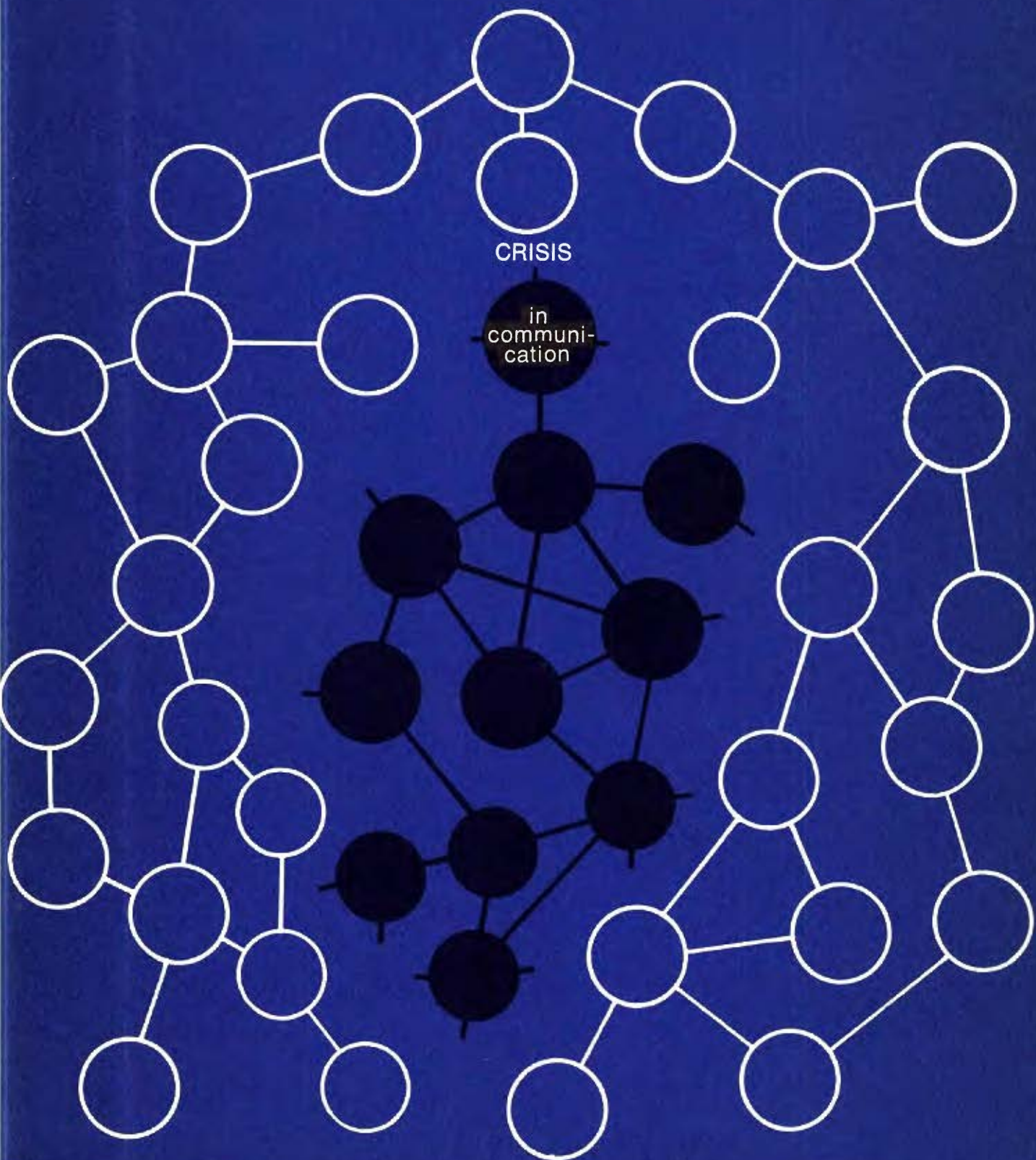


# CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

A Quarterly of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights / Summer 1970



# CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

Vol. 3, No. 3, Summer 1970

In this issue:

- White Ethnic Neighborhoods:  
Ripe for the Bulldozer? 1  
by Richard Krickus
- Tribal Sovereignty and the  
1968 Indian Bill of Rights 9  
by Michael Smith
- Crisis in Communication 16  
by James Williams
- Man in the Middle:  
The Black Policeman 22  
by Wallis Johnson
- TEDTAC (Texas Educational  
Desegregation Technical Assistance Center) 28  
by Raul Garza
- What Price Inglés 32  
by Edward Mercado
- New Life for the Cities 36  
by Wilmoth Carter
- Reading & Viewing 42
- Book Reviews 44

*Information Officer*

James D. Williams

*Editor*

Joe Mancias, Jr.

*Associate Editor*

Wallis W. Johnson

*Assistant Editor*

Louise Lewisohn

*Art Director*

Joseph W. Swanson

The *Civil Rights Digest* is published quarterly by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights as part of its clearinghouse responsibilities. The articles in the *Digest* do not necessarily represent Commission policy but are offered to stimulate ideas and interest on the various current issues concerning civil rights. Use of funds for printing this publication approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget on January 29, 1968. Correspondence related to the *Digest* should be addressed to: The *Civil Rights Digest*, 1405 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20425.

Much of the Nation's dialogue concerning urban renewal has largely ignored the role which white ethnic neighborhoods must play in restoring our central cities. This author protests urban planners' disregard of white neighborhoods which allows the areas to be bulldozed and their inhabitants to be dispersed. A more realistic appraisal of the value of these communities as stabilizing forces in the metropolises must be made. A true appreciation of them would stimulate new measures—both community and Government supported—to rehabilitate and preserve these neighborhoods. Efforts in this direction would help enormously to stem the whites' outmigration, thus preventing the total polarization which threatens this Nation.

The lack of attention given to this problem is difficult to rational-

ize. The lower-middle class ethnics are the single largest white population in our northeastern and midwestern cities. At the present time they are being both "pulled" and "pushed" to the suburbs. Unless this exodus is halted the human and economic resources essential to the restoration and vitality of our cities will be lost.

The ethnic neighborhoods are by and large healthy social systems which are a major source of urban stability. Nevertheless, white ethnic neighborhoods have been neglected because their housing inventory is old, densities are high, and mixed land uses are prevalent. They have been as a result mistakenly identified as marginal areas irrevocably doomed to become slums. Moreover, with a new level of self-awareness on the part of the white ethnics, many observers fear heightened discord. However, as-

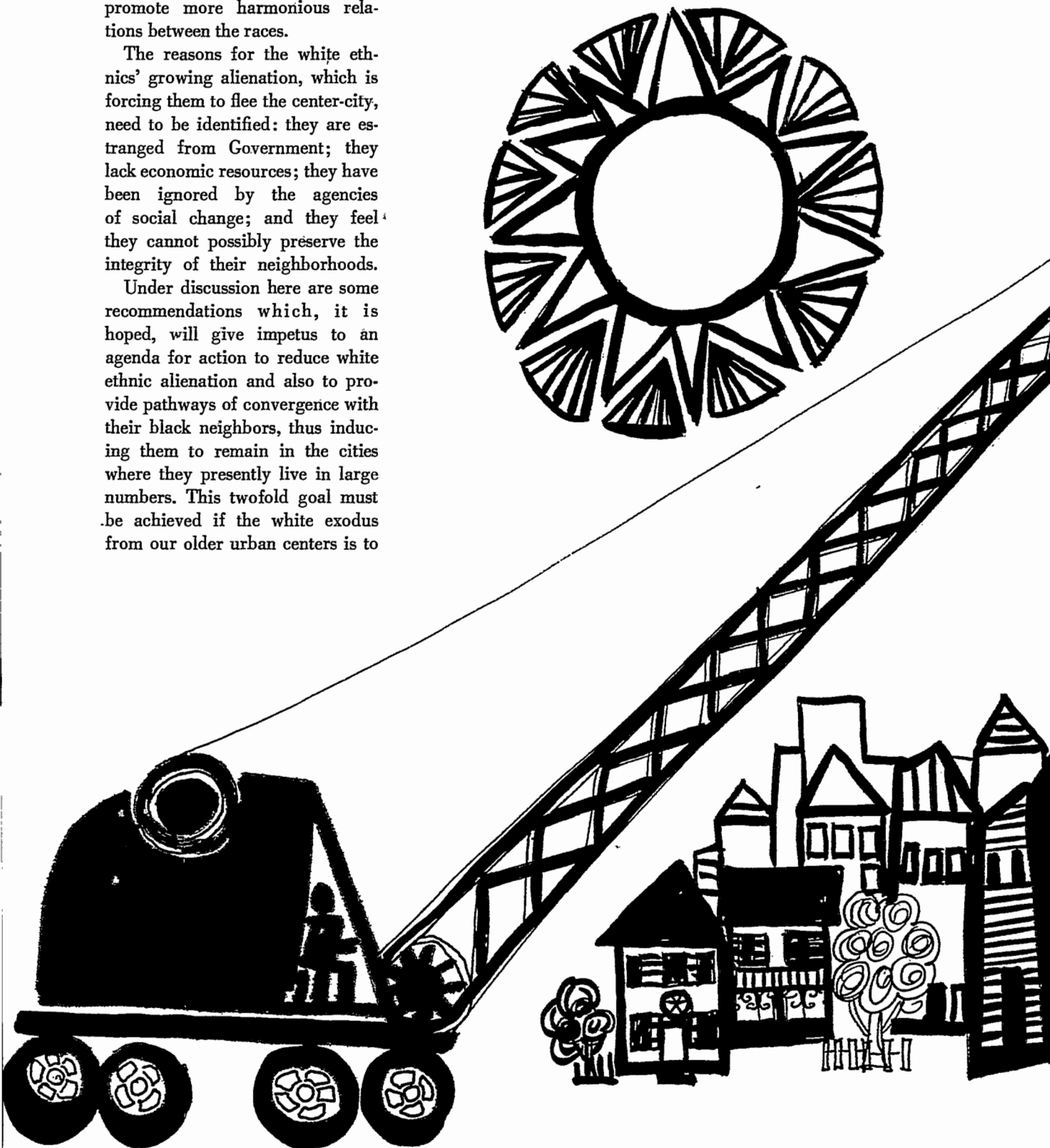
**White ethnic neighborhoods: RIFE FOR THE BULLDOZER?**

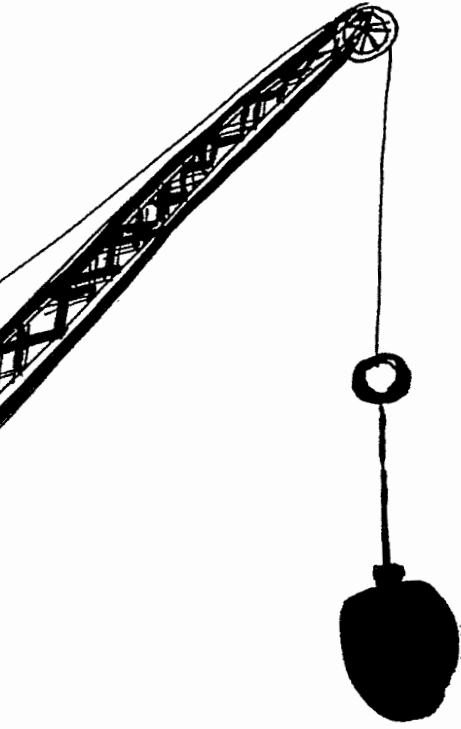


suming that the proper resources and aid are provided, such awareness may very well be utilized to promote more harmonious relations between the races.

The reasons for the white ethnics' growing alienation, which is forcing them to flee the center-city, need to be identified: they are estranged from Government; they lack economic resources; they have been ignored by the agencies of social change; and they feel they cannot possibly preserve the integrity of their neighborhoods.

Under discussion here are some recommendations which, it is hoped, will give impetus to an agenda for action to reduce white ethnic alienation and also to provide pathways of convergence with their black neighbors, thus inducing them to remain in the cities where they presently live in large numbers. This twofold goal must be achieved if the white exodus from our older urban centers is to





be checked, and if working class whites and nonwhite minorities are ever to cooperate in an effective coalition for change.

### The White Ethnic Community

It has been a popular notion for quite some time that the disparate ethnic groups which came to America from Europe have become assimilated into American society. Scholars who have recently reexamined the "melting pot" myth point out that while ethnic groups have become acculturated—that is, have adopted many mainstream cultural tastes in music, clothes, entertainment, "American materialism," and so forth—they have not been assimilated into the mainstream social system. Michael Parenti has written that the ethnics maintain "a social substructure encompassing primary and secondary group relations composed essentially of fellow ethnics". They still do business with, socialize with, and by and large marry within their own ethnic group.

They share a common "ethnic group" outlook toward social change. Even if we accepted the proposition that their working class status explains their behavior better than their "ethnicity", it is still proper to deal with them as distinct social units in cities where they reside in large numbers.

I cannot accept as empirically accurate the proposition that this working class status explains their behavior better than their ethnicity. The communities most *resistant* to the forces pushing whites out of the center-city are usually the more homogeneous ethnic ones. There is some question, however, how relevant one's ethnic group status is to the younger gen-

eration and to those persons who live in "mixed" neighborhoods.

Because they see themselves competing with blacks for the same jobs and living space, the black revolution has heightened their group awareness. In their view, the Federal Government has ignored the problems that beset their communities while it has "squandered" money on blacks and other nonwhite minorities. While this perception may be distorted, it nonetheless seems to be true to white ethnics, and its objective reality becomes almost a moot point. Perhaps an even more important reason for the deprivation they feel is the fact that the mass media, universities, and the literary world—the institutions which mold public opinion and help set priorities for public policy—have ignored and at times even castigated the lower-middle class with which the ethnics identify.

Since 1968 the ethnics have become more aware of themselves as a minority group. Political pundits and social analysts have also rediscovered the white ethnic. This also may have contributed to their new awareness.

Heightened group identity engenders cooperation within the group, inspires self-confidence, and thus eventually produces indigenous leadership. These are all prerequisites to the ethnics becoming an effective component of our pluralistic society. As we have observed, vis-a-vis blacks, this new awareness may also exacerbate intergroup relations until the ethnics are accepted as competitors to be taken seriously by friends and foes alike. Once they attain this stage of social development, it may well alter their social vision and enable them to engage in constructive

coalitions with groups which share their problems.

As the ethnics discover that they can influence decisions involving their welfare, problems previously deemed beyond their resolution and goals once thought unattainable will become a part of their agenda for change. It is at this point, hopefully, that lower-middle class whites will discover that they have many problems in common with their black neighbors. Like blacks, they seldom possess the resources to influence the decisions which profoundly affect the welfare of their communities—whether made by Government agencies, lending institutions, or real estate speculators.

### Neighborhoods

In many such communities home ownership is high, absentee landlordism generally low. Homes in these neighborhoods may be deemed substandard by the criteria of middle class planners, but they are not necessarily overcrowded or harmful to their occupants. Rents are relatively low, flats are often roomy, and comparable living space cannot easily be found outside the older neighborhoods.

