs also requires effective communication. In seeking to establish communication with the black community, administrators face four barriers: the suspicion felt by blacks toward all elements of the white establishment; the failure of managers to understand the current black movement; the failure to utilize the pipeline to the community provided by current employees; and the sporadic nature of most attempts at communication.



GENUINE EQUALITY of opportunity in Federal employment is a recent development and still requires vigorous implementation to make it a reality. The employment practices of the Federal Government have evolved gradually from positive discrimination to active commitment to equal opportunity.

Samuel Krislov (*The Negro in Federal Employment: The Quest for Equal Opportunity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967) points out that when the Federal Government was established it was simply taken for granted that employment was limited to whites, and in the 1820's Congress made this principle explicit by specifically prohibiting the employment of Negroes in the Post Office. Even after the Civil War, rigid discrimination was the order of the day in all significant positions. Only rarely, on a token basis, were Negroes appointed; and even then, their assignments were largely limited to the District of Columbia or to diplomatic assignments in Haiti, Liberia, and Santo Domingo. As Krislov says, Frederick Douglass, the most prominent Negro of the day, for example, "was made marshall of the District of Columbia by President Hayes and appointed to other honorific posts by later Republican presidents."

The establishment of the classified Civil Service in 1883 opened the doors a little wider, but it was not until the passage of the Ramspeck Act and the accompanying Executive order of November 7, 1940, that racial discrimination became officially illegal in Federal employment and promotion policies. Even with the pressure of wartime manpower needs, however, progress remained slow.

It was not until the middle 1950's, for example, that enforcement efforts were institutionalized through the creation of deputy equal employment officers who were assigned to "receive, interpret, and adjudge compliance" with the equal employment program.

The pace of progress has accelerated in the 1960's, and the Federal Government has departed from a policy of responding to specific complaints of discrimination to one of a positive attempt to identify and correct problems before they reach the formal complaint status.

Equal Opportunity and the Merit System

If minority group members were equal in all respects except employment, and if all those competing under the merit system really started from an equal beginning, there would be no problem. But everyone does not start equally; some, especially blacks from inner-city ghettos, start under a series of handicaps. Many begin with the handicaps of limited education, limited experience, low motivation, and poor work habits which have placed them in the unemployable category. Others

may have completed their formal education at least through high school and perhaps even college; and yet, because of the inadequacy of their schools may find themselves at a distinct disadvantage in competing with their suburban counterparts.

Krislov notes that the current civil rights movement affects the merit system in two ways. In the first place, the emphasis on the elimination of artificial barriers and the insistence on reexamination of job requirements strengthens the merit system.

The second aspect, the call for "compensatory employment" or "reverse discrimination," is more troublesome. Krislov rejects the ideas as unworkable because "the claim is insufficiently self-contained and self-defining to be satisfied without continuous social strife. The remedy is worse than the disease."

Charles Silberman (*Crisis in Black and White,* New York: Vintage Books, 1969) however, contends that preferential treatment and even "reverse quotas" are essential, and a mere formal policy of nondiscrimination is inadequate.

The object is not compensation . . . it is to overcome the tendencies to exclude the Negro which are built into the very marrow of American society. . . . A formal policy of non-discrimination, of employing people "regardless of race, color, or creed," however estimable, usually works out in practice to be a policy of employing whites only. Hence Negroes' demand for quotas represents a necessary tactic, an attempt to fix the responsibility for increasing employment of Negroes on those who do the hiring. . . . Not to use numbers as a yardstick for measuring performance is, in effect, to revert to "tokenism." The point is not whether there is some "right" number of Negroes to be employed—obviously there is not —but simply that there is no meaningful measure of change other than numbers.

Initial efforts to open up job opportunities for minority group members concentrated on attempts to hire well-qualified blacks, especially in a few conspicuous positions. But recently the Civil Service Commission has recognized that in order to make a significant break-through, it must develop programs to reach those who have previously been regarded as unemployable because of limited education and lack of experience. It has also recognized that it can no longer simply announce that jobs are available on an equal opportunity basis and expect blacks to respond. In fact, because of competion from private industry, even strong recruiting programs and improvement of personnel policies to eliminate overt discrimination are not providing an adequate supply of qualified black applicants. It has become necessary, therefore, to develop methods for recruiting minority and other disadvantaged persons who are not presently qualified and provide the necessary training to make them employable.

On the basis of this realization, a two-pronged approach to the problems of employing the disadvantaged has emerged. One prong has been the development of various job training programs related to the war on poverty. Among the most important of the pre-employment programs are the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the New Careers Program.

The other side of the picture, and by far the more difficult one, is the necessity to provide jobs for those who have received training. One means of expanding job opportunities has been the emphasis on redesigning jobs to eliminate routine, lower-level duties from middle- and high-level jobs and collecting these duties in new groupings to open new job opportunities for the disadvantaged. This effort to obtain maximum utilization of the skills and training (MUST) of employees is applied by redesigning entry-level positions to permit hiring people of lower skill levels who have a potential for learning.

But even when new employment opportunities for the disadvantaged are developed it is still necessary to devise methods by which they can be placed on the job. In normal open competitive examination, the disadvantaged are likely to be too far down the Civil Service Register to be available for employment. The MUST program, however, creates entry-level jobs that can be successfully filled by a person with limited education or experience. These jobs may involve work that is hard, dirty, and unpleasant such as working in a laundry, loading and unloading heavy loads, shoveling snow, etc.; and, therefore, these jobs are not very appealing to a person who is qualified for some higher position. In order to prevent the register from being cluttered with overqualified applicants and open opportunities for unskilled persons who need a job and are willing to work at almost anything, the Civil Service Commission has developed a new method of rating applicants for Maintenance and Service Worker positions and for certain clerical positions.

The plan screens out those who are overqualified and creates a special Worker-Trainee register for those who are unskilled but who rate high on willingness to work, reliability, ability to follow instructions, and ability to perform hard labor.

Even those blacks who have obtained college degrees often find themselves screened out of the Federal service. In 1967, for example, a survey of 191 colleges and universities showed that 71.7 percent of those taking the Federal Service Entrance Examination passed it. But only 29.6 percent of the students at predominantly black colleges passed the exam.

Some efforts are being made to eliminate these barriers which block out so many black college graduates. The Ford Foundation has funded a study of possible cultural bias in the FSEE which will probably result in some improvement of this particular entranceway into the Federal service. And a new experimental program permits recent college graduates with a grade point average of 3.5 in all undergraduate courses or who rank in the top 10 percent of their class to qualify for grade GS–5 without taking the FSEE. But the impact has been slight and appointments constitute fewer than 1 percent of FSEE placement.

The elimination of cultural bias and the development of greater flexibility in the FSEE in order to reach truly qualified people can be reconciled with the merit principle without difficulty. But the problem of reaching those previously considered unemployable is more difficult because it forces managers to try to reconcile the goal of equal opportunity with the goal of efficient and effective implementation of their substantive programs.

Even so, this program is not as much of a departure from merit principles as it may seem at first. The development of the MUST concept provides job opportunities which are not only available to unskilled, inexperienced workers, but which are too simple and therefore unattractive to those with greater qualifications. Therefore, the use of the "Worker-Trainee" designation to limit these jobs to persons with limited education and experience represents a genuine effort to match the right person with the right job and is in keeping with experience in private industry which has indicated that employee dissatisfaction and high turnover rates occur when only qualified applicants are placed in routine, low-skill positions.

In fact, the most significant feature of this effort is that, instead of treating merit as a static concept which judges an individual by rigid standards of education and experience, there is now an opportunity to develop a dynamic concept of merit in which motivation and dependability and the intangible quality of potential create a more flexible and more humane standard of judgment.

Implementation and Communication

The successful implementation of the program of equal employment opportunity and the development of a program to provide points of entry for the previously unemployable require the spinning of an intricate web of communication both inside and outside the Federal Government. An effective communication requires more than just transmission of ideas—a real effort must be made to insure that the recipients of these ideas will be receptive.

Merely sending out announcements on job opportunities or posting notices of the requirements for eliminating discrimination for recruiting and promotion will largely be meaningless unless those who read them believe them. Writing in the somewhat different context of communication between labor and management, William H. Whyte, Jr. (*Is Anybody Listening?*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952) noted that:

Only with trust can there be any real communication, and until that trust is achieved the techniques and gadgetry of communications are so much wasted effort. Study after study has pointed out the same moral: before employees will accept management "facts" they must first have overall confidence in the motives and sincerity of management.

The first major block to effective communication between Federal agencies and the disadvantaged, therefore, is the mistrust and suspicion felt by blacks and members of other minority groups toward all elements of the white establishment. This suspicion may seem almost incomprehensible to many Federal managers who are intimately aware of the efforts now being made within the Federal Government to increase equal opportunity. But the suspicion is there; and as Silberman notes, it is based on experience.

Clearly the conditions of life have changed, the opportunities have broadened enormously. Yet just as clearly, the white world is still mined against the Negro. Or is it? One is really never sure, part of the price of being a Negro in

America is a degree of paranoia. The obstacles are no less frightening for being imagined—and many are real enough, for the United States has a long, long way to go before discrimination disappears. Hence the Negro must keep his guard up while adjusting to the new world that is opening.

To some this suspicion of the Federal Government's intentions may seem unreasonable, but there are certain features of Federal employment policy that tend to create and/or encourage this suspicion. For example, there is a long time lapse endured by many job applicants before they are hired; the frustration of a Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollee who does well on the job only to find that his "host" agency cannot hire him because he is too low on the Civil Service Register; the large number of people who qualify for a Worker-Trainee register and still cannot get a job; and the promotion of blacks to primarily black or minority-oriented positions where they only supervise other blacks or work primarily in race or minority related programs. All of these factors tend to contribute to suspicion and the feeling that the Government does only what it has to and does it begrudgingly, or at least without enthusiasm. As a result, most black people are convinced that the Federal agencies could do more if they really wanted to. They are convinced that a way could be found around many of the "technicalities" that restrict black people if there was a real desire to do so.

Perhaps the greatest single cause of suspicion is the fear that the new jobs which are created will not provide any real opportunity for career development. The Kerner Commission took note of this and emphasized that if new job programs are to have credibility, the job must not appear to the minority group member to be a "dead end" job. He must know from the outset that his satisfactory performance at the entry level will result not only in continued employment but also in an opportunity to climb a clearly defined "job ladder" with step increase in both pay and responsibility.

A second major impediment to effective communication between Government agencies and minority groups stems from a failure of many managers to understand the real nature of the current black movement.

The sharp and somewhat frightening cry of "black power" with its overtones of black nationalism and separatism combines with the smell of smoke and the sound of gunfire in the streets of the cities to create a mood of chaos and violence which seems to threaten the very foundation of our society.

Among blacks the old mood of accommodation has increasingly been replaced by a spirit of militant impatience. No longer does the black man come hat in hand to beg crumbs from the white man's table. Instead, he demands not only the opportunity to sit at the table, but also a voice in determining the menu.