Furthermore, there is generally a tremendous emotional investment in the cultural and social ties established in these homogeneous communities. Because they enjoy city life and value living close to family and friends, inhabitants of these neighborhoods are not disconcerted by mixed land uses. The diversity of street life and the benefits of living among one's family and friends compensate amply for the close proximity of factories or other unsightly structures. Primary value is placed upon the integrity of the community, and the

social support it affords group members enables them to ignore the paucity of physical amenities which the more affluent take for granted.

The value of these communities to the cities in which they are located has been largely overlooked. In the eyes of the city officials, planners, developers, and bankers, they are unsightly gray areas destined to be bulldozed or "overrun" by blacks and Puerto Ricans. In many cases, although the residents value their community highly, they lack the political influence and economic resources needed to save their neighborhoods and they are forced to move out. As a result, white working class neighborhoods in center-cities are disappearing.

The people who hold the fate of our urban centers in their hands are by training and inclination most concerned about physical and economic problems. Contrary to what they may claim in their speeches and writings, they have failed to appreciate fully the economic, much less the social, implications of a stable community and a communitywide approach to the restoration of our cities. In the technical criteria of redevelopment programs, they define a slum in terms of aged housing, mixed land uses, and high densities. But the primary characteristic of a slum is social disorganization and not low-rent (however unsightly to middle class observers).

Not only is there a need for re-examining assumptions about center-city neighborhoods in general, there is also a need to become aware of the ethnic diversity contained in these neighborhoods. In a research study of four Connecticut cities supported by the American Jewish Committee, Harold

Abramson found considerable ethnic variations in how groups viewed their neighborhoods. Italians and Poles, for instance, were much more likely than other groups to have close friends in their immediate neighborhoods, and most of these friends turned out to be relatives. Thus, says Abramson: *The neighborhood can be an extended family, and assumes a strength and character which, perhaps, many have tended to ignore.*

Abramson concludes: *If this pattern varies and is more important for some ethnic groups than for others, as indeed it is, it is crucial for urban planning and development. The problems of urban renewal seem all the more momentous since they frequently tend to ignore this very kind of consideration.*

### **Decline of White Ethnic Communities**

There is a consensus among urbanists that the rapid outmigration of whites from our older cities has reached crisis proportions. This exodus of taxpayers deepens the plight of revenue starved municipalities unprepared to cope with a black underclass desperately in need of welfare assistance, jobs, housing, better educational opportunities, and all the other amenities so scarce in nonwhite communities.

There is an even more disquieting, non-economic, ramification of this trend. Should the white exodus continue unabated, the alarming spectre of our northeastern and midwestern cities becoming urban reservations for nonwhites will become a reality. This prospect would produce even stronger attitudinal and behavioral road-

blocks to racial harmony. It would magnify the hostility between suburban whites and center-city blacks and Puerto Ricans, and thus preclude any metropolitan approach to the myriad problems that afflict urban America. It would militate against the formation of any national majority committed to restoring our urban centers. The cost of solving America's urban problems will become even more awesome if we ignore this crisis and fail to take measures to contain white outmigration. The efforts which have been undertaken to stem this tide unfortunately have failed. New strategies must be devised and implemented to stop this wholesale move to the suburbs.

The planners, the agency chiefs, the builders, and the bankers now tear down neighborhoods, spike the lower-income neighborhoods with throughways, and dictate the city's aesthetics. They cite social progress, the imperatives of enlarging the tax base, and rational living as excuses for the manipulation of the city dweller and his communities.

Because they lack the political clout and economic resources needed to preserve the integrity of their communities, working class residents are victimized by urban renewal, blacklisting, blockbusting, and other forces which push them out of the city. Discussion of a few of these forces provides an insight into the powerlessness lower-middle class urbanites feel so keenly.

### **Urban Renewal**

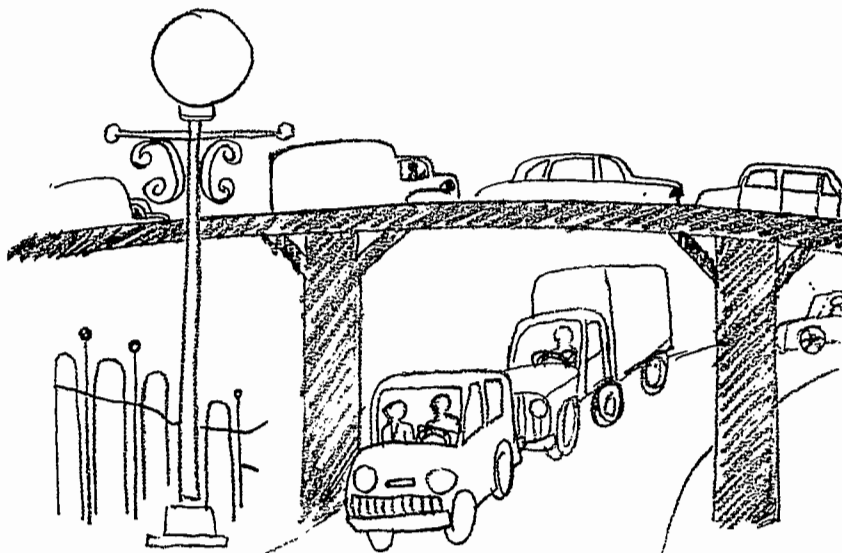
Working class neighborhoods are likely places to redevelop for public housing or to dissect with highways, because they are, according to the local redevelop-

ment agencies' criteria, marginal communities. Dwellings are often old, dilapidated on the outside, and, even if they do conform to housing codes, are located in high density areas where mixed land uses prevail. Authorities guided by orthodox planning principles are prone to designate these communities Urban Renewal areas; in many cases they actually believe they are doing the people a service.

Taking a different perspective, it is obvious that in the destruction of low-rent blue-collar housing, stable systems are being destroyed. Since the people who are being moved out of these communities receive only meager relocation assistance from the city, their social loss is exacerbated by economic loss when they cannot find comparable, inexpensive living space where they relocate. It is especially galling to them when they are removed to make way for upper-middle class highrise apartments and chic townhouse complexes. They do not accept the "practical" explanation that the city bulldozes their communities and not middle class neighborhoods because the land on which they live is less expensive.

### **Blacklisting**

Working class neighborhoods which escape city renewal programs are often victims of lending institutions' blacklists. Blacklisting is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Applying the orthodox criteria of planners—mixed land use, aging dwellings, and high density—banks, savings and loans corporations, and so forth often blacklist "marginal communities", with the result that homeowners cannot obtain the money they need for the upkeep of their homes. Landlords are reluc-



tant to refurbish their buildings when they fear the community is doomed to be cleared.

### **Blockbusting**

Real estate speculators are inclined to zero in on lower-middle class white communities for the purpose of blockbusting. Unlike the so-called "marginal" housing discussed above, white neighborhoods involved in blockbusting often have better quality housing. Blue-collar residents fear black penetration of their communities. Their anxiety is largely rooted in fact and fancy about the relationship between black neighbors and declining property values. Sometimes speculators set the community up for blockbusting by inducing one homeowner to sell at an attractive price and then citing the presence of a black family to his neighbors as evidence that a black invasion is imminent.

The essential elements in this piece are the fearfulness and insecurity of the white community. The tactic is less likely to work where the residents are middle class whites and active participants in community affairs and the local political system. The estrangement

from the local government by the lower-middle class whites, their inability to work effectively within the complex administrative system, and their meager economic resources all conspire to make them susceptible to blockbusting.

Urban renewal, blacklisting, and blockbusting are just a few of the forces "pushing" whites from the inner-city. Fear of crime, racial strife, exorbitant land costs, and high taxes, plus the decline of school systems, also contribute to the exodus.

At the same time there are forces "pulling" the whites to the suburbs. The FHA mortgage insurance program, the VA's mortgage guarantee program, and new highway systems have expedited the white outmigration. The availability of relatively inexpensive homes which can be purchased with small down payments (i.e., until recently) and long term mortgages and the popular belief that the suburbs are nice places to live have contributed to the decline of the white communities in the inner-city. These "pull" factors are, for the most part, incentives which the Federal Government has provided and which have



induced whites to move to the suburbs. The time has come to provide incentives to reverse this trend. It may be that the decline in housing construction and present high interest rates offer us the opportunity to "save" our communities which until recently were in the process of dissolving.

### ***Some Concluding Recommendations***

#### **A. New Attention**

Given their numbers and strategic locations, the white ethnics must play a larger role in any comprehensive strategy to restore our older industrial cities. Yet they, like working class whites throughout urban America, have been neglected. The "melting pot" myth, the misjudgment that they are entrenched in the middle class, and the more desperate plight of the nonwhite minorities all account for the relegation of working class whites to a low priority on our Nation's agenda for social change. Foundations, non-profit research organizations, and universities should devote some of their research resources to the collection of data which detail white ethnic patterns, precise numbers, composition, and socioeconomic scales in American cities.

Federal, State, and local governments must reconsider redevelopment programs to see where lower-middle class whites fit into the restoration of the cities. This is essential if inner-city white populations are to be stabilized and working class whites and blacks are to work together in effective coalitions for change.

#### **B. Urban Planning**

Although city planners have

begun to appreciate the systemic relationship among social, economic, and physical inputs into their designs, this new sensitivity is not reflected in the programs, both public and private, which are intended to restore our urban centers. Developers, economic analysts, and members of the lending institutions with an effective veto over the implementation of redevelopment schemes are even less sensitive to social inputs. Businessmen should recognize that the flight of the ethnics to the suburbs not only robs them of potential customers for their new downtown shopping plazas, but this exodus also produces a climate of fear that compromises the future of inner-city commerce. A fuller awareness of the unique value of stable lower-middle class communities will not materialize, however, until the Federal Government provides incentives and sanctions to compel profit oriented forces to see their value.

#### **C. Housing**

City officials facing the dismal prospect of a diminishing tax base believe that lower-middle class housing cannot produce the revenue so desperately needed by the municipalities. The Federal Government's "generous" funding of public housing for the poor reduces concern in that area. It is conceivable, however, that lower-middle class housing can be built to provide the city with sufficient tax revenues. To do so may entail reassessment of the kinds of housing that are feasible in blue-collar neighborhoods. For example, cooperatives, inexpensive townhouses, and multifamily housing might provide the density necessary to guarantee sufficient taxes

while making home ownership available to persons of moderate income.

#### **D. Political Participation**

Residents of America's inner-cities have lost confidence in the efficacy of local government. Unlike their more affluent neighbors, the working class does not possess sufficient organizational talent, political clout, or capital to come to grips with problems threatening the integrity of their communities. Local government and party organization have to be restructured to permit the lower-middle class to articulate its needs more effectively. Meaningful participation in the urban political system will not materialize for our non-affluent residents until they are able to impose sanctions upon the administrators and technocrats who are at present immune from political pressures.

#### **E. Community Organization**

The white ethnics of our cities must organize for group action. Their communities will be neglected by public and private agencies alike until they learn to speak for themselves. Until then, frustration and alienation will continue to grow in these communities and to foster interracial antagonism. Urban poverty, physical blight, and racial strife will persist until a multiclass, multiracial coalition can deliver the political clout to eradicate them. Because indigenous change-oriented community organizations and experienced leadership are lacking in many ethnic neighborhoods, foundations and service organizations can make a contribution by funding leadership training courses for potential ethnic leaders.

## F. Urban Renewal

In the heart of the metropolitan area, both the business community and upper-middle class residents have received Government assistance to construct business complexes and highrise apartments. Blacks have benefited from a number of Federal programs geared to improving their living conditions (though the results have fallen far short of meeting their needs).

Working class whites, however, have been ignored. Thus, since neither State nor private sector possesses the necessary resources, the Federal Government should meet their housing needs. A program specifically designed for blue-collar communities is essential to the stabilization of our inner-city white populations.

The trend toward racial imbalance in our older industrial centers, however, will not be halted or reversed until center-city blacks are given the option to locate in the suburbs. Until they can do this, the black population will continue, in its search for living space, to exert pressure on the remaining inner-city white communities. Here the State is the key unit of government action. Only the State can enact the necessary legislation governing land use, codes, and intergovernmental cooperation, which would overcome the restrictions most suburban communities have placed on high-density, low-cost housing development.

Finally, there is consensus among urbanists and the public at large that our cities are too dense and crowded; hence population decentralization is urgent. In the future the suburbs and "new towns" and not center-city must absorb the surplus population. This orthodox view of America's

land use deserves to be reassessed, for the suburbs in the industrial States are gobbling up land at an alarming rate. There is a direct correlation between the growth of the suburbs and the ecological crisis. Our public policy is encouraging private developers to make this smoggy nightmare come true.

New towns must be constructed to meet the needs of our growing population, but they are only a partial, expensive answer to the problem. Most of our cities are not too dense, despite the oft repeated assertion that they are. One need only compare them with denser urban centers in Western Europe—this is, cities which provide quality living for their inhabitants—to see the fallacy of this assertion.

There is much unused land and underused land in our cities, and costs for comparable water, transportation, and other public utilities are lower than they are in the suburbs. It will be more efficient to take care of the housing needs of a large segment of our population by raising the densities of center-cities; it can be done with the aid of such measures as have already been outlined. It is neither unfeasible nor unrealistic to support a strategy to maintain racial balance in America's cities by deferring white outmigration; it is simply prudent public policy.

RICHARD J. KRICKUS

*Dr. Krickus is a teacher, writer, and consultant in urban affairs. This article is based on a document of the same title written by Dr. Krickus for the American Jewish Committee as the first in a series of papers to be published on white ethnic groups in American cities.*

# Tribal sovereignty and the 1968 Indian Bill of Rights

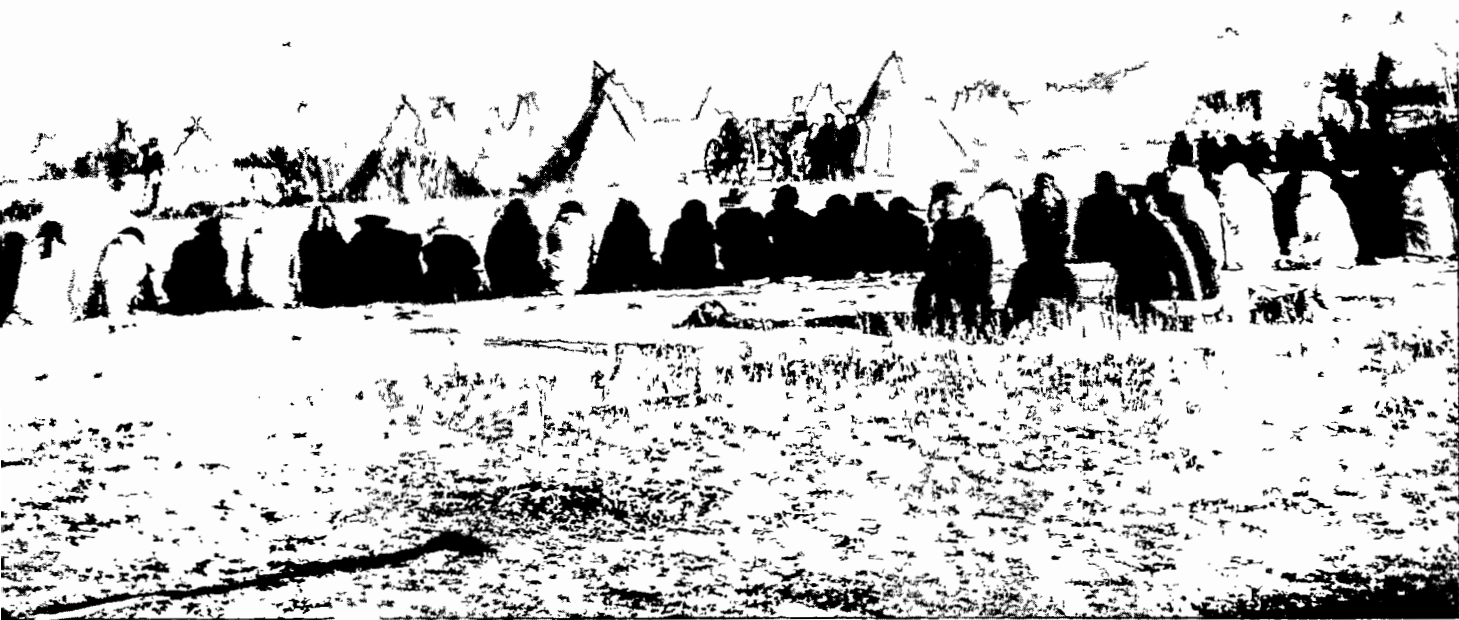
Federal constitutional protections of personal freedoms, commonly considered “fundamental, inherent rights, common to all men”, have long been denied to Indians in the tribal setting. This anomaly has been the subject of somewhat confused Congressional response causing heated debate and deep divisions within Indian communities. President Nixon stated in his recent address on Indian Affairs, that “the first and most basic question that must be answered with respect to Indian policy concerns the historic and legal relationship between the Federal Government and Indian communities”. He also accurately warned, however, that “both as a matter of justice and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what Indians themselves have long been telling us.” The story of recent Congressional attempts to alter the relationship between Indians and the Federal Bill of Rights underscores the difficulty of this undertaking.

## Tribal Sovereignty and Personal Freedoms

An important feature of the legal status of American Indians is tribal sovereignty, the conception of tribes as independent, autonomous governments. Tribal sovereignty was early acknowledged in the landmark case *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), wherein Justice John Marshall described Indian tribes as “distinct, independent, political communities” with the rights of self-government. The United States Commission on Civil Rights 1961 report, *Justice*, pointed out that the sovereign nature of Indian tribes “has been confirmed and reconfirmed in numerous cases; some of recent vintage. While the Indian’s right to self-government is firmly rooted in treaties and judicial decisions, the right itself has been held inherent; that is, it preceded and was not created by the Federal Government.”

One controversial attribute of tribal sovereignty has been the denial of Federal constitutional protections to Indians in their relations with tribal governments. “Many important prohibitions, including the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, are limitations only on the power of the Federal Government. Other prohibitions limit the activities of state governments only, or of the Federal and state government, and hence are inapplicable to Indian tribes, which are not creatures of either the Federal or state governments.” This doctrine of constitutional immunity was originally established in the case *Talton v. Mayes* (1895) involving a contention that a tribal jury of five persons was insufficient to constitute a grand jury under the fifth





amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Supreme Court ruled that although Congress possessed the power to regulate the exercise of tribal self-government it had not done so with regard to criminal due process protections and that “. . . as the powers of local self-government enjoyed by the Cherokee nation existed prior to the Constitution, they are not operated upon by the Fifth Amendment, which . . . had for its sole object the control of powers conferred by the Constitution on the National Government.”

The limited number of cases involving the alleged denial of constitutional rights in tribal courts heard by the Federal courts since *Talton* has continued, but for two exceptions, to apply the doctrine of constitutional immunity despite the fact that in the interim [1924]

all Indians became American citizens. This precedent was recently followed, for example, when an Indian unsuccessfully attempted to challenge his tribal conviction to Federal court on the ground that he had right to counsel. . . . “the provisions of the Federal Constitution guaranteeing due process and the right to counsel do not apply in prosecutions in tribal courts”.

Immunity from constitutional restrictions has been applied to various facets of tribal activity but perhaps none so important to the life of the tribe, as well as the personal freedom of the individual, as those involving the relationship between tribal government and religious freedom. In one such case members of the Native American Church challenged a Navajo tribal ordinance



prohibiting the use of peyote, an intoxicating cactus derivative used by the church members for sacramental purposes. Relief was denied because "no provision in the Constitution makes the first amendment applicable to Indian nations nor is there any law of Congress doing so". More serious religious infringements were considered in *Toledo v. Pueblo de Jemez* (1954), an attempt by tribal members to protect their religious activity under the civil rights acts. The plaintiffs, members of various Protestant denominations, complained that the governing body of the Pueblo had denied them various tribal services, had prohibited them from building a church on communal land, and had subjected them to assorted threats and reprisals because of their religious beliefs. The court invoked the immunity

doctrine even though it acknowledged that the alleged acts constituted "serious invasions of religious liberty."

Unfortunately a reading of these cases has led some observers to incorrectly conclude that tribal governing bodies lack all regard for personal liberties. In fact, given the enormous traditional value placed on tribal and group interests, as opposed to individual interests, as well as the serious lack of training and adequate funds, tribes have, by and large, established an impressive level of fairness. Helen Peterson, past Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, described, in the following manner, her visit to a Sioux tribal court where she listened to the tribal judge

*in both English and the Dakota language, carefully read the tribal code and carefully inform the defendant of what his rights were, and then, more importantly, look into the whole family situation so that there was real justice and real opportunity for the people who came to his court to have the best opportunity to restore their dignity and for these people to fit into the society. . . .*

"There is a lot of evidence", she concluded, "that those Indian systems have a great deal more justice in them, and that they work a great deal better than the white man's courts in those towns bordering the reservations where prejudice and discrimination are as acute and shameful as we find against any people in any part of the country."

Many of the approximately 250 formally organized tribes have constitutions with bill of rights provisions (sometimes containing protections not yet available in many State courts) patterned after the Federal model. The Mescalero Apache Constitution, for example, states that members.

*. . . shall have equal political rights and equal opportunities to participate in the economic resources and tribal assets, and no member shall be denied freedom of conscience, speech, religion, association or assembly, nor shall be denied the right to petition the tribal council for redress of grievances against the tribe.*

The Bureau of Indian Affairs and private organizations like the National Indian Court Judges Association have been instrumental in helping tribes bring their administration of justice up to date with modern methods and procedures.

Of course violations of personal freedoms occur under all governments and are not limited to the tribal setting. But when they occur through State or Federal

activity there normally are channels available through which a challenge will receive independent consideration. Tribal decisions, on the other hand, are not appealable to State or Federal courts and the rights of tribal Indians must be enforced in tribal courts if at all. Tribal appellate procedures are often nonexistent or inadequate. Commonly the trial judge sits to rehear the case on appeal. In some instances the appellate court is composed of tribal council members—the very persons whose actions are being challenged.

### **Congressional Response—the 1968 Indian Bill of Rights**

Beginning in 1961, the relationship of Indians with tribal governments became the focus of Congressional inquiry. The Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee held extensive hearings on proposed legislation to remedy the situation. An early proposal provided for a blanket extension of the entire Federal Bill of Rights to the tribal setting:

*. . . any Indian tribe in exercising its powers of local self-government shall be subject to the same limitations and restraints as those which are imposed on the Government of the United States by the United States Constitution.*

This proposal met serious objections from witnesses who viewed it as a threat to traditional Indian culture and who questioned the desirability of imposing on tribal governments alien legal forms and procedures. A witness for the Department of Interior voiced this objection in the following manner:

*The Constitution of the United States was adopted by a people whose philosophical and political roots were deeply embedded in the history of England of Western Europe. Many of the restraints and limitations on the United States contained in the U.S. Constitution were an outgrowth of the history. On the other hand, the people of the Indian tribes have their roots in an entirely different culture and it may be that the devices which appropriately protected the interests of the Anglo-American of the late 18th century may not be appropriate to protect the Indian tribal member of the middle 20th century.*

Certain aspects of tribal self-government would have been particularly vulnerable to the above proposal. The governments of the more traditional Pueblos are theocracies in which religious leaders play a leading role by selecting the governing officials and imposing cer-

tain sanctions. In some cases tribal members are required to participate in religious customs. These governments would never pass the test of the separation of church and state decreed by the first amendment. An equally serious threat was posed by the 15th amendment which prohibits the denial of the right to vote on the basis of race. It was feared that this would thwart the tribe's legitimate interest in restricting voting to tribal membership—defined, at least in part, by criteria of blood quantum.

On the basis of these and similar objectives, the subcommittee eventually adopted an alternative version enumerating particular protections for tribal Indians which became Title II of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Commonly known as the Indian Bill of Rights, it prohibits tribal governments from abridging the freedoms of religion, speech, press, or assembly; conducting unreasonable searches and seizures; subjecting criminal defendants to double jeopardy or self-incrimination; taking private property without just compensation; denying a criminal defendant the right to a speedy and public trial, or the right to counsel; requiring excessive bail or fines or imposing cruel and unusual punishment (maximum punishment in an Indian court for any offense is limited to \$500 fine and 6 months imprisonment); denying equal protection of the law or due process of law; passing bills of attainder or *ex post facto* laws; denying the right of a jury trial of not less than six persons.

The act is patterned closely after the Bill of Rights but differs from its Federal counterpart in certain fundamental respects. Although it ostensibly protects religious freedom, it does not prohibit the establishment of religion. As noted above, this omission was necessary to prevent the total disruption of some of the more traditional Pueblo tribal structures. A vigorous enforcement of even the limited version will have harmful results, however, because it is questionable whether complete individual religious freedom is compatible with a deeply religious political system.

Another important area in which the Federal model has been altered is the right of counsel. This is guaranteed by the act only at the defendant's own expense in contrast with recent developments in some jurisdictions which have expanded the right to counsel under the Federal Constitution to entail the right of an indigent misdemeanor defendant to have counsel provided at the Government's expense. The cost of providing legal representation would be an impossible burden for many tribes to meet. There is considerable doubt whether guaranteeing the right to professional legal

representation, even at the defendant's own expense, is necessary or desirable. The common practice of allowing defendants to be counseled and represented by tribal members familiar with tribal law and custom is for the most part preferable to imposing on trial courts professional attorneys unfamiliar with tribal procedure and unable to speak the language. There is a widespread fear that such an innovation may "seriously complicate the usually informal Indian proceedings and in the long run harm rather than help the cause of law and order in many Indian communities".

The impact of the act—whether it will have destructive or desirable results—will depend on the willingness of the courts to apply it with due regard to Indian culture, history, and values rather than considering themselves bound by Anglo-American interpretations of its language. Due process of law and equal protection of the law are vague concepts which will easily lend themselves to innovative and sensitive application if the courts are so inclined. Reluctance in this respect would be disastrous for many tribes. For example, 15 of the Southwest Pueblos lack any written codes or constitutions. This would cause serious problems if the due process clause is applied, as it is in the Anglo-American legal system, to require that criminal conduct be proscribed in language that "conveys sufficiently definite warnings as to the proscribed conduct when measured by common understanding and practice". Will the Federal courts in construing the clause be mindful of the fact that in the small (some Pueblos have populations of only a few hundred), informal, close knit Pueblo societies there may be adequate common understanding about standards of conduct without the need for codification. Even in those cases where Pueblos have adopted written constitutions and codes there remain sacred aspects about the tribe's religious life where unwritten laws are administered by the Pueblos officers, religious leaders, and elders. These traditional areas are crucial to Indian society and their disruption would unnecessarily jeopardize the life of the tribe itself.

Similarly, serious difficulties would be created by an indelicate enforcement of the act's equal protection clause. Major tribal decisions are commonly made on the basis of percentage of Indian ancestry and entitlement to various tribal services, tribal voting rights (as noted above), and the right to inherit tribal property are also tied to a racial standard. It has rightfully been stated that "a complete prohibition of racial distinctions in defining those eligible for various participating

roles in the tribe would destroy the tribe as it has been known". It is important that in enforcing this section of the act the courts acknowledge the legitimacy of tribal self-preservation by upholding racial classifications reasonably geared toward this end. On the other hand, in some instances racial standards are used within the tribal unit in a manner less crucial to the preservation of the tribe's ethnic identity. Some tribes, for example, require a higher degree of Indian ancestry for entitlement to certain tribal benefits (e.g., communal grazing rights) than is required for tribal membership. These kinds of distinctions, if the equal protection clause is to have any meaning at all, would appear to be prohibited by the act. As one commentator has stated, nonIndians have no right to share in the tribal community and the tribe should be free to apply its own cultural [and racial] standards to determine tribal membership, "but once the individual has been defined as being within the cultural group, or has been allowed to develop a substantial stake in it—especially insofar as he is ethnically related to the tribe—his official status ought not to be affected by blood distinctions".

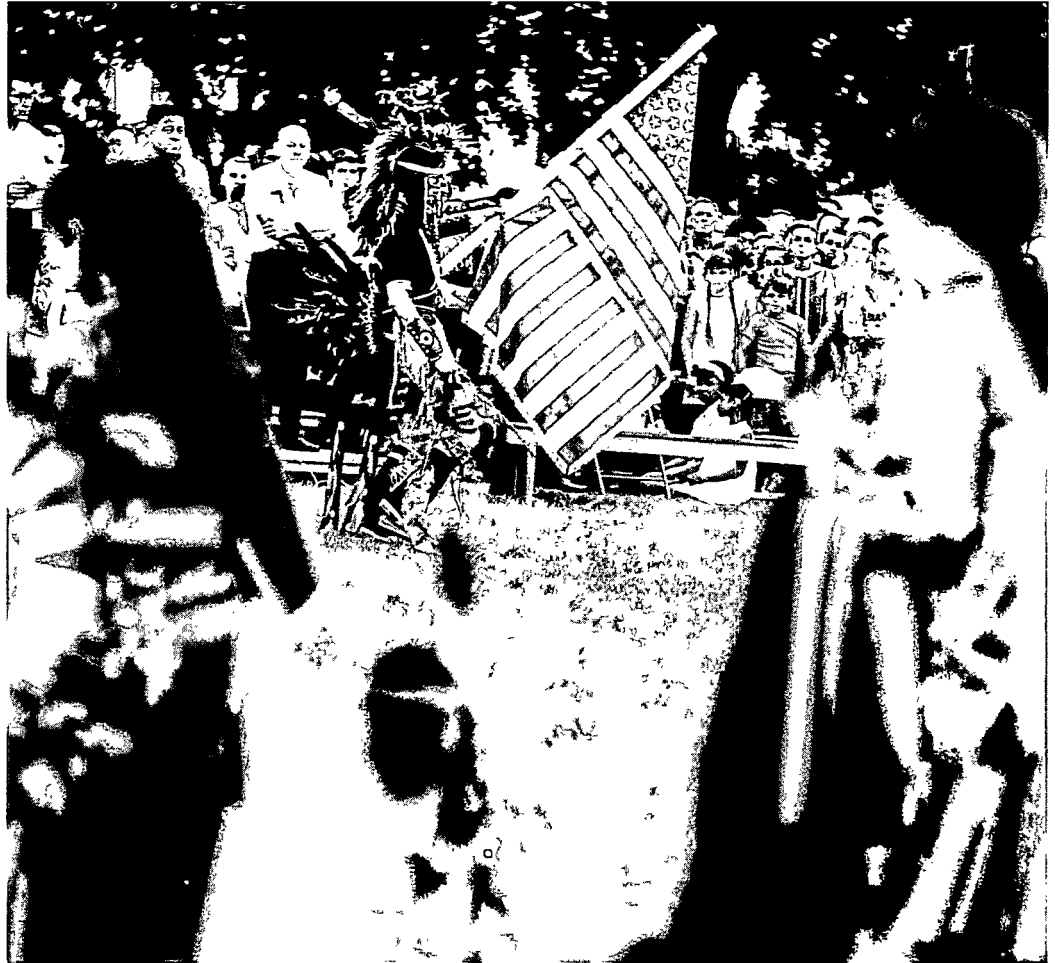
### Indian Reaction to the Act

Last December staff members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights met with Indians from various parts of the country to discuss, among other things, the 1968 act. The discussion on this topic revealed a deep division of views. Robert Burnette, a Rosebud Sioux long active in civil rights work, voiced strong support for it. He stated that tribal constitutions are basically unconstitutional and that they often prohibit religious freedom and due process of law:

*No tribe in this country has a separation of administrative powers and executive powers from the legislative powers. So we have a conglomeration of a political head there that has been in strict control of everything that is there. Often when tribal courts have a tough decision the judges, who are unqualified for the job in the first place, run to the tribal chairman to seek his advice.*

Mr. Burnette concluded that there is a strong need for the 1968 act as well as a uniform code of Indian offenses called for by the act.