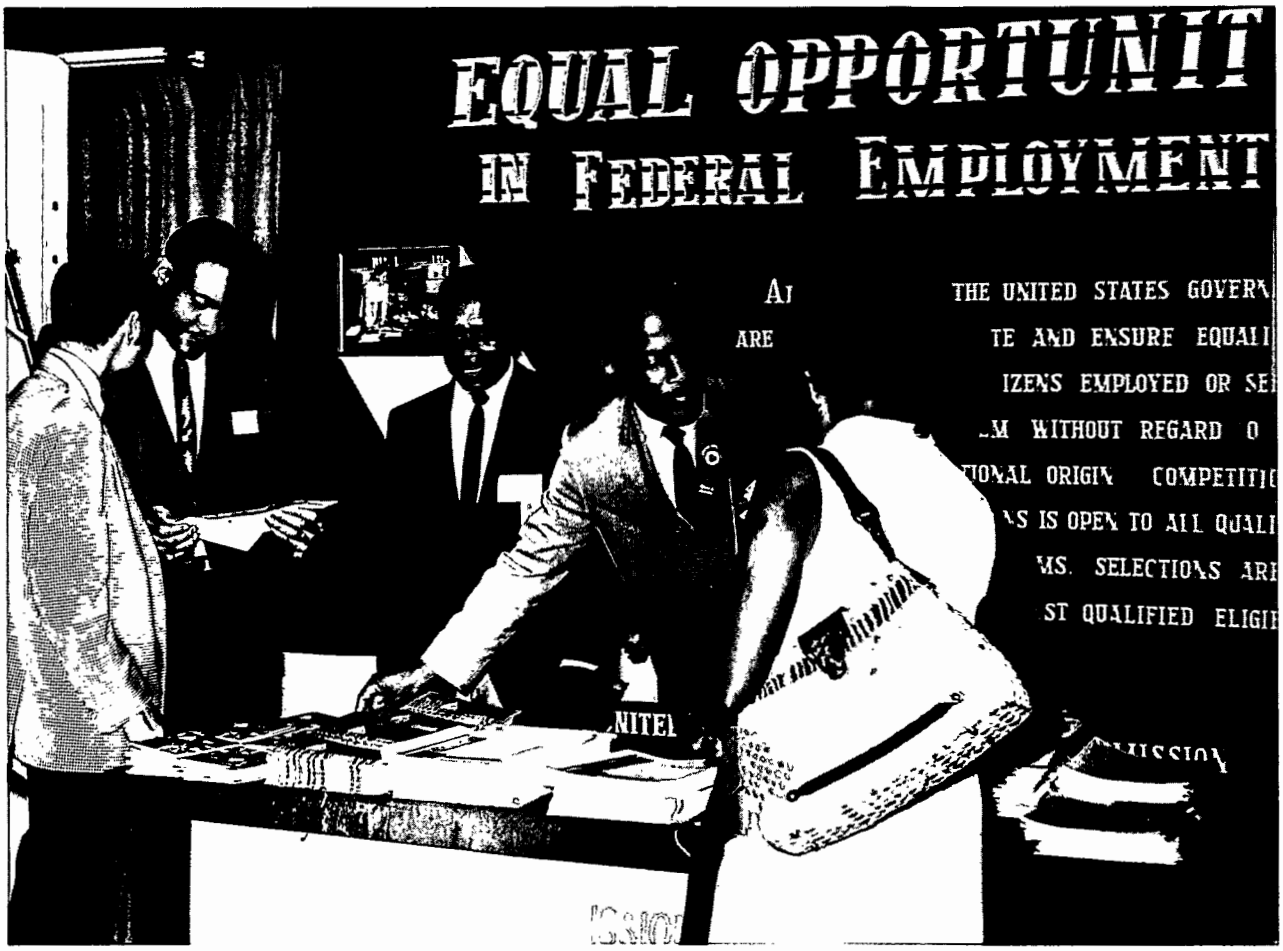
The militancy and resentment are the result of 300 years of slavery, prejudice, and discrimination which have created in this Nation a white racist system which is just coming to be recognized by whites —largely as a result of the blunt wording of the Kerner Commission report. Because the average white person has so little understanding of the pervasiveness of prejudice and discrimination in our society it has come as a real shock to learn from the riots and the statements of black leaders that the resentments and frustrations of black Americans are very deep and very explosive.

For years, most Americans comfortably believed that the problem of discrimination was strictly a Southern phenomenon and that in the North, at least, all a Negro had to do to escape from prejudice was to better himself through getting a good education. Because there was no real concern, the image of the happy, humble servant, grateful for the gift of a menial job, or a rat-infested slum, was accepted as the real image of the Negro.

Sixty-six years ago, W. E. B. DuBois (*Souls of Black Folk*, Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1961) warned that this image was simply a defense mechanism which was necessary for survival. The young Negro:

who would succeed cannot be frank and outspoken, honest and self-assertive, but rather he is daily tempted to be silent and wary; politic and sly; he must flatter and be pleasant; endure petty insults with a smile; shut his eyes to wrong; in too many cases he sees positive personal advantage in deception and lying. His real thoughts, his real aspirations must be guarded in whispers; he must not criticize; he must not complain. Patience, humility, and adroitness must, in these growing black youth, replace impulse, manliness, and courage.

Today this deceptive humility is being cast off. Even though there is disagreement between black people over specific methods, there is an increasing unity of goals. Black power, at least insofar as it means



pride, self-respect, manhood, and a voice in the decisionmaking process, has been increasingly accepted as a legitimate and necessary goal.

Group pride, even when based in part on mythology, is an essential part of the development of self-awareness and self-respect. Nathan Wright (*Ready to Riot*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968) indicates that this sense of group solidarity gives an individual the support he needs in order to "move into other relationships with pride, status, and dignity. . . . " Therefore, the concept of black power and black pride must be accepted as an essential part of the social maturation of the Negro. The employer or supervisor who seeks to promote equal employment opportunities must, therefore, recognize the true significance of black power and the atmosphere of confrontation. He must recognize that black leaders, like union leaders, may need the visibility which comes from extracting concessions from an unwilling employer in order to maintain the support of their constituency. In his book, Silberman points out that:

When businessmen or government officials or civic leaders say they are willing to grant some of the Negro demands, "but not if we're pushed too hard," they are missing the point. Negroes want to achieve their aims by their own efforts, not as a result of white beneficence. The crux of the matter may be summed up in the difference between the words "conversation" and "negotiation." Whites are accustomed to holding conversations with Negroes, in which they sound out the latter's views or acquaint them with decisions they have taken. But Negroes insist more and more on negotiations—on discussions, as equals, designed to reach an agreement . . . to negotiate means to recognize the other party's power.

This approach with its insistence on defining relationships in terms of raw power may be offensive to the white supervisor or manager who is accustomed to more subtlety and discretion in discussions of power. But the white manager must not allow himself to be

turned off by militant rhetoric, because at least in the current frame of reference it is an integral part of the communication process. In fact it offers an opportunity to take relations between the races out of the shadows of evasion and pretense and opens the possibility of real understanding.

A third basic impediment to communications is the failure to utilize the pipeline to the community provided by current black employees. As Federal employment becomes increasingly representative of the total community, internal communication becomes increasingly essential as an integral part of the total communication process, both as a means of communicating with, and as a means of receiving feedback from the black community.

Obviously employees, especially minority group employees, who feel that they have been given equal opportunities and treated as human beings will convey a positive image to the ghetto dweller of the opportunities available to him. And a disgruntled employee who feels discriminated against or even simply ignored will convey an image which will only strengthen the barrier of suspicion.

William H. Whyte, Jr., warns that much of our internal communication takes place within a kind of "vicarious reality" in which "we have not been communicating with people so much as we have been talking to stereotypes." In fact, it often seems easier to communicate with those outside our particular agency than to those within it. Familiarity and a sense of egalitarianism can breed an overconfident assumption that we know "our people" and we understand their problems even when we do not.

This failure to understand each other can often produce the appearance of conflict or disinterest even where it does not exist. A manager may have difficulty understanding the harsh militancy of certain statements by black activists. By the same token, employees involved in disputes over discrimination or other problems may regard the handling of their complaints as a sort of mechanical bureaucratic pussyfooting instead of a genuine attempt to resolve a difficult issue.

Krislov noted, for example, that President Kennedy's Equal Employment Opportunity Committee ran into this type of misunderstanding because it only rarely made a formal finding of discrimination. The Committee, in fact, tended to avoid the label because it felt it needlessly aroused contention and that more positive results could be achieved by other means. But for black groups and critics of the Committee, the formal finding of discrimination would have been regarded as an indication of sincerity on the part of the Committee. The lack of candor, and the unwillingness to call names, therefore, reduced the credibility of the

Committee in the black community.

The fourth major barrier to effective communication is the sporadic nature of most attempts at communication. An analysis of interviews conducted by staff members of the St. Louis Regional Office of the U.S. Civil Service Commission for its annual Community Progress Reviews reveals the need for a continuing demonstration of interest and exchange of information. Again and again the black community leaders interviewed indicate that the hit or miss nature of communication is an irritant. Few of the people making contact with a community organization ever really get to know the organization or its leaders. And the end result tends to confirm the feeling of the community leaders that the Federal agencies are just going through the motions to collect data for an annual report and really do not have the slightest concern for the problems of the minority community.

There is a need for continuous, ongoing communication, perhaps through the establishment of a full time community liaison representative. But community leaders have warned that if such a position is created it must be at a high level. They want to talk with someone who is able to go to the top for answers where necessary and not just file reports which are never followed up. And they indicate an interest in developing a wide-ranging list of cooperative programs to increase communication between the community and the governmental agencies.

In conclusion, the development of genuine equality of employment opportunities in the Federal service and the development of effective communication with the disadvantaged in the ghetto requires great sensitivity and awareness on the part of the managers and supervisors of the Federal agencies. They must recognize that blacks are not just "white men with black skins." There is a cultural heritage of alienation and powerlessness that has been a major factor in the "unemployability" of many residents of the ghetto. Silberman believes:

The sense of powerlessness is particularly destructive to Negro men, for masculinity is closely tied to power in our society. To survive the blows to ego and potency, the Negro must erect a number of defenses. The most common is withdrawal. Low self-esteem quite naturally produces a fear of failure in any new or unfamiliar situation: school, job, marriage. But if you do not involve yourself in the first place, you can excuse your failure very easily. . . .

This sense of impotency and fear of failure is one of the burdens still remaining from the American system of slavery with its total disruption of family life and group identification. And it has been confirmed and strengthened under the impact of the matriarchal tradition which followed. The rise of group identity and self-respect symbolized by the phrase "black power" is an important and essential sign that the black man is beginning to throw off his shackles and become a man. He goes on to say that blacks are now demanding an opportunity to be able to "believe in their hearts that they are men, men who can stand on their own feet and control their own destinies."

In order to do this, they must be in a position to make or at least influence the decisions that affect them. A career in the Federal service, one that is a genuine career with real opportunities to advance to positions of responsibility, can provide a black person with exactly this type of opportunity. He can become in a limited sense—and *all* power is limited—a part of the power structure of American life.

And the advantages resulting from the new emphasis on equal opportunity are not limited to the black man. In fact, it is forcing us to reevaluate the whole field of personnel management.

In "Break Down Your Employment Barriers," *Harvard Business Review* (July-August 1968), Theodore V. Purcell states:

Management is coming to see manpower as a valuable capital resource which is capable of greater development than we have dreamed of. Underemployment—partial utilization and weak motivation—of workers of any color or ethnic background of any level . . . is a waste for business as well as a frustration to the persons themselves. Factories can be made fitter not only for the black man, but for the white man. The problems of the black man are leading us to rethink our general approach to the management of human career development.

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Book Reviews

TIJERINA AND THE COURTHOUSE RAID, by Peter Nabokov. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. 285 pp.

There is a quality of quixotic madness about Reies Lopez Tijerina which those of us who hide behind desks may never understand. Peter Nabokov has done an excellent job of explaining him to us. His description of the personalities involved in the almost unbelievable events of June 1967 when a band of comic opera characters invaded and occupied the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla in the northern New Mexico county of Rio Arriba is sharply drawn. They were comic opera in one sense and bloody in another, as those who were their victims can testify.