Miss Leslie Chapman, a Laguna Pueblo law student at the University of New Mexico, took strong exception to Burnette's comments. She argued that to say Indians do not get due process or that tribal judges are unequal



ified improperly applies the white man's definition of these terms. She said:

*With the Pueblo courts one of the most important things is to recognize the different cultures from tribe to tribe and the needs of the people. They don't like outsiders saying that 'your judge does not meet qualifications and your courts cannot give due process' when in our notion our system of due process is meaningful in the way we live. We don't think law degrees are necessary as qualifications for our tribal judges.*

The 1968 act, she stated, lumps all Indians together without consideration for their diversity and

*even within the Anglo system you can see the Constitution and due process do not necessarily yield justice. If you are concerned with how people feel and what is the effective way, what is functional in terms of the people in the reservation, the recognition of the differences is going to have to be made.*

In response to mounting concern about the act's potential effect, particularly for Pueblo societies, the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee held hearings in April 1969 to afford Pueblo leaders an opportunity to voice

their apprehensions. Domingo Montoya, Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council, an association of the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico, requested a complete exemption for his people from the Indian Bill of Rights:

*The Pueblo governments you would see have a long and distinguished history. We are virtually the only American Indians who have managed to retain our social and political systems intact from prehistoric times. The strength and stability of our governments have long been recognized. . . . Our deep concern over the Indian Bill of Rights stems from our fear that it will destroy the traditions—and in doing so greatly weaken our governments. Title II will require radical changes in our political systems; changes, which if forced upon us, will lead to misunderstandings and confusion among our people.*

An important burden, he pointed out, would be the financial obligation it would impose on the tribes. If the decisions of tribal courts were to be reviewed by the Federal courts, they would have to be recorded and translated into English. The requirement of jury trials would entail the compensation of jurors. Where challenges were heard in Federal court, tribes would have



to hire legal counsel to represent their cases.

But most fundamental would be the radical changes required in the Pueblo political systems:

*Our societies are quite unique among American communities. A Pueblo is actually more like a large family than a normal American town. The decisions that you would call political are made by general agreement, in which all members of the community participate. Perhaps the town meeting originated with the Pueblos. The key to understanding our societies lies in recognizing that our social, political, and religious lives are much more closely related than those of our neighbors. . . . In addition to the ties between our religions and our governments, we differ from our neighbors in according a very important role to the elders of our community. We feel that the experience of the elders entitles them to a position of influence and respect, and they are both the social and religious leaders of our communities. These men make formal bond between religion and government, by appointing each year the Governor and members of his council. This is in keeping with a tradition established centuries ago, and appointment to these positions is considered a very high honor.*

These practices, Montoya feared, would never survive the constitutional tests of "equal protection", "one man, one vote", and "separation of powers". And, above all, he viewed the act as a negation of the Indian right to self-government: "Imposed from the outside, these changes will deprive our citizens of the two most fundamental of all civil rights; the right to order within their communities and the right to self-determination."

Not all the witnesses supported Pueblo exemption from the act. Some felt an acute need for the legislation: "We want the civil rights bill and we want to curb some of this power that is just getting entirely out of hand". Discrimination against women (in some Pueblos voting is restricted to males), unequal access to tribal services, lack of due process in the administration of justice, and secrecy of tribal operations, were some of the complaints asserted in justification for retention of the act. "We are tired of being the first Americans with second-class citizenship."

But the weight of the testimony was bitterly opposed to the 1968 legislation and resulted in the subcommittee's recommendation of an amendment to the act.

Having passed the Senate and now pending before the Indian Affairs Subcommittee to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the proposed amendment fails to exempt Pueblos from Title II's coverage and falls far short of meeting their objections. It states that Title II of the 1968 act shall not be construed to abridge Indian powers of self-government or invalidate any tribal law or custom "except to the extent specified in the prohibitions" contained in Title II. This, in effect, says that the 1968 act does not dilute tribal sovereignty except to the extent that it dilutes tribal sovereignty. By doing so it offers little basis for optimism by the act's critics.

There is one aspect in which the proposed amendment may have far reaching effect. It provides that Title II shall not be construed to "affect any tribal law or custom of any tribe regulating the selection of officers, bodies or tribunals by or through which the powers of self-government of the tribe are executed". If this language is read to exclude the entire area of voting rights from the act's coverage, which appears to be its intent, it goes too far. Not only does it protect traditional, nondemocratic tribal systems, as it well should, but it also withdraws remedies for the denial of voting rights by those tribal governments operating under ostensibly modern, democratic systems.

In the final analysis the enormous responsibility to be exercised by the courts in their enforcement of Title II of the 1968 act would remain unaltered by passage of the proposed amendment. The legislative history of both the act and the amendment indicates a clear Congressional desire to preserve tribal culture as well as guarantee individual rights. The courts will still be required to apply to tribal governments concepts which have taken on definite meanings in the context of Anglo-American jurisprudence. In doing so they will be expected to reject the well settled definitions of such concepts as due process and equal protection and to "evolve a set of standards of fairness in the tribal context—standards that would accommodate Anglo-American ideas on the one hand with tribal Indian's values on the other". In exercising this sensitive task the life of the tribe as a distinct cultural entity will often lie in the balance.

MICHAEL SMITH

Mr. Smith is a staff attorney for the U.S Commission on Civil Rights.



# CRISIS

Traumatic social explosions, while disruptive to previously apparently well functioning human inter-relationships, often have the beneficial side effect of uncovering certain well concealed truths that, because of their corrosive nature, are to some degree responsible for the explosions themselves. Until the bitterness, frustration, and rage felt by black people toward a society that was generally hostile to them boiled over into riots and other manifestations of serious discontent, the general approach of communicators had been to treat this part of the population with little concern and minimal attention.

Conditions within the black

# IN COMMUNICATION

ways keep them playing an inferior role. So pervasive was this attitude that blacks had happily adjusted to their place, as that place was defined by the majority society, that even today, some whites have not recovered from the shock of the discovery and still refuse to believe that the unhappiness being expressed by blacks represents anything more than the promptings of a few militants and outsiders.

The truth is more that the alienation goes extremely deep and is the result—now out in the open—of years of pent-up lip biting and turning the other cheek that masked what blacks really felt. Communications, once taken for granted, have been destroyed and those who would communicate with blacks are finding their tasks increasingly difficult. One has to accept the inevitable, however, and there is little to gain in lamenting the fact that this breach has occurred, and more to be gained in attempting to discover what went wrong and what can be done to reestablish more durable and effective systems of communication.

A starting point is the facing up to a very basic question—whether communication with the inner-city, or more specifically black people, is worth the effort? The answer I believe lies in certain inescapable facts that transcend any personal

attitude either pro or anti-civil rights. Blacks in America number more than 21 million. They do not exist in total isolation. Of the aggregate population of 78 leading cities, 25 percent is black. To ignore them is to say that 11 percent of this Nation is to be left to itself. We have seen within the past 5 years what can happen when there is a communications gap. Therefore, it is almost inconceivable that reasonable men will not make the effort to close the gap.

Communications failed in the inner-city because they were constructed on a faulty premise composed in almost equal parts of a persistent, plantation mentality and the heritage of Booker T. Washington, the first white elected spokesman for black people.

The proper running of a plantation required that black people had to be treated as children, ready to respond immediately to the voice of authority, but with nothing of their own to contribute to the process of communication. There could be little or no margin for independent action on the part of the receiver of the message, for if this were tolerated the entire system was placed in danger. Old patterns die hard and the plantation method of handling communications has lingered on.

Black people are sent a message and expected to respond. If they do not, then it is not the fault of the sender, but the fault of the receiver who either through ignorance, apathy, or plain stupidity lacks the capacity to respond as he should. The comforting thing about this is that when the communicator fails, he does not have to examine his own techniques to search out the reason for failure,

community were seen as being in a state of peaceful accommodation with the restrictive system devised by whites to maintain American society as both separate and unequal. As long as the system functioned in a relatively quiet manner and in the best interests of whites, there was no clearly felt need for an examination of the deceptively fragile lines of communications that supposedly served as a bridge between two clearly separate communities.

That the bridge was paved with rotten planks became evident when the curtain of delusion was ripped aside and whites saw for the first time that their contented Negroes were not content at all, that they were not, when the opportunity presented itself, willing to live under conditions that would al-





but can assign the responsibility to some deficiency on the part of his audience.

The use of this technique effectively shuts the communicator off from his audience since rapport is totally impossible as neither party to the attempted exchange of ideas understands the other. Two attitudes are also involved here. One, a feeling of superiority on the part of the communicator and, two, resentment on the part of the receiver who senses a tinge of contempt in the process.

The second approach, that of using white elected black leaders as lines of communication, does at least have the advantage of providing for some degree of two-way communication. It operates on the theory that the best way to communicate with a group of blacks is to communicate with one who is acceptable to whites. The flaw in this is that it fosters a sense of black people as a monolithic grouping and leaves no room for a variety of opinions, attitudes, and goals. Quite often the people the white community selected as lines of communication have been the wrong people.

Those that were selected made whites feel comfortable. Thus a Booker T. Washington, who promised not to ask for social and political rights in return for the right to earn a living, was covered with adulation, while his contemporary, W.E.B. DuBois, whose grasp of the real needs of black people was much more perceptive than that of the Great Compromiser, was virtually ignored by whites.

This type of communication often involved an element of play acting for the black leaders. In order to keep the lines of communication open, they frequently told whites what they thought whites

wanted to hear. In the meantime, real attitudes in the black community went unnoticed by whites, and when they did surface whites were surprised at how badly they had been misled.

We are now reaping the bitter fruit of our failure; we are in a crisis of communication. The events of our time have made the old rules null and void. Those who wish to communicate with the black man are going to have to do it on his terms.

Any objective analysis of the status of communications between whites and blacks must conclude that they have never been worse and this encompasses both Government and the private sector. Mistrust and suspicion are in evidence everywhere. Attitudes are hardening and daily the situation deteriorates even further. The young are not communicating with their elders, the poor are not communicating with the affluent, and blacks are not communicating with whites.

Blacks themselves are not in agreement on whether or not it is important or even desirable to communicate with whites. Some have written off whites as immaterial to their own development, while others search frantically for ways out of this communication crisis.

Such a picture is bleak indeed, but not so bleak as to be totally hopeless. Communications can be established with the inner-city, but only on the basis of respect for the people who make up its population, and only if those people can be persuaded to listen. Old ideas are going to have to be abandoned; new techniques are going to have to be tried. Only then can the laborious process of building communication bridges begin in

earnest.

Understanding the inner-city is paramount to communicating with it, and yet not many whites know what the inner-city is really all about. To begin with, the inner-city is not one public, but a number of publics. The educated and the uneducated; the severely alienated and the complacent; the militants and the moderates; those with goals and those without; the hustler and the mechanic, all with their own set of interests and priorities, linked together, if at all, by the commonality of race. A simplistic and misleading viewing of the inner-city sees it as one great big ghetto where every individual is a carbon copy of another and people are to be dealt with en masse and not as individuals. The diversity to be found within the inner-city must be recognized by communicators who cannot rely on one approach for total coverage.

The inner-city is also a community in the process of radical change reflected in cries of black power, community self-determination, and the necessity for one to have his own identity. These moods are rarely understood by whites who regard them as a threat to themselves, without seeing what they really are—signs of a coming of age.

They are, to some degree, signs of rejection of white standards, and this, too, is disturbing to whites who have believed all along that their standards were best. Blacks are increasingly not seeing it this way. They believe that to exist as individuals with dignity, it is not necessary that they be carbon copies of whites. They have found a sense of satisfaction in exerting their own independence, and, having found this, they are

not about to sacrifice it for the privilege of playing roles that make the majority community happy. The attitude is not so much anti-white, as it is anti-white standards. This seems a rather logical development given the facts of how badly white-dominated institutions have served black people.

Communicators must accept this growing sense of black awareness as a legitimate expression of individuality that must be treated as such and not as an evil aberration that erects an impenetrable bar to communication. If Malcolm X is more of a hero to young blacks than George Washington, this is one of the immutable facts of life. If Afro hair styles are preferred over crew-cuts, the offended glances of outsiders are not going to send their wearers to a barber-shop. There are reasons for these things, legitimate reasons, and communicators would be well advised to find out what these reasons are instead of passing judgment.

Acceptance of the way things are is all important. To reject them because they collide with your own ideas, to turn off at the appearance of concepts that are foreign to your experiences means you cannot communicate. Your ideas, your cherished beliefs may be all right for you, but all wrong for someone else. You are not being asked to approve of what others do or think, but, at the very least, you have to respect their right to hold different sets of values and ideas.

Perceptions are different within the inner-city. What is seen as the truth in the world outside is often viewed as false within. To a suburbanite a policeman is a protector of property and life. In the inner-city he is more often seen

as a member of an army of occupation whose primary duty is not to protect the natives, but to keep them under control.

White housewives, the children of the middle class, members of the intellectual elite, and conservationists find themselves in partnership against the pollution of our air, water, and land. But inside the inner-city, pollution ranks in importance with the space program, which ranks not at all. Inner-city people have lived with one form of pollution or another all their lives, and they can see no benefits accruing to them from placing men on the moon, so they are supremely not concerned.