Northern New Mexico, particularly Rio Arriba County, has been the scene of bloody land wars since the first Mexican settlers arrived in the 17th century. They killed and were killed by the indigenous Indian population. Eventually the Mexican settlers were able to put down roots and to achieve an armed truce, co-existence with the Indians. Until the conquest of Mexico by the United States, the people of the Mexican villages along the Rio Bravo, the Rio Chama, and the Rio Grande were isolated and successful in their isolation. Their land had been granted to them in common and in perpetuity by the Spanish and Mexican Governments. In the late 19th century, land hungry Americans poured into Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and the river valleys and dispossessed in large part those whose ancestors had dispossessed the Indians.

Although not himself of New Mexican origin, Reies Lopez Tijerina seized upon the discontent of the descendants of the Mexican settlers of northern New Mexico and with a dynamic quality of leadership created an organization of men and women determined to recover their lost heritage from the Anglos. A principal opponent of Tijerina during the formative period of his organization, the Alianza Federal de Mercedes, was Alphonso Sanchez, district attorney for Rio Arriba County. An army combat veteran, Sanchez (who kept his snub-nosed 32 clearly in evidence when I interviewed him in his office in Santa Fe during the summer of 1967) viewed the Alianza as a Communist-oriented fraud, yet there is some suggestion that in its early days the Alianza had been a client of Sanchez.

One version among the many stories of the Tierra Amarilla raid is that the raiders intended to perform a citizens' arrest against Sanchez whom they expected to find in the courthouse. Instead, Sanchez was in his office in Santa Fe directing the legal-political battle against the Alianza which was soon to break into a military battle.

With great detail, Peter Nabokov examines and skillfully describes the involvement of the Governor, the commander of the New Mexico State Police and National Guard, the Director of the State Office of Economic Opportunity, and a cast of dozens of characters whose actions ranged from the incompetent to the absurd in their response to the courthouse raid. Mr. Nabokov was himself a participant in a sense, as the only newsman to whom Tijerina would speak while he was in hiding in the wild hill country of northern New Mexico after the Tierra Amarilla raid. Mr. Nabokov has given as good a description as words can convey of the land and the people of northern New Mexico, where each spring, while cross-country jets fly above, the main road between Santa Fe and the Colorado border is crowded with cattle being herded by cowboys into the mountain pastures. He has portrayed with sympathy and understanding but without sentimentality the faults and the virtues of an organization and of a people whose very existence is perennially in danger of economic and cultural destruction.

Reies Lopez Tijerina is not the first of the salvationists leaders to arouse the people of northern New Mexico nor will he be the last. One hopes that as good a writer and analyst as Peter Nabokov will be on hand to record the deeds of Tijerina's successor.

LAWRENCE B. GLICK

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Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America, by Nick Kotz. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969. 272 pages.

Readers of the *Civil Rights Digest* should not require any convincing that we have a serious problem of hunger in this country. Yet, whether you are a student of American political institutions as they relate to problems of civil rights or merely a concerned citizen, you will want to read *Let Them Eat Promises,* an informative account by Nick Kotz of how hunger has become a political issue in America today.

Nick Kotz is a young Texan by way of Dartmouth and the London School of Economics, who serves as the Washington correspondent for the *Des Moines Register.* At 37, he has already received numerous journalism awards, including a Pulitzer Prize. He is probably the most consistent member of the Washington journalist corps in overseeing developments in the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Kotz was the first, for example, to uncover the existence of an April 1969 letter from the Attorney General to the Secretary of Agriculture taking that Department to task for its continuing deficiencies in civil rights matters.

Let Them Eat Promises will enhance an already brilliant reputation for Kotz. It is a book about hunger and the way in which our political institutions have, or more appropriately *have not,* responded to it. It is also a tragic commentary on our sense of values.

To understand why hunger—an ever-present, day-to-day fact of life for as many as 15 million of America's poor—was never an issue before this time, one has to understand something about the character of American political institutions. This is perhaps the chief contribution of Kotz' book. As he points out, politics under our form of Government, whether it be good or bad—and it can be both—is essentially a response to influence. In America, influence means money. Thus we have huge defense contracts, pork barrel projects, oil depletion allowances, farm subsidies, and large numbers of influence peddlers stalking the halls of Congress on behalf of money interests. The poor of America, on the other hand, have no money by definition and, therefore, have little influence on political institutions except where appeals to conscience prevail. To the credit of some of our more enlightened politicians, appeals to conscience on behalf of the poor have not always fallen on deaf ears. Unfortunately, under an antiquated system of seniority control in Congress, these politicians are generally not the ones who determine the responses of our political institutions.

According to Kotz, the political response to hunger has been and will continue to be a grudging one unless and until public opinion forces a redirection of priorities in our political system. It is outrageous for even a little hunger to exist in a land so affluent as ours. While a sense of outrage is building over the hunger issue, it has unfortunately not reached the point where action is being taken to close the gap between "what is" and "what ought to be." Mr. Kotz' book should go a long way toward motivating us to do something about this situation because it is impossible not to be outraged by what is written there.

The politics of hunger in America really goes back to depression days but lay dormant from the World War II period until the late 1960's except, perhaps, for the brief exposure it received in the 1960 Democratic presidential primary in West Virginia, in which the late President John F. Kennedy used it as an issue, and in the unsuccessful attempts of the late New York Congressman Joseph Y. Resnick to raise the issue after personally visiting Mississippi in 1965. But it wasn't until the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy, along with three other senatorial colleagues on the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, went to Mississippi in April of 1967 and discovered dramatic, first-hand evidence of malnutrition among farm workers' children that hunger became the political issue it is today.