Just how differently whites and blacks can view the same things was illustrated recently in a Louis Harris poll appearing in the *Washington Post* which reported that 35 percent of blacks feel that the Black Panthers are being systematically eradicated by the police, while only 7 percent of whites feel this way. Eighty-one percent of whites feel that the shootings of the Panthers have been due to Panther violence while only 30 percent of the blacks reflect this view.

This is another factor communicators have to be aware of. Truth is seen in different ways through different eyes, but in dealing with people you have to at least make the attempt to see through their eyes if you plan to get through to them.

One must be prepared for a high degree of cynicism on the part of the inner-city for any message that comes from the outside world, especially from Government. What Government has to say is often not believed, no matter how well it is said nor how sincerely. Experience has taught

black people not to put their trust in whites—the merchant, the landlord, the boss—and Government, unfortunately, is in many instances seen as the servant of interests hostile to blacks.

What I have just listed—the inner-city as a series of publics, the growth of black awareness, the difference in perceptions, and the cynicism with which the outside world is greeted—are all key factors in the makeup of the psychology of the inner-city. Without understanding them and the why of them, communication is almost impossible on any level.

Their understanding requires, however, a high degree of sensitivity which has not been displayed to any discernible degree by the majority of communicators in the public and private sector. Their public has been the middle class white American with whom they could communicate most easily, to the almost total exclusion of groups not so readily reached.

One of the few Government agencies to admit its lack of knowledge about the community, and then to set out to do something about it, is the Bureau of the Census. When it discovered that there was a serious undercount of blacks, especially young blacks within the inner-city in the 1960 census, it sought ways to insure that the same thing would not happen in 1970. It did not go to whites and ask them what they would do, but instead sought the advice of blacks. A basic message was devised stating that it was important, as a matter of self-interest, that blacks cooperate with the census. The message received wide circulation within the black community. This frank appeal to blacks' self-interest will probably offend some purists, who will re-

gard it as something that simply is not done, but the bald facts of the matter are that other approaches—which were white oriented—proved ineffective, and something new was tried which involved a sophisticated sensitivity toward the inner-city.

Whether these efforts overcome the reluctance of some blacks to tell the Government anything—not even when confidentiality is promised—must await further judgment. But at least, Census has had the courage to try new methods of reaching the previously unreached.

Other agencies might do well to examine their own information programs to determine if they are actually reaching the inner-city, or whether someone is engaging in a futile exercise in self-delusion. An initial step in the right direction is the employment, or at least the retention, as consultants, of people who know something about the audience—and so that there will be no misunderstanding, let me make it clear that I am talking about blacks. I am not saying that only blacks are capable of communicating with blacks, but I am saying that before any meaningful program can be constructed you first have to go to the audience you are trying to reach to determine if your past efforts have been successful, and if not, why not, and where do you go from here. Just as one would hardly rely on a Frenchman unfamiliar with the ways of Appalachia, it makes little sense to send the inner-city naive into that area to learn anything.

The act of employing a black is not, in and of itself, going to solve the communications problem. A factor that will figure prominently is how the black is to be utilized. If he is to serve as win-

dow dressing to be put on display when a black delegation shows up with a complaint, then forget it. Unless his advice is listened to and implemented, unless he becomes an integral part of the overall planning process, nothing has been solved. While his field of specialization may be with the inner-city, his knowledge and skills should be used in across-the-board programs, or else there will have been created the one object that can destroy credibility more quickly than anything else—a modern day Uncle Tom.

In the totality of it all, a communication program to reach black persons has to be a special thing. It has to be sensitized, it has to be executed by people who know what they are doing, it has to utilize the existing and respected structures, and, above all, it has to be relevant to people. You can't show a teenage boy from the ghetto a picture of a rosy cheeked white family sunning on the Riviera and tell him that if he will get a job, he can be that man in the picture. You can, however, tell him that there's a job waiting for him if he enrolls in a training program, and while he may never get to Paris, Atlantic City is at least possible.

With suspicion of "them"—and "them" is always the person who is different—growing at an alarming rate, a start has to be made on building sturdy communications bridges between societies that have drifted apart. Too much, much too much, has occurred within the past few years to pretend that the task is an easy one, but on its successful accomplishment may well depend the shape of tomorrow in this country.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS

**man in  
the middle:  
the  
black  
policeman**







*Once there was an arrest warrant for a guy. We didn't know anything about him, had no picture on him, or anything like this but we knew that the area it pertained to was black. So in the office we seemed to know that no whites would go into certain areas. They just don't want to go up there; sometimes they're afraid, sometimes rightfully so. We got the arrest warrant and went up there. It was an old guy about 70 years old but his age was not on the warrant, so actually we didn't know whether this was the right guy or not.*

*. . . There was a couple of other people in there so we talked to them but there was some animosity about taking him out of there . . . so we called for assistance. They were white and the atmosphere sort of changed because we were trying to do this as nice as we possibly could. . . . We tried to show them this had to be done. Well they, the white policemen, came with the attitude well, you know you are going any way if we have to take you feet first. I told them they weren't here for that but to back me up. Then there was animosity between us.*

A black policeman in an Eastern city recently recalled the foregoing incident during an interview, which he cited as indicative of the conflicting positions that often face today's black man in blue. The intensity of the civil rights movement, the growing sense of "black identity" with its concomitant demand for commitment on the part of blacks to the welfare of other blacks, the rise of militancy on the part of young blacks, have all combined to pose a dilemma for the black policeman as he seeks to determine his role in the black community. Where does his primary loyalty lie? Is it with the police force, which is often regarded by blacks as a force of oppression? Is it with the people of whom he is a part, though they may regard him a tool of "the system"? Or is there some middle ground on which he

can stand while performing his duties and maintaining his self-respect?

As difficult as these questions are, they are being asked more and more and they raise issues that show no signs of being resolved in the foreseeable future.

In this context, there are certain basic facts that provide a background for understanding why many black policemen are questioning their roles.

As members of an organization which has been traditionally considered a symbol of force and authority, policemen are either hated, mistrusted, feared, or revered—depending upon the viewer. The white middle and upper classes (and certain of the emerging black middle class as well) see the policeman as a “paid public servant”, protector of their lives, places of employment, and homes which are usually in the suburbs. Moreover, crimes committed in the suburbs and high-income areas are likely to be against property rather than persons, therefore, the encounters of these residents with the police are infrequent, impersonal, and probably have favorable results. On the other hand, most crimes committed in low-income areas—inner-city and so-called ghetto—are more likely to involve blacks, be on a personal basis, sometimes violent, and often result in an unpleasant confrontation between policemen and members of the community. In addition, many blacks claim that law enforcement agents treat them unfairly when it comes to making arrests and dealing out justice.

It has been charged that black persons continually bear the brunt of police brutality and that these actions are based on racial prejudice rather than the circumstances involved. Recent civil disorders throughout the country have brought even louder cries of police brutality, for members of the black community feel that many of these incidents are the direct result of police actions. They reason that many confrontations could have been avoided, or at least order could have been restored, if the policemen involved had acted reasonably and equitably. Incidents and complaints of this type were heard by the Kerner Commission and documented in its report on civil disorders.

Unfortunately, there does not seem to be adequate recourse for relief. Complaints of police brutality by private citizens, particularly blacks, are usually not taken seriously or are simply ignored. The strong opposition to the establishment of civilian review boards on the part of police departments clearly indicates the resentment they feel toward “civilian interference”. This of course instills a sense of helplessness against the man-

ner in which policemen exercise their authority and only enhances the belief among blacks that police dominance is just another form of white control.

Given these circumstances, the general attitude of the black community toward policemen is one of caution and mistrust. The policeman is often looked upon as an enemy, an oppressor, and if he is a “paid public servant”, he is a servant of the white community, representative of white efforts to suppress all black people.

Even with this generally unfavorable attitude, blacks are joining police organizations in ever increasing numbers, while black communities are asking for more representation on these forces in terms of both number and positions of authority. What might seem a paradox—criticism of an institution on the one hand and the demand for participation in that same institution on the other was explained by Gunnar Myrdal in his “American Dilemma” in 1944:

*. . . the main reasons why Negroes want to have Negro officers appointed to police departments are to have a more understanding, less brutal police supervision in the Negro community and to have an effective supervision of Negro offenders against Negroes.*

This is no less applicable 26 years later. Black policemen are being asked for in black areas because of the belief that they, better than white officers, can relate more meaningfully to their own people since they themselves are products of black life in America. Black policemen themselves have expressed the feeling that they can perceive and understand the psychology of the black community better so that they can judge situations and determine the best course of action to follow on a rational basis rather than one rooted in fear and unrealistic thoughts about the way black persons are “supposed to act”. Several policemen in interviews put their sense of empathy in these words: “A black man can work in a black community but the thing that we have over the white policeman is that we can walk in the black community and arrest and be just as nice and most of the people won’t feel badly toward us. They will say you are doing your job. We can do this and the white man can’t.

“See, we’ve got our own language. This is nothing new. A white man can’t even understand a black man when they talk; he doesn’t even know what you’re talking about. . . . We have an advantage as a black policeman because we have to deal with these people, we deal with ourselves. We have a built in psychology; we have it built in.” One black policeman put into words a belief that the mere presence of a black policeman can ease a

tense situation that might be exacerbated by the presence of a white policeman no matter how diplomatic or fair he might be:

"A black policeman can go into a black community and get information and whatever he needs where a white policeman, as soon as he steps on that corner, he stands out tremendously. Nobody is going to say a thing to him, nobody. If he wants to know where the grocery store is, they're going to look up in the sky." It would be unrealistic, however, to say that all segments of the black community look upon the black policeman favorably. Considering the attitude of some blacks, younger persons in particular, toward any member of "the establishment", it is conceivable that there are those who see the black policeman as a traitor to his people. He may be considered a spy or Uncle Tom, planted there to assist whites in their manipulation of black persons' lives, a symbol of tokenism by whites to appease blacks, or an aid to those whites who want to gain the confidence of black citizens in order to suppress them further. Then there are those who try to use the black policeman's blackness to their own advantage. In his book, *Black In Blue*, a study of black policemen, Nicholas Alex includes the comments of several black policemen relating instances when black persons who have committed an offense approach them with the idea of: "Well I'm black like you, therefore, I expect you to look the other way rather than arrest me."

Despite these problems, more blacks are joining police departments around the country and, because of this, other young blacks are attracted to police work hoping for job opportunities and advancement. The young black officers are usually much more vocal than the older black officers—less willing to submit to institutional patterns without question. They are indeed cast in difficult roles and, as one method of solving what they conceive to be problems, they have formed black police organizations within various departments. One such group, the Afro-American Policemen's League, formed in Chicago, has concerned itself with police attitudes and actions. In a newspaper article published earlier this year, Renault Robinson, president of the organization made the following statement:

*We are black men working as policemen and we feel that the police institution is, and has been, a major force of black oppression as well as a vehicle for the repression of political, economical and social change in the country. We are only giving our views as black police working in a white racist institution.* [Chicago

Daily Defender, May 21, 1970.]

In a subsequent article in the same newspaper, it was reported that support was growing for the League and that Robinson had outlined the following as its goals: *To improve rapport between police and the public; to change the image of the policeman from that of a hostile aggressor to that of authority with understanding and compassion; and to reverse the traditional patterns of distrust and hostility toward police.*

During a recent conference held by the National Council of Police Societies, a group representing a number of local black police organizations from all over the country, a unique resolution was adopted. It stated that none of the members of the Council would stand by and tolerate the murder "or attempts to perpetuate the murders of black brothers". The members of the Council went on to say that if necessary black policemen would arrest white policemen to prevent such actions.

Another black organization, the National Caucus on Police-Community Relations, which has local offices in various cities, has recommended that Federal funds be withheld from local police departments until the role of black officers is expanded and until relations between the police and minority persons are improved. During a recent press conference a spokesman for the group announced that the group had asked the Department of Justice to take action to stop police funds. Among other proposals this organization has also recommended that citizens be allowed to participate in those police agencies handling complaints against policemen. Members of each of these groups have set the treatment black citizens receive at the hands of policemen as a matter of highest priority but they also indicated that they are concerned about the treatment of black policemen within the department. Among other things they allege discrimination in promotions and assignments; that there is a need for more human relations training; and that there is a great disproportion of black policemen in relation to the black persons they represent.

The specifics of the complaints generally follow those outlined by black policemen in Washington, D.C., in an article that appeared in August of this year in the *Washington Post*. The article reported that "there is a sense of dissatisfaction among many black officers" on the force. It went on to say that in a force that has now more than 1,500 black policemen, many of them claim discrepancies in the hiring, promoting, and assignment of black officers. The article said cases were cited of white policemen





with less education, experience, and tenure being assigned to higher positions and patrol cars when there were black policemen eligible and more deserving of a promotion; they may be forced to continue as a foot patrolman or traffic policeman even though capable of performing at a higher level. In addition, some black policemen said that white policemen have refused to occupy a patrol car or patrol a certain area with a black policeman. In general, certain black policemen felt that whites received preferential treatment by department officials.

It was also reported that some of the black officers voiced complaints about retaliatory acts being taken against them because they have voiced an opinion about conditions on the force and the treatment of black persons. Several said they felt that some blacks were being dismissed from the department for trivial reasons in an effort to keep the number of blacks on the force to a minimum. Renault Robinson has told of acts of suspension and other retaliation against him and other colleagues which he feels are a result of their activities with the Afro-American organization.

Thus, the black policeman can be seen as a man in the middle beset by problems on the outside and problems on the inside. He is in a difficult role in his own community and he often feels that he is not being dealt with fairly by his own brother officers.

The emergence of these black police groups has to be read as a sign of dissatisfaction with the manner in which police departments are being operated and belief on the part of black policemen that if change is to come about it cannot be achieved through existing channels.

The black groups are so new that their impact on the police establishment has yet to be realized. However, since for better or for worse they do represent the new breed of black policeman, and have attracted substantial support, it would be a grave mistake to ignore their warnings of the need for change. Nor should their advice on how it should be done be ignored. As a basic element of American survival it must be realized, however, that the problems within the police department reflect those which plague this society as a whole. Therefore, if these conflicts are to be resolved, we must also resolve the racial ills in all American life, for one cannot be divorced from the other.

WALLIS W. JOHNSON

*Miss Johnson is Associate Editor of the Civil Rights Digest.*

# T E D T A C

## TEXAS EDUCATIONAL DESEGREGATION TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTER

The business of desegregating schools in the State of Texas is a special project being undertaken by the University of Texas at Austin. Co-sponsored by the College of Education and the Extension Teaching and Field Service Bureau of the University, the Texas Educational Desegregation Technical Assistance Center (TEDTAC) is providing assistance to school districts seeking to obtain the information, insights, and skills necessary for desegregation. It provides guidance in identifying and finding appropriate solutions to the problems, both administrative and instructional, associated with ethnic minorities in Texas. TEDTAC, upon request from Texas school districts, provides technical assistance through consultative personnel and regular staff members specially prepared to assist in problems of desegregation dealing with cultural awareness.

More than 18,000 teachers from

across Texas have attended seminars conducted by TEDTAC. The Center's program, in its third year, provides assistance in the writing of desegregation plans and programs and conducts cultural awareness seminars. The seminars, which are active with dialogue, are designed to exchange and test ideas for dealing with the problems of desegregation in a protective environment. Each member of the Center's staff has been or is a teacher, advisor, or counselor. More than 140 years of experience in Texas schools from every geographic region are represented on the staff.

In the seminars, practicing classroom teachers are led in group discussions by their professional peers, who for the most part are volunteers working with the Center. These volunteer group leaders have a philosophy which was aptly described by a fellow group leader in a briefing to new volunteers: "Let me remind you

that our purpose here is not to preach our views or convictions to the participants; not to force our opinions upon them; nor criticize them for their beliefs.

"On the contrary, our only purpose here is to let the participants in the seminar realize for themselves that the problems we are to present do exist; that they are part of the problems; and that they must get involved in the definition of these problems. We do not bring any solutions; we do not have any answers; however, we can and must provide for them a 'safe ground' or controlled environment in which they can bring these problems out to light and try to find solutions.

"Remember, we soft-peddle, but we must do it in such a way that as seminar group leaders we stay in the background and let the participants talk. They have the problems . . . so . . . let them get these problems off their chests. Your job is to guide."

# TEDTAC

The TEDTAC cultural awareness seminar strives at momentarily plunging classroom teachers into empathy with others. Professional adults, all good teachers, all perhaps with the same ideal in mind, *Juntos pero no revueltos*, an old Mexican idiom meaning "together, but not mixed or blended". Over and over again staff center members see teachers molded into patterns. Sitting patterns often evidence the problems of the locale. All the blacks together, not in the rear any more, but all over the assembly in clusters. The few browns [Mexican Americans] in their groups and in the rear. The whites [Anglos] preempt the majority of seats in the front dominating the conversation and seemingly a good many other items as for instance, their pattern of dress.

The beginning of a seminar for a group leader is one of observation of his fellow teachers. Every glance and facial expression, the

Ahs and Ughs, the shaking of heads, are indicators of how the seminars will proceed and how the group leader will guide.

As a seminar proceeds, teachers are asked to go into self-induced cultural shock. Among the topics broached is self-induced empathy of a 10-year old youngster whose family has suddenly been transplanted into the middle of a "foreign" community. The first day of school has begun and upon "your" arrival to the public school, as a new student, you are taken to the principal. This "foreign-looking person" is disturbed at seeing another foreign-looking person. As a 10-year-old, you are stunned by his reaction. The anticipation of what lies ahead is worrisome.

Often a view prevails "that you take every child where he is and start from there. Take a black or brown child. You already know or signify that he is different either because he speaks a different language or his skin is a different

color. As a teacher said during a seminar, unfortunately, we don't understand that the child already knows he is different. He has been conditioned to this fact for so very long, by his parents, his preacher, his teacher, by SOCIETY!" Why take a disturbed position? Why not take a positive approach to the problem . . . to the child? The child has all the characteristics of any other human being, except for the outward differences already noted. The child's heritage possesses a rich resource he could share. And the 10-year-old has dignity and pride in his being.

In one of my study groups a participant said, "These problems do exist of discrimination; but a good teacher should initiate the communication bridge through a thorough knowledge of the child involved with parent conferences and home visitations if necessary." Some in the group agreed, others disagreed, and still others were in-

conclusive. "I think it's up to the parent to come forward and let us know if her child is having a problem. Just because a child wishes not to participate in play period is no indication of discrimination or segregation!" In response, another member of the group said, "I think that foremost of all we must remember that like the Great Master, the Great Teacher, we are Teachers first and members of our society second. Until we do this, we will put convictions first and children last!" (Excerpt from an article in the TEDTAC Newsletter on page 30 addresses itself to a child's "cultural shock.")

TEDTAC was funded July 1968 under the provisions of Title IV, Section 403 of Public Law 88-532 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The provisions of Title IV allow staff personnel to provide assistance only upon request from the public schools and, in addition, new services to assist the desegregation process can be developed at any time if the public schools indicate a need and a desire for the services. The center also brings its services to the schools. The "extension approach" of taking the services to the participant rather than bringing the participants to a university is being used. The Center augments its services by holding monthly seminars in San Antonio, Texas in conjunction with the Institute of Texan Culture.

The Center's purpose is the elimination of racially identifiable schools. The activities of TEDTAC are based on the concept that the "best" education for all children is education providing positive contact between persons of different races and cultures working together in a unified school. Education problems, occasioned by de-

segregation, which face school administrators, teachers, supervisors, and other school personnel are the main reasons for the existence of TEDTAC.

The identifying of basic educational or administrative problems is followed by the developing of adequate alternatives to solve these problems, and the developing of individual skills and techniques needed to work closely with persons of different races and cultures. TEDTAC's aim is to improve the ability of these educators to deal effectively with their problems.

A January 1970 article by Fred Bonavita in the *Houston Post* noted the role of TEDTAC in assisting the Houston Independent School District, the largest in Texas, in preparing a desegregation plan. U.S. District Judge Ben Connally in requiring a desegregation plan for the district suggested the district call in TEDTAC for help. Upon being requested by the school's superintendent, a TEDTAC team went to Houston where a school-by-school study took place. Data were collected relative to building capacities, current ethnic enrollment, course offerings, and conditions and use of special service areas in each building. General observations were made concerning neighborhood conditions and transportation patterns. The Houston desegregation plan has been completed and forwarded to the district.

This represents a beginning, a beginning hampered by lack of financial and staff resources but hopeful by reason of the understanding and empathy it has created among the teachers in Texas. Each person who responded affirmatively did, indeed, send forth

a tiny ripple of hope which gives promise of becoming a great wave of educational fulfillment for the students in Texas and beyond.

RAUL G. GARZA

*Mr. Garza is an Assistant Principal at Gillett Junior High School in Kingsville, Texas, and is also a group leader in the Culture Awareness Seminars conducted by TEDTAC.*

## Report from TEDTAC Cultural Shock

*(Article excerpted from Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1969 issue of TEDTAC newsletter; by Gilberto Serda, an instructor at Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas.)*

When a Mexican American youth enters our American public schools he suffers a *cultural shock*, sometimes unobserved, misunderstood, or even ignored by those around him. It could be quite a traumatic experience for him. There are a great number of factors involved which cause his confusion when entering our schools. Some confusion gradually wears off, but some cultural differences are difficult to obliterate.

First, he becomes aware of *strange faces* around him which



are racially and temperamentally distinct: (Faces brightly white, or red. They don't laugh much when I am around. Stern. I want to go home!) *Strange Places*: (So beautiful, so smooth. Wonder if I can touch that? Wonder what I did wrong?), *Strange rules*: (How easy others follow and evade. Don't throw paper, don't sleep, don't laugh. Why do I always get caught? Oh for a siesta!), *Strange language*: (So low, so hoarse, Are they angry? They don't like me! I must be stupid!), *Differences in sensitivity*: (Teacher doesn't like me. She never asks me. I must be stupid. I won't raise my hand. They laugh, I am wrong. My pants are torn. I want to go home! I want to quit school!).

*Strange food*: (Boy, I wish I had some good tortillas, charocho, frijoles, and chile con queso. I am hungry!), *Economic differences*: (What a pretty dress she's wearing. My mother will never buy me one like that! Why isn't my father rich like all people?), *Strange school regulations*: (Why am I going to the Principal's office? I was just sleepy. Got to take care of my little brother. The TV program was good. Hope the principal sends me home. I can't learn! I want a job!).

The Mexican American youngster has his problems, but so have the superintendent, principal, and teachers. At stake is the welfare of future citizens and entire communities. Segregation used to be the answer. However, adverse effects of such an arrangement have been evident a long time to every administrator who has very qui-

etly, without fanfare, initiated movements for removal of these unhealthy arrangements.

We cannot afford to continue to waste Mexican American lives and human resources. They must become involved in the main stream of American life, its customs, ideals, institutions, and civic responsibilities. But this can only be accomplished by bringing the Mexican American into direct personal contact with American life in all its aspects. He cannot be set aside in cultural "barrios" which perpetuate disregard and lack of understanding for the country which is now his own.

Cultural shock is a phenomenon that is well recognized by the Peace Corps. Orientations and planned programs have been devised to help make transition from one culture to another as smooth as possible so that the volunteer will not be overwhelmed and lose his ability to function normally. What can we, as educators, do to understand the cultural shock faced by the Mexican American upon entering public school?

1. Everyone concerned with Mexican American students should study Mexican culture. Most conflicts arise from clashes occurring because of cultural differences (Why Juanito didn't come to school, why he won't undress in front of others in the gym, why he goes to sleep in class, why he can't learn).

2. Everyone concerned with Mexican American students should visit representative homes. Mexican Americans live in varying home environments:

Their family relationships are more patriarchal, they are racially color blind, and their sense of time is relative. Home conditions are often educationally deprived with no home library, study facilities, or satisfactory lighting. Some homes may be torn asunder by separation or divorce, low income, or lack of home discipline just as in any other ethnic groups.

3. Everyone (especially teachers) concerned with Mexican American students should make a trip to some part of Mexico and look into the living conditions of low-income family groups there. From these sources are coming our most recent additions to school enrollment, and this trip, besides being a wonderful vacation, would provide useful information regarding the nature of persons soon to be entering our schools.

4. Bring in a Mexican American consultant who is well acquainted with Mexican American educational needs—one who is not violently militant yet one who is not afraid of calling a spade a spade. There are some Mexican Americans who "have made it" and who may look down upon other members of their own group. Care must be taken in selection of a Mexican American consultant.

5. Have meetings or workshops for the faculty to increase their knowledge and understanding of Mexican American culture and aspects of cultural shock.

6. Establish and promote programs of adult education for the parents of the Mexican American students.

# WHAT PRICE INGLÉS\*

For thousands of years man has operated across language barriers with speakers of different tongues often set apart and regarded as odd and strange by those who spoke the dominant language. Although we Americans have demonstrated our technical knowledge by going to the moon and returning, and our social concern by passing laws against discrimination, educators and/or educational experts have not really faced or accepted the problems that arise in this country when English is not an individual's *first* language but his *second*.

These problems are most apparent in our schools where thousands of youngsters are being victimized by a tradition-bound educational system that treats bilingual ability as a handicap and not an asset. In the five states of the Southwest, with a Mexican American population of over three million, and in the Northeast, with a Puerto Rican population of approximately a million and a half, the language problem is especially crucial. There are no sure and easy answers, yet I am sure the educational establishment could lead the way in changing the attitudes of those who feel there is something un-American or subversive about being bilingual, or of those who feel that anyone who does not speak fluent English is just too ignorant to learn the language.

As a New Yorker, born of Puerto Rican parents, I entered public school with no knowledge of English and was immediately placed with the "dumb" students by a teacher who did not permit Puerto Rican pupils to speak Spanish. Even though she knew very little Spanish herself, the teacher insisted that we, the

Puerto Ricans, did not speak Spanish, but some "funny dialect" that could be understood only by us "funny looking, dark short Puerto Ricans." These first years in school were living hell because this was immediately after World War II when the mass migration of Puerto Ricans to New York was at its highest. Every month new frightened children who spoke no English were the butt of jokes because of their inability to pronounce certain words.

The teachers themselves were ill equipped to deal with these problems, and they made no attempt to explain the "different" accent, clothes, and attitudes on the part of the new students. Instead, because of their inability or unwillingness to cope with things outside of their own experience, they lashed out at the children and drove them even further into the ground.

I would like to think that these conditions are gone and that drastic changes have been made for the better, but this does not seem to be the case. Now there are more than a million students in the New York school system of whom more than 24 percent are Puerto Ricans, yet a small town high school gym could hold all the high school graduates of Puerto Rican ancestry who have received an academic diploma which prepares them for college. Their dropout rate is the highest of any ethnic group in the city.

In New York City where we have a million and a half persons of Latin American extraction, the *New York Times* want ads for bilingual secretaries go begging because of the shortage of qualified people. Just an example of the

---

\*English

fact that unless a concerted effort is made in New York and in other parts of the country, we will pay a very stiff economic and social price for our educational shortsightedness. Most teachers are afraid of the Latin American areas in which they work and very few make attempts to establish relationships with the parents of their students. Often the student who has become bilingual—through no conscious efforts of the school system—has to act as translator for his parents. Witness the following:

*I can remember being in the fifth grade sitting between my mother and my teacher. My teacher turned to me and said: Tell your mother that you misbehaved, you don't do your homework, and that you are in general a poor student. I then turned and told my mother in Spanish: Mom, she said that I behaved and I'm not a bad student, but that I need more help at home from you and Pop, especially with my homework.*

I am sure at the time I considered circumstances to my advantage. I only later learned to abhor an educational system that made no attempt to teach my parents English, and teachers who made no effort to understand my parents' language.

As in all cases of life in the United States, the 60-second television answer to problems prevails in the educational system and most teachers are more preoccupied with Vietnam, ecology, and union organization, which are more romantic, than with educating a child who has great potential to be bilingual or even trilingual. Indeed, the child is often made non-lingual. There are living examples

## AQUÍ NO SE HABLA ESPAÑOL

*Editors Note: The following is excerpted from the Commission publication, "Stranger In One's Land," by Rubén Salazar. It is indicative of the problems Spanish-speaking people encounter in many schools throughout this country. Mr. Salazar was killed in East Los Angeles on August 29, 1970.*

You know it almost from the beginning: speaking Spanish makes you different. Your mother, father, brothers, sisters, and friends all speak Spanish. But the bus driver, the teacher, the policeman, the store clerk, the man who comes to collect the rent—all the people who are doing important things—do not. Then the day comes when your teacher—who has taught you the importance of many things—tells you that speaking Spanish is wrong. You go home, kiss your mother, and say a few words to her in Spanish. You go to the window and look out and your mother asks you what's the matter?

*Nada, mama, you answer, because you don't know what is wrong. . . .*

Howard A. Glickstein, then Acting Staff Director of the Commission, asked witness Edgar Lozano, a San Antonio high school student, whether he has been punished for speaking Spanish at school. Yes, in grammar, in junior high, and in senior high schools, he answers.

*" . . . they took a stick to me," says Edgar. "It really stayed in your mind. Some things, they don't go away as easy as others" . . .*

*"I mean, how would you like for somebody to come up to you and tell you what you speak is a dirty language? You know, what your mother speaks is a dirty language. You know, that is the only thing I ever heard at home.*

*"A teacher comes up to you and tells you, 'No, no. You know that is a filthy language, nothing but bad words and bad thoughts in that language.'*

*"I mean, they are telling you that your language is bad. . . . Your mother and father speak a bad language. I mean you communicate with dirty words, and nasty ideas.*

*" . . . that really stuck to my mind."*

of this in New York as in the Southwest where youngsters have entered school knowing only Spanish, or some other "foreign" language, only to have it drummed out of them, without even giving them a knowledge of English in return. The child drops out of school and faces the world with marked inability to read or write Spanish and with a very little amount of English. The result is a dialect understood neither by Cervantes nor Shakespeare. *What time is it?* or *Que hora es?*, becomes *Que tima tienes?*, and the very people in the education process who have caused this dialect pull their hair out in despair and insist that these students are unteachable.