From that moment until July 1968, which, as is evident from reading Kotz' book, can be considered a turning point in the politicalization of the hunger issue, several important events occurred which helped to keep hunger an issue before the American conscience. First, there was the article, "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America," by Robert Sherril (*New York Times Magazine,* June 4, 1967), and the report of six doctors who visited Mississippi in 1967 (*Hungry Children,* Southern Regional Council). This was followed in 1968 by three block-

busting reports: *Hunger U.S.A.*, by the Citizen's Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States; *Their Daily Bread*, by the Committee on School Lunch Participation; and the CBS documentary, "Hunger in America", all of which brought before the American public, in a most painful way, the existence and tragedy of hunger in America.

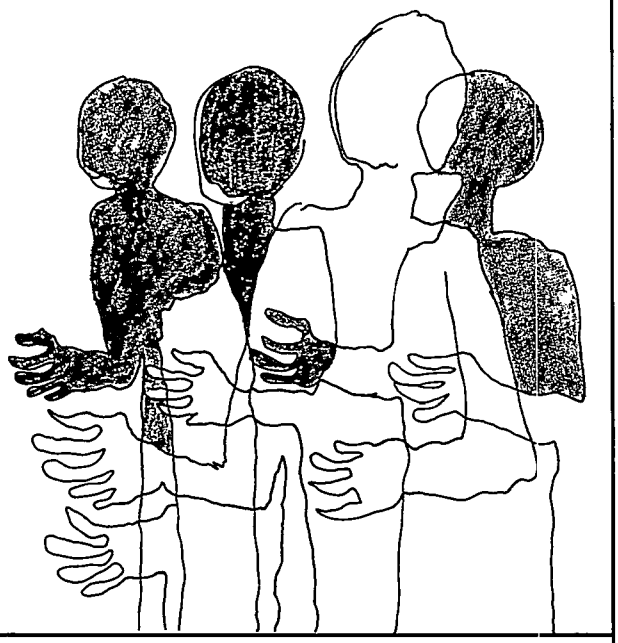
In July 1968, the Senate established a Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, of which Senator George S. McGovern was named Chairman. Although the McGovern Committee never really got going until late in 1968, a turning point had been reached because the issue of hunger was legitimized by the fact that Congress approved the establishment of a Committee to delve into the problem. In his book, Kotz points out that the McGovern Committee, building upon past efforts of private groups and staking out territory of its own through a long series of hearings, has been able to keep the issue of hunger before the American people. In its very first day of hearings, for example, the Committee was presented with the first medically-documented account of the extent of hunger in America. Testimony presented by Dr. Arnold Schaeffer, who was heading a 10-State National Nutrition Survey, showed that as many as a third of the young children examined were found to have serious iron and vitamin deficiencies and that several cases of severe protein and caloric deficiencies of the type "we didn't expect to find in this country" had been uncovered.

From then until the present, hunger has been a hot political issue. That it is a political issue has been highlighted by the intervention of the President, first in his May 1969 "Hunger Message" in which he stated: "Something like the very honor of American democracy is at issue" and, in December, in the convocation of a White House Conference on the subject.

As we begin 1970, there has really not been too much progress, however. Late in 1969, Congress approved an increase in the food stamp program from $340 million to $610 million. However, this was far below the $2.5 billion bill which the Senate had approved earlier and which lay languishing in the House Agriculture Committee where seldom more than four of the Committee's 31 members could be counted on for sympathy. As a result of the increased funding, the Department of Agriculture instituted liberalizing reforms in the food stamp program and promised that there would be a food program in the remaining 387 counties without food programs by mid-1970.

Mr. Kotz, in one of the most interesting parts of his book, indicates that when one talks about improving the food programs in this country, one is really talking about what goes on in the minds of four key legislators—Senators Ellender and Holland and Representatives Poage and Whitten. These are the men whose committees write food program legislation or who appropriate funds for the operation of the food programs. Although Kotz correctly points the finger at particular names, he does not indicate just how incongruous the positions are of some Congressmen when it comes to putting Federal tax dollars into the hands of rich farmers while keeping food out of the mouths of hungry families and children.

In the district of one of the most important Congressmen on the Agriculture Subcommittee, each of its 20 counties has a food program. Even so, the approximately 76,000 persons participating in such programs constitute less than 30 percent of those who, in 1960 at least, were in proverty. Fourteen of the 20 counties in this district once had a surplus commodity program, in which food was distributed free, but have subsequently switched to the more desirable, from a nutritional standpoint, food stamp program, in which families have to pay for a portion of the food that can be purchased from local groceries. The food stamp program may not be all it was cracked up to be as evidenced by the fact that more than 30,000 persons—38 percent of the total once being fed—have dropped out of the program in the 14 counties since they switched. Contrasted to such statistics is the figure of $26,793,276 (counting only those payments of $5,000 or more) which went to farmers in this same district in 1968 to support their crop prices or to pay them for not planting crops. This figures out to roughly $3 for every farmer for every $1 that was spent for all needy food programs. In fact, in one of the counties in this district, one gentleman farmer alone received more money in farm payments than the entire amount of Federal assistance to the school lunch program in the county in that year.



Another Congressman, who, as this article went to press, had been instrumental in bottling up a Senate-passed bill greatly expanding the food stamp program and whose House Agriculture Committee was busy tacking on regressive amendments to food legislation, presents an even greater question mark. There are 11 counties in his home district. Only five of the counties had food programs of any sort as of mid-1969 and four of these five were receiving special Department of Agriculture assistance for meeting administrative costs that the counties themselves were not willing to meet. The result in this district was that, of some 137,000 persons in poverty in 1960, only slightly more than 12,000—less than 9 percent—were receiving food assistance. All of the programs were of the surplus commodity variety. Farmers in the district received $6.6 million in Federal farm payments in 1968. Considering that only $233,000 was spent for needy food programs, not including school lunch, it meant that farmers were receiving *28 times* the amount of Federal assistance that was being rendered to needy persons in this district.

Kotz believes that given such inconsistencies in attitudes toward human values as are displayed by those men who control the food programs in Congress, it is little wonder that food advocates have asked that the food programs be transferred away from their jurisdiction.

As 1970 began, it was approaching the third year of the politics of hunger in America. There is a great distance, in terms of concern and a will to act at least, between now and the senatorial inquiries into hunger in the South that began in the spring of 1967. In those 3 years, as public concern over hunger was mounting, approximately 10.5 million new lives have been added to our population. Even by conservative estimate, at least one million of those lives were born into poverty. If nutritional experts are correct in saying that half of the children born into poverty will suffer from the effects of malnutrition and hunger, it means that at least 500,000 children below the age of 3 years have fallen victim to this country's failure to feed its poor. What a terrible price this is to pay for inaction!

But what will be the ultimate response to this problem? As Kotz says:

The nation has deluded itself repeatedly by assuming that passing laws with noble preambles . . . has actually solved problems. The nation discerns a problem, debates it fiercely, declares finally its decision to solve the problem, and then rushes off to a new concern with the apparent belief that wishes are automatically self-fulfilling in American government. Such, sadly, is not the case and the hunger issue is but the latest illustration in point.

In the final analysis, the hunger issue, like the war issue, is but one aspect of the broader problem, namely, the capacity of Government and society to respond to the needs of its lowliest, voiceless citizens and to order its priorities so that human values predominate. We have not been able or willing to do that yet in our almost 200 years as a Nation. If we can do it now, through an exercise of national will that leads to a total elimination of hunger in America, then, and only then, can we lay claim to being a civilized society.

WILLIAM PAYNE

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Reading & Viewing

Books

Federal Aid for Schools: The Complete Handbook for the Local School District, by Howard S. Rowland and Richard L. Wing. 1970 Guide. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970. 400 pp.

Presents a thorough discussion of every Federal aid program now applicable to schools, both public and private, as well as an extensive step-by-step procedure for securing aid and for writing sound proposals—information which will permit local school systems (particularly those without Federal aid specialists on staff to apply for and secure a more equitable share of the Federal funds available to them.

The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty, by Sar A. Levitan. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. 348 pp.

Traces the development of the Economic Opportunity Act, describing the organizational structure created to administer the legislation and evaluating its performance—an appraisal that will be of inestimable value to those involved in planning and operating programs.

Guaranteed Annual Income: The Moral Issues, by Philip Wogaman. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1968. 158 pp.

Examines ethical arguments for and against guaranteed annual income and spotlights the issues raised by each of the proposed methods—basic economic security, negative income tax, social dividend, family allowance, guaranteed opportunity to earn an income, guaranteed income without money, categorical assistance, and guaranteed annual wage.

Minimizing Racism in Jury Trials: The Voir Dire Conducted by Charles R. Garry in People of California v. Huey P. Newton, edited by Ann Fagan Ginger. Berkeley, Calif.: The National Lawyers Guild, 1969. 250 pp.

Describes, step by step, the best methods now available in the United States to obtain 12 jurors to sit in judgment of a black defendant in a criminal case without prejudging the person guilty because he is black, a militant, or simply because he is a defendant.

The New City, edited by Donald Canty. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969. 180 pp.

A collection of papers prepared by urban affairs specialists at the request of Urban America Inc., which examines the direction that urbanization is likely to take without new national policies; and questions whether the social and physical environment created in the process is of a kind the current generation wants to hand on to its children.

Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America, edited by Edgar S. Cahn. Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, 1969. 193 pp +

A candid look at today's world of 600,000 American Indians—a 20th century world where: almost 33 of every 1,000 American Indian babies born on the reservation die during their first year . . . Indian life expectancy on reservations is 44 years . . . the average educational level for all Indians under Federal supervision is but 5 school years . . . many reservations lack water and sewage disposal systems . . . suicide among young Indians is the second leading cause of death . . . on reservations, 50,000 Indians able to work are unemployed.

Participation of the Poor: Comparative Community Case Studies in the War on Poverty, by Ralph M. Dramer. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969. 273 pp.

Comparative analysis of community development processes undertaken among low-income and ethnic minorities, groups traditionally left out of most community decisionmaking processes with suggestions for future programs and an assessment of their political potential.

Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community, by Gary T. Marx. New York: Harper & Row, 1967. 255 pp.

Using a carefully weighted sample to reflect the economic, educational, religious, and social backgrounds of America's diverse Negro population, Negro interviewers determine the Negro moods with respect to civil rights progress, integration, the police, black nationalism, violence, and whites.

Public Civil Rights Agencies and Fair Employment: Promise vs. Performance, by Frances Riessman Cousens. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. 163 pp.

Based on an evaluation of employment patterns and opportunities for Negroes and other minority groups in a number of selected industries and in areas served by public fair

employment or civil rights agencies, this study generates some serious reservations about the relevance and viability of civil rights programs in the present context of race relations.

The Urban Environment: How It Can Be Improved, by William E. Zisch, Paul H. Douglas, and Robert C. Weaver. New York: New York University Press, 1969. 107 pp.

Three Americans, deeply involved in seeking ways to improve the urban environment, discuss the roles of business and Government in overcoming such problems as unemployment, pollution, housing, and crime.

You Can Remake America, by Henry Steeger. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968. 271 pp.

Cites facts and figures on housing, welfare, education, riots, and other aspects of the civil rights problem, indicating that every private citizen can contribute much toward correcting the situation and outlines, in easy-to-follow detail, methods of forming committees, gathering support, applying pressure, and other procedures.

Studies and Reports

Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth, by the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 256 pp.

An analysis of the successes and limitations of 55 early [1963-66] experimental and demonstration projects which were designed to reach and provide manpower services to youth for whom the conventional approaches, techniques, and personnel seemed inadequate.

A Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Large School Districts with Enrollment and Instructional Staff, by Race: Fall 1967, by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 840 pp.