Success has many parents while failure is an orphan. Though no one in particular is to blame for this situation, unless we recognize that the schools have a responsibility to educate all children—a difference in language notwithstanding—we will be consigning many children to barren lives as adults. In most cases great strides have not been made. However, there are several programs being implemented in various parts of the country which could be the forerunner of widespread application in our educational systems. One such program is being conducted at the *Bilingual Sub-School in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District of Brooklyn, New York*.

The community served by this project is 35 percent non-English speaking (mostly Puerto Rican) and 65 percent black. Admission to the school is voluntary; children can be placed by their parents either in regular classes at the school or in bilingual rooms. During 1968-69, the first year of this

program, 180 children were enrolled—only 1 percent of them spoke English. Bilingual education is provided from kindergarten through the fifth grade, and is now proposed to be expanded to the eighth grade. In kindergarten and first grade, all teaching is done in Spanish only. The English language is spoken but not for teaching purposes. In the second through fifth grades, teaching takes place in both Spanish and English, varying with the teacher. For instance, an instructor may stay with one language for the entire period except for a 5-minute summary in the other language. Another teacher may continually change from one to the other during the session.

The principal of the school was the first Puerto Rican to be appointed to head an elementary school in New York City. Recruitment of the teachers was done in New York City as well as in Puerto Rico. Some problems were encountered with the latter in that they had to pass New York City certification. Of the eight teachers in the subschool, six are bilingual (some being native English-speaking) and two speak English only. There are five teachers' aides in the program—two speak Spanish only, one speaks English only, and two are bilingual. In addition, a corrective reading teacher and a guidance counselor, both of whom are bilingual, are on the staff.

The curriculum and materials do not necessarily follow the city-wide standards. The teachers are able to innovate freely and many of the materials are created by the instructor who is assisted by the students in the class.

Concerning testing and evaluation, the emphasis is on self-evalu-

ations by teachers through their semi-monthly reports of goals for the coming 2 weeks, and teaching effectiveness based on a daily log of teacher and student performance.

The parents and community are significantly involved in the bilingual program. An advisory committee with representative membership makes recommendations on curriculum and guidance matters. Visitors are welcomed to observe classes in action at any hour of the day. Also, regular meetings are conducted with parents in a workshop setting.

Another innovative program is taking place in the *Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School in Chinle, Arizona*. The school district of which Rough Rock is a part has a population of which only 5 percent speak English and only 10 percent have any formal education. The traditional schooling provided for Indians serves a large geographical area and, therefore, requires boarding away at the school. In contrast, the Demonstration School serves the immediate area as do other American public schools.

At Rough Rock the course of instruction for Phase I classes (preschool to grade 2) originally had a program in English as a second language. In Phase II (grades 3 to 9) there was teaching of Navajo reading. As the program flowered, formal instruction was instituted for Phase I in oral Navajo. Currently, Navajo is the primary language in the early grades, coupled with continuous teaching of the Navajo language and culture at all grade levels.

The latest thinking has produced a daily program design for preschool youngsters of 4 hours of

spoken Navajo and 2 hours of spoken English. In kindergarten to grade 2, there are 4 hours of written and spoken Navajo and 2 hours of spoken English. In subsequent grades, the ratio is 2 hours of spoken and written English.

The role of the community and parents at Rough Rock is similar to what is developing in other parts of the United States. But this involvement is a dramatic departure from the traditional Indian school. Historically, total control has been kept by non-Indian personnel, causing a major gap between Indians and whites, with a growing hostility among those who are purportedly the "beneficiaries" of the schooling. However, all this is changed in the Demonstration experiment. The school board is composed of Navajos only. They have true authority in determining policies and programs. Parents themselves evaluate programs and parent teams visit elders of the tribe in order to close the pre-existing communications gap. Visitation at the school are so successfully encouraged that in the last 3 years 12,000 visitors have been logged in from 42 States, eight foreign countries, and 86 Indian tribes. These visitors are able to sleep over in the school dormitories for several days, eat in the school cafeteria, and continuously observe classroom activity.

The techniques for instruction used in the *Sustained Primary Program for Bilingual Students at Las Cruces, New Mexico* for a group of Mexican American youngsters could also serve as a model for other educational institutions. These students are in kindergarten through the third grade and are from low-income families.

One of the innovations in this particular experiment is that the children have the same teacher from kindergarten through third grade, and no new children are permitted to enter a class after it is established in kindergarten. This helps to achieve the goal of continuity. At the inception of the Las Cruces project, instruction was provided in Spanish during the morning and in English during the afternoon. In the evolution of the program, however, teachers began to institute their own schedules. Although the two halves of the day for each language are maintained approximately, some instructors combine both languages during class, while others have a more formal separation.

As an inherent part of the program, an intensive orientation and in-service training schedule is provided for the teachers. They also meet weekly to discuss such matters as teaching materials, evaluation, curriculum, or to hear guest lecturers. Further, sensitivity training is provided for the teachers' personal growth. Another innovation is the periodic half-day visit of teachers to each others' classes. In addition, every summer a week-long workshop is conducted on Mexican culture, language patterns, and classroom management.

Instructors develop much of their own teaching materials and emphasize phonics in teaching both languages. Each classroom has a listening center with taped lessons in both Spanish and English.

The involvement of parents as learners and advisors is a major ingredient of the program. Home visits by teachers and other school personnel are standard procedure and all parents can visit the

classrooms at any time they wish. During the monthly parent meetings, which are held in both languages, educational policies are discussed. At these meetings parents are taught how to use various instructional materials so that they are in a position to assist their own children with homework. In addition, twice annually the school conducts special workshops for parents, aides, and teachers to discuss all aspects of the school program.

The projects identified above, along with other special programs that exist\*, provide a good start in reversing a most regrettable and damaging set of circumstances. There is an overwhelming need for American society to take a full honest look at itself, and then to take meaningful steps to correct the injustices which exist in many quarters. One area of these inequalities definitely relates to the bilingual education of minority citizens. These programs prove how much progress can be attained if the will to do something is present. But these undertakings are only a beginning. A massive and permanent improvement must be accomplished if the ideal of America is to be as compelling to our minorities as it has been to others.

EDWARD MERCADO

*Mr. Mercado is the District Director for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands with the Office of Economic Opportunity, Region 2.*

\* Certain of these programs are reported in the September 1969 issue of *The Center Forum* and will soon appear in book form.

# New life for the cities



Today's proliferation of publications devoted to urban problems and crises reaffirms the many traditional, historical, and cultural biases that have characterized analyses of American cities since their inception. At different points in time problems of the city have been depicted according to their institutionally relevant roles, the vested interests of their promulgators, the theoretical concerns of an intellectual elite of interpreters, and the ambivalence of many social engineers, as well as the trends and emphases of existent social movements.

Within these generalized frames of reference the specific delineations of problems have ranged from immigration of the 1880's to South-North migration of the 1920's; from rural-urban migration of the 1930's to metropolitanization of the 1940's and suburbanization of the 1950's and 1960's. Where ethnic groups have been caught up in these ecological shifts of population, their movement into urban areas has been made to reflect the fears of urbanites relative to such attendant problems as increased rates in vice, crime, fertility,

morbidity, and mortality; deficits along educational, occupational, and income lines; and augmentation of two major concomitants—poverty and welfare.

Each of the preceding factors has, no doubt, contributed to the criticality of urban situations at one time or another. However, scientific knowledge and civic action have helped bring many of them within the bounds of social control so that urbanites no longer feel as threatened by them as previously. It is no wonder then that, where today's cities seethe with demonstrations, seizures of buildings, riots, arson, looting, sniping, and intermittent guerrilla warfare that there has been a revival of fear among urbanites—one which avows existence of unprecedented crises in the city today. Perhaps this is viewed as being all the more critical because, unlike her European or Asiatic counterparts who have faced war on their own soils, the American city has escaped being a battleground for major conflicts. Until recently even the "town and gown" conflict so characteristic of other parts of the Western World were more covert than overt in the American city.



One might argue that the Civil War of the 1860's was certainly a major conflict fought on American soil, and he would be correct. But it must be remembered that at that time the Nation was predominantly rural, not urban. Not until the 1920 census was there evidence of the urban population exceeding the rural. Since then several urbanizing trends have developed and influenced the ecological and social structure of the city, from which have stemmed the centralized concentration of nonwhites and the decentralization of whites. Looting, rioting, sniping, and the like are merely symptomatic of deep seated motivators of the true crises.

Whether crisis in the city is linked with poverty, guaranteed annual income, student unrest, or violence and racial tension, it is rooted in many core city concentrations of ethnic groups and their resultant attitudinal manifestations. The fears of intra-urban groups have so polarized along ethnic and racial lines that, irrespective of their nature, urban crises tend to be seen as matters of ethnicity and race. The real crisis, however, is an ecological one—the redistribution of the

population by color and class.

Empirical evidence for this premise rests upon the development of varied urban aggregates whose formation spans several decades of the twentieth century. While the Negro American was the most rural population group in the United States in 1900, when only 22.7 percent of the nonwhites resided in urban areas, in 1960 he was the most urban. Census data indicate that 72.4 percent of all nonwhites were urban dwellers in 1960, while 69.5 percent of the whites were so classified. Not only is the entire Nation becoming urban, but the Negro American is urbanizing faster than any other group.

The rapidity of this urbanizing process has contributed to the urban crisis but cannot be held solely responsible for it. Nor can it be claimed that the extension of rurality into urban areas via the mobility of Negro Americans is the sole responsible contributor for after the Depression years of the 1930's Negro Americans ceased being rural. Since 1940 they have changed the degree and extent of their urbanization

and increased their metropolitanization.

The rapid influx of Negro Americans into the metropolises of the United States was observed by the Bureau of the Census for each of the 50 largest cities of the United States between 1950 and 1960. While the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas contained only 13.2 percent of the population as a whole, they contained over 31.0 percent of the Negro American population. As the proportion of whites living in the 12 central areas consistently decreased between 1930 and 1960, the proportion of nonwhites (predominantly Negro Americans) consistently increased. Nonwhite population groups made substantial gains in many large cities between 1950 and 1960. Newark, N.J., went from a nonwhite proportion of 17.2 to 34.4 and Washington, D. C. from 35.4 to 54.8. In the 1950's Negroes increased in such leading population centers as New York City by 46.0 percent, in Philadelphia by 41.0 percent, and in Los Angeles by 96.0 percent.

Resulting from changes of this type are several interrelated factors. Inner-city residents are more and more racially, ethnically, and economically homogeneous. As Negro Americans become highly concentrated in the core city, whites flee to the suburbs. Instead of a rural ring of "blacks" surrounding an urban core of whites, now white suburbia surrounds the dark inner-city which is only slightly lightened by whites trapped inside the city and unable to escape. More significant than the color factor, however, is the fact that lower and lower-middle class people are more ecologically segregated than ever before.

As long as low-income persons remained dispersed on single farmsteads in rural areas, they may have been illiterate, inadequately housed, impoverished slum dwellers but their city-bred cousins were only partially aware of this. City residents may have deplored such conditions for specific individuals, but the conditions were not problematic, for social problems are nonexistent until large numbers of people recognize certain situations as problems, see them as threats to many cherished values, and call for attack on them.

The recognition of such conditions as problems became urgent when excessive numbers of low-income persons began to over-crowd the inner-city, to avail themselves of job opportunities opening in the city, to search for low-cost housing, and to alter their life styles by exemplifying the materialistic values of the affluent upper-middle class which they supplanted in the city. The longer and harder these non-affluent urbanities sought to equate the patterns of the former middle-

class urbanite, now the affluent suburbanite, the greater the economic gap that developed between them.

This gap is readily observable in data recently released by the Census Bureau and summarized by the New York Times News Service. The report shows the number of poor persons to have declined for the entire United States, with one-third of the Negro Americans still classed as poor, the drop for the latter being from 56.0 percent in 1961 to 33.0 percent in 1968. Although this still connotes a large population segment as poor, for Negroes the drop exceeded that for the Nation as a whole which went from 22.0 percent in 1961 to 13.0 percent in 1968.

With the Government's new definition of poverty, which sets the cut-off for a non-farm family of four at \$3,553, and the rising level of income the poverty percentage may continue to dwindle. This, however, will hardly solve the more serious problem of income gap. Last year's median family income for the Nation's families was shown to be \$8,600, that for white families \$8,937 and for Negro American families \$5,360. Not only is the Negro family closer to the poverty cut-off, but it tends to be headed by a woman and the percentage so headed in 1969 edged upward to 29.0, which is three times the proportion for whites.

Realistically then, the urban crisis in the United States revolves around the high concentration of low-income Negro American families in the inner-city of ever-growing metropolitan areas. This becomes further complicated by the fact that many central cities have developed into lower class Negro American slums; that Negro ghettos have increased in size; and that a sub-culture of poverty has evolved. Those for whom urbanism has made slums, ghettos, and poverty a way of life have felt the pangs of material want, psychological depression, unfulfilled ambitions, subverted open occupancy, and closed neighborhoods.

Intricately involved with the foregoing factors is the matter of housing which is often listed among the major problems of the city. In a technical sense, however, housing problems can only be termed urban in nature because of the rapid changes that have taken place and the persistent gap between need and supply in the urban community. Some persons would have us believe that the major problem of urban areas is that of inadequate and substandard housing; some would decree that vested interests have created a housing shortage; still others would place blame on types of dwellings constructed and their impossible acquisition by those at the income levels where they are most needed.



There may be some validity attached to each of these acclamations, but one would suspect that the ultimate problem hinges largely upon Robert Dentler's sociological claim, in his *Major Social Problems*, that domestic needs in urban housing remain unmet because the United States has never developed a "system" of housing.

As Dentler sees it, "a national urban system", comprised of private and public control centers geared to accurately estimating needs, supply, and demand, would involve itself in the following: (1) research and planning; (2) taking the shape of an industry capable of effective response to population changes in area location, age and income groupings, and household combinations; (3) a technology capable of surmounting wide differences in patterned land usage, terrain, material, and labor costs.

The Federal Government is beginning to take positive action in this direction as can be observed in some of its standardized public housing, but for the most part housing continues to be localized and ideologically linked with individual preference. As long as one's dwelling symbolizes status, the social indices of which are income, occupation, and education, then mass housing may not only remain unattainable but a total national urban system in housing may even be rejected by American urbanites.

Despite the fact that all social institutions are discrete entities, from the standpoint of human behavior, they are all interrelated. Thus, problems of housing, poverty, and low-income not only affect the family but all other institutions in the social structure. The state of flux in which these institutions find themselves today and their reciprocal relationships are undoubtedly adding to the heightened state of anomie that is preying upon the human attributes of a restless society where innumerable persons are in search of personal identity, self-aggrandizement, social awareness, and ethnic values that would dispel problems of the city.