The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation, by Horace Barker. Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1969. 70 pp.

Firearms and Violence in American Life, by George D. Newton, Jr. and Franklin E. Zimring. A report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 268 pp.

1969 Listing of Operating Federal Assistance Programs Compiled During the Roth Study, prepared by the Staff of Representative William V. Roth, Jr. 91st Congress, 1st Session. House Document No. 91–177. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, 1,132 pp.

A compilation of 1,315 Federal assistance programs, providing money figures, application deadlines, precise contacts, and use restrictions.

Poverty Amid Plenty: The American Paradox. The Report of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 155 pp.

Title I of ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children? A report by the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Revised second edition, 1969. 73 pp. Available free from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

To Establish Justice, To Insure Domestic Tranquility. Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. 338 pp.

Films

"Black Men and Iron Horses." The second in a proposed series of more than a dozen films documenting the significant contributions black Americans have made to our national heritage. This 18-minute, 16 mm. film deals with those black inventors whose genius helped shape the future of American railroads. These uncelebrated men made the railroads move faster and much safer while they and their brothers were relegated to menial jobs and "Jim Crow" coaches. "Black Men and Iron Horses" also acknowledges the efforts of A. Philip Randolph on behalf of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as the beginning of black militancy in the American labor movement. Produced by The New York Times/Arno Press, 229 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

"Where Is Prejudice?" A 40-minute, 16 mm., black and white film written for educational television depicting a group of middle and upper class college students who lived together for 6 days. In a New England setting, the students from several different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds discover and reveal, through daily discussion periods, their inner most feelings and fears on prejudice. This film vividly points out how so many individuals harbor prejudices they are not consciously aware of or refuse to admit, even to themselves. Contact the Audio Visual Center, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

"The Mexican American: A Question of Definition." A 16-minute, 16 mm., color film, one in a series in which various minority groups "tell their own story." In the Mexican American's efforts to maintain his cultural and ethnic background, while gaining full recognition as an American citizen with the right to complete participation in this society, it is essential that self-identification, as well as the means of being identified, be established. This film presents dialogue among several prominent Mexican American leaders concerning the most appropriate manner to identify Mexican Americans as a group. The opinions of such notables as Cesar Chavez, Reis Tijerina, Brown Beret leaders, Dr. Ralph Guzman, and several others are expressed. Those interested in the historical struggle of the Mexican American will find this film enlightening. International Technical Services, Division of Pan Indian Enterprises, P.O. Box 3428, Station A, Bakersfield, Calif. 93305.

COMMUNICATIONS

Gentlemen:

I have read with interest Mr. William Payne's article "Food for First Citizens" which appeared in the fall issue of the Civil Rights Digest. The conditions which Mr. Payne reports are substantially correct.

The problems of hunger, malnutrition and management of food distribution programs have been of great concern of this Administration and to the Department of Agriculture. This Department is greatly intensifying its effort to alleviate some of the problems encountered in feeding programs for Indians and in that respect I thought you might be interested in just a few of the steps now being taken.

Recently we sent a delegation to visit several of the Indian reservations to observe first hand some of the difficulties experienced in these programs.

As a result of that visit, changes in food distribution have been made as well as changes in the various food mixes being distributed. The management of the Commodity Distribution Program for the Standing Rock Tribe has been changed and a full complement of foods will be distributed.

Our Food and Nutrition Service has established a small Task Force which will study feeding programs for Indians. This will focus on all Tribes, as well as the Standing Rock Tribe and the Navajos.

Richard Lyng
Assistant Secretary
Department of Agriculture
Office of Assistant Secretary

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Gentlemen:

Through some fortunate event my name is on your Commission mailing list for the Civil Rights Digest. Last evening I read the Fall, 1969, issue and I commend the initiative of the Commission both in its work and in the publication of this bulletin with some fine and pointed articles.

I was far from pleased, however, at finding that the Commission had used the taxpayers' money to publish an article. . . I refer to David B. Riley's article; "Should Communities Control Their Police."

What sane man expects for one minute that any government or general society on this or any continent is going to give up control of the police, or that it ought to do so.

Why long ago did the French Government decide it was necessary to maintain direct control over the police function in Paris by means of naming the Prefect of Police who is independent of the Paris city government. It seems to be irresponsible for any organ of government to be planting or encouraging ideas, least of all among people with great grievances, which have no possibility of realization and ought not to have any. . . .

Be it noted that I am at the same time fully convinced from hard experience as a former Mayor, Judge and School Director, (with ten teachers in the family), that enormous initiative and resourcefulness are urgently needed by our society toward the redesigning of many of our police and school systems, in the direction of community sensitivity and involvement. But I suggest that it is errant foolishness, whether in the mountains of Pennsylvania, the boondocks of Alabama or the wards of Washington to talk about community control of either police or schools. The further basis for my views requires too long a time to discuss here. The distinguished Negro educator and writer, Dr. Sam Shepherd, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, has shown the correct solution.

Chauncey M. Depuy

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Gentlemen:

As the former public information officer of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, I received many pamphlets and publications concerning the general subject of civil rights. None proved to be as informative or as well "packaged" as the *Civil Rights Digest.*

In the Fall, 1969 issue, I was particularly interested in the article, How the Advertisers Promote Racism, written by Thomas Martinez. A recent issue of *Advertising Age* carried a similar report on the reaction by the public to the Frito-Lay Company.

May I say that as an advertising agency executive, I found Mr. Martinez' article extremely enlightening —one which should make advertising agency personnel and their clients really evaluate the methodology followed in advertising products and services.

Donald L. Consolmagno
President
Adpro of Worcester Inc.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425
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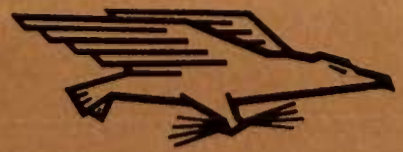

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The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

- 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.