Crisis in the city not only stems from factors such as these, but in turn it has accentuated crises within numerous Negro American families. No authenticity can be attached to any claim that "the Negro family" is at a critical stage, for there is no characteristic any more typical of "the Negro American family" than of "the white American family". Certainly, however, the urban situation described here places in jeopardy those families that form the core of the inner-city, have low economic status, lack academic preparation, have large numbers of children, and are headed by women. Nor

can one deny that large numbers of Negro American families meet these criteria.

The differential in median income of white and Negro families is enough to substantiate the economic status. Recent census data show further that the educational status of the most neglected figure in the Negro community—the male—is rising, for now some 60.0 percent of the Negro males aged 25–29 have completed high school in contrast to 36.0 percent in 1960. While the proportion of Negro families headed by women increased between 1960 and 1968, one-half of all the Negro poor are in female-based families.

Both Negro and white American women are having fewer children, but the fertility rate of the former is decreasing faster. Since 1960, the number of children under five per 1,000 women of childbearing age dropped by one-third for Negro women and one-fourth for whites. Many inferential implications can be drawn from these data, but most relevant here is the fact that large numbers of Negro American families who form the resident population of large central cities have not only been beset with the urban crisis itself but also with an extension of this crisis into the family.

The real crisis in the family has stemmed less from being matriarchal than from the deteriorated position of the Negro male, its concomitants of inadequate education and income, and their transference into a weakened self-image.

These factors do not spring automatically from the ecological shifts in population within the city but rather from increasing difficulties that accrue from the search for work that fails to materialize, living quarters priced out of reach of low-income persons, and despair born out of nonexistent jobs disguised as "equal opportunity" lures to the city. Within this matrix the Negro American male feels doubly what the average urban personality exemplifies singly, namely this: anxiety, emotional deprivation, externalization, and nervous enervation. These traits are indicated in Gist and Fava's analysis of urban society as being the psychological traits most often given as characterizing urban people. They originate from varying sociopsychological bases—*anxiety* from instabilities of status and differentiated social roles to be performed; *emotional deprivation* from personal isolation and impersonal contacts of city life; *externalization* and *superficiality* from large scale organizations and mass society; *nervous enervation* or *blasé attitudes* from protective devices developed against the multiplicity of urban stimuli.

For the average urbanite anxiety tends to result from

the diversity and change built into specialized work roles, but for the Negro American male it is a more likely result of insecurity from the lack of work skills, holding low status jobs with low-income, or going unemployed. Emotional deprivation for the average urbanite tends to be rooted in impersonal secondary contacts whose facade belies real feelings and satisfactions, but for the Negro American male they may devolve from a lack of primary contacts in family and work relationships. Externalization often emanates from dehumanizing processes that evoke reactions in the form of attention-getting devices and mass behavior that reflects the lack of a sense of inner worth. Certainly the Negro American male has suffered more depersonalization than any other human, imposed from slavery onward. Nervous enervation and escapism are natural effects of such sociopsychological impacts.

Ecological segregation, as defined by sociologists, refers to the clustering together of persons with similar sociocultural characteristics into the same residential area. Sociologists have long portrayed these as cultural islands whose resident populations have made them into "Chinatowns", "Little Tokyos", "Little Sicilies", "Little Polands", "Harlems", "Black Belts", "Black Metropolises", "Gold Coasts", "Ghettos", "Slums", etc. Even though these have often been natural areas staked off by physical demarcations, it is their characterization as subculture areas within the urban community that has been most frequently described. Within these areas differences in ethnicity, race, religion, social class, customs, attitudes, and beliefs have served as distinguishing features of the groups resident there.

Although the residential patterns of Negro Americans have varied by historical era, region, State, city, and often by block or street, prior to World War II, patterns of dispersion and decentraliation were more widespread than they have been since the war. Following the war the trend has been toward more segregated patterns than ever before. Many factors have contributed to this—the building boom, urban renewal, higher incomes, increased home ownership, etc.

It is difficult to say how much of the increased segregation must be attributed to such involuntary factors as the subterranean tactics of real estate agents. It is also difficult to explain why residential segregation is increasing just when segregation in housing, education, government, voting, etc. is decreasing. Since municipally segregated areas and restrictive covenants were declared illegal and unenforceable in 1917 and 1948 respectively, the answer probably lies in voluntary seg-

regation imposed by Negro Americans themselves but motivated by psychological needs and personal preferences for security, recognition, emotional satisfaction, status, "consciousness of kind" living, or mere available and accessible space or facilities.

Whatever the reasons for the centripetal movement of Negro Americans into the city and their increased residential segregation within the city, one general observation emerges, namely, division along class lines, acuity of the division differing in Southern cities from other regions. Spatial separation and social distance tend to characterize social relations whether they be intra-urban or intra-racial. As the number of Negro Americans in the inner-city increases, those in better socioeconomic circumstances tend to move away from the more centralized inner core of the city but merely re-segregate in different types of areas.

Since the movement is individualized, those who move away from the centralized area tend to live more individually and less group-wise. Yet, they are alluded to as an elite "that has made it and forgotten those left behind". The Negro American community thus gets divided into a stable middle class with a stable family and a deteriorating, disadvantaged lower class with unstable family structures that are lagging economically.

Increased residential segregation is of paramount significance to the city's crisis today, for it is a motivating factor in the dissension between lower and middle class Negro Americans. It makes for differentiated urban ways of living and corresponding variations in attitudes, values, and beliefs. This is no different from what happened to other ethnic groups whose changing socioeconomic status rendered them sufficiently mobile to make new adjustments in their behavior patterns. Nor is it likely to differ for subsequent emerging middle class persons who, as they acquire the skills, occupations, education, and income to satisfy long standing aspirations and ambitions, will themselves desert the lower class and abandon the areas occupied by lower class urban dwellers. The most astounding aspect of the entire development is the rapidity with which many Negro Americans are able to make this change today, and the vividness with which the contrasts stand out. But this, too, is to be expected for, unlike the immigrant American whose changing status was slower and less obvious because he moved along with all other non-affluent Americans, the Negro American has taken longer to make the change and it comes in the midst of an already affluent society.

Even though the urban crisis is viewed as intra-ra-

cial, it is in essence a revolt of social classes, of conflict between the "haves and have-nots". Whatever the gains of middle class Negro Americans prior to the current philanthropic era of compensated "blackness" they were earned and not donated. No matter how sharp the lines between classes, the ghettoized still have need of the middle class. The "angry black" urbanites who defy white merchants and bourgeoisie Negro Americans may find that they need both. Just as they cannot dispense with teachers, doctors, lawyers, restaurant owners, insurance men, or others, neither can the latter operate in the ghetto without the cooperation of ghetto dwellers.

As long as whites flee from the city and leave it to the occupancy of their ecological successors—Negro Americans—then the occupants have every right to control its operation and structure. Just as white residents have moved out so, too, have many first-class retail businesses. Downtown main streets in many cities are now little more than banking districts and office buildings. What urbanites must not let happen is the permanent entrapment of Negro Americans in the slums of the inner-city, even if it means deliberate re-organization of the social and physical structure of the city.

If the city is truly a mosaic of worlds—ethnic, class, community, neighborhood—then pluralistic declarations would decree that each be retained in a manner consistent with newly determined responsibilities and loyalties. This would appear to be one way of minimizing urban crises that have arisen from the interconnectedness of ethnic, racial, and social class concentrations by area, for scholars have long recognized that "Americanization" through assimilation and "melting pot" processes are unattainable.

The American city is unique. Urban sociologists have typologized its uniqueness in terms of size, spatial pattern, specialized function, antitheses, ambiguities, extremes, pathological features, etc. They have delineated its attributes and shown that it abounds in loneliness, strangers, exploitation, trickery, fraud, facade, impersonality, anonymity, alienation, apathy, boredom, routine, class and ethnic marginality, deviants, and a host of other features. In fact, the American city seems to be the focal point for almost every characteristic trait found in American society. One of the features that has been under-studied and that Negro Americans might capitalize on in their efforts to positively and constructively offset further urban crises is the changing face of "Main Street" in many downtown areas.

Where downtown main streets once seethed with so many customers that it became difficult to walk on the street or secure service in the stores, today one almost has the street to himself. In city after city as one walks the downtown streets today he observes many vacant buildings, and a less varied group of shoppers than previously. The downtown areas of cities like Raleigh, North Carolina or Montgomery, Alabama, just to name two, are fast becoming little more than financial districts, State and municipal government centers, or office building sites. Hence many of the institutions that remain service a decentralized population rather than the population immediately adjacent or surrounding.

Those who clamor for "black capitalists" to service a "black clientele" or provide work for "black employees" might advantageously perform these functions by setting up business and revitalizing the downtown areas. This would not be a first, for on many downtown main streets, Raleigh being no exception, Negro Americans owned and operated business in the early 1900's and down to the Depression years. Of course a major limitation prevails: though operated primarily for Negroes they were not exclusively so.

Such positive action as this would, in the long run, counterbalance the crisis in the city at its most pivotal point—the core of the inner-city where Negro American concentration becomes highly visible through its sociocultural characteristics and its psychological reverberations but will remain politically invisible and economically impotent as long as income is provided without jobs or employment without education.

Why not launch a full-scale attack on the vanishing main streets by pulling together all the resources, skills, and personnel necessary to give downtown business a new face? The city might well take lessons in cooperation from NASA and the thousands of workers, major and subsidiary, who share in the responsibility of putting one man into orbit or two men on the moon. This would not be a panacea for all the city's ills, but it could be a leavening agent in the rising crises of population distribution and social functioning.

WILMOTH A. CARTER

*This is excerpted from an article originally entitled "Crisis in the City" which appeared in the spring issue of Shawensis, a quarterly magazine of Shaw University. Dr. Carter has been appointed Distinguished Professor, School of Urban Sciences, and Director of Research at the university.*

# Reading & Viewing

## BOOKS

*Black Economic Development*, by The American Assembly, Columbia University. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969. 176 pp.

A collection of papers by black leaders, enlightened businessmen, and poverty officials which documents the formidable problems of black entrepreneurship. Discusses and analyzes effective programs for black enterprise, ways to build a black managerial class, the problems of black/white partnerships and the social utility of ghetto economic development.

*Black Suicide*, by Herbert Hendin. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1969. 176 pp.

A psychoanalytic study of 13 male and 12 female blacks who attempted suicide in New York during the early 1960's. Dr. Hendin, a psychoanalyst, reveals the anguish and frustrations of the black ghetto as mirrored by his subjects. Violence or suicide often were their only ways of dealing with rage and self-hatred. The appendices include statistics for New York which show that suicide is twice as frequent among blacks of both sexes between the ages of

twenty and thirty-five than it is for the white population of the same age.

*The Education of a WASP*, by Lois Mark Stalvey. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1970. 327 pp.

A vivid and true account of an initially typical middle class, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant housewife and her family who became more personally aware of, and involved in, the struggle against white racism. Their step-by-step education and involvement eventually forced the family to move from an all-white suburb in Omaha, and the husband to lose his job.

*The Enemies of the Poor*, by James J. Graham. New York: Random House, 1970. 308 pp.

Denounces not only the welfare but also indicts the churches, the trade unions, and the legal profession as the principal enemies of the poor. Asserts the need for a broad assault on poverty by these major institutions rather than the present piecemeal approach to alleviate the plight of the urban poor.

*The Media and the Cities*, edited by Charles U. Daly. Chicago: The University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, 1968. 90 pp.

A collection of papers which was presented at a May 1968 conference which consisted of 33 scholars, members of the Congress, representatives of the media, and others to discuss "The Media and the Cities". Reports the shortcomings of the news media in analyzing and reporting adequately the plight of minority groups and the deepening problems of the cities.

*Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect*, by Thomas P. Carter. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970. 235 pp.

A study of the education of Mexican

Americans in the Southwest reveals a poor record of success in school which can be attributed to three main factors: the nature of the subculture, of the school, and the local society. Indicates the need for more research, more hard data, and more experimentation with special school programs to make the school more relevant for Mexican American children.

*Public Housing: The Politics of Poverty*, by Leonard Freedman. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969. 217 pp.

A history of public housing in the United States which reveals that the public policy goal set in 1949 of "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" is far from achieved. Analyzes the full scope of the conflict that engulfs the public housing program.

*Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*, by Ulf Hanerz. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969. 263 pp.

A study of the black ghetto in Washington, D.C. by a Swedish social anthropologist who lived there for 2 years. The author explores the nature and dynamics of ghetto culture, and its relationship to mainstream American culture.

## STUDIES AND REPORTS

*Augusta, Georgia and Jackson State University: Southern Episodes in a National Tragedy*. A special report by the Southern Regional Council, Inc. June 1970. Atlanta Ga., 1970. 76 pp.

*Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance: A Description of the Federal Government's Domestic Programs to Assist the American People in Furthering Their Social and Economic Progress*. Compiled by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 1034 pp.

*A Matter of Simple Justice*. The report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities. April 1970. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 33 pp.

*National Roster of Black Elected Officials*. Compiled by Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (Washington Office) and Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, Inc. February 1970. 108 pp.

*Research Annual on Intergroup Relations—1970: A Research Study of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith*, edited by Melvin M. Tumin. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970. 310 pp.

*Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest*, by Fred H. Schmidt. A study prepared for the Colorado Civil Rights Commission under the auspices of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 247 pp.

*The Status of American Indian Education*, by Herbert A. Aurbach and Estelle Fuchs with Gordon Macgregor. An interim report of the National Study of American Indian Education to the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, January 1970. 156 pp.

*Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality*. Report of the National Goals Research Staff. July 4, 1970. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office 1970, 228 pp.

## FILMS

*The Black Eye*. This 16mm color film documents the views of inner-city blacks in Detroit as they pertain to their present living conditions, their

hopes for the future, and the whites who live in suburbia. Various settings are depicted within the black community as black residents, young and old, express their desire for a better life as well as their opinions on discrimination and their relations with whites. The film was produced for the New Detroit Committee, an organization composed of citizens from local business, labor, and civic groups, in its attempt to find new ways to improve circumstances for Detroit blacks in all areas. The film, which runs for 43 minutes, vividly points out that although blacks want the same opportunities as whites, they want them on their terms without losing individual identity. There is an interracial group discussion at the end of the film during which time this idea is brought out but, more importantly, that there must be more dialogue between the races before better relations will result. Other communities can profit from the messages in this film. Contact New Detroit Speaker's Bureau, Detroit Bank and Trust Bldg. (Suite 1515), 211 W. Fort St., Detroit, Mich. 48226.

*America in the 70's*. A collection of films examining the social and political crises confronting America today. The anthology consists of folios divided into Parts I through XII, each dealing with a different issue and each containing a selection of films on that particular issue. Subject areas include "Poverty"; "Black America"; "The Inner City"; "The Mass Media"; and "The Future". The films available under each subject are described individually including the terms for rental and purchase. This collection, an effort of public television film makers, can serve as a source of information for better understanding of America as it is today and as an incentive for action. Private citizens, organizations, educators, students, and others may well benefit from all or part of this series. For more information, contact NET Film Service, Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

# Book Reviews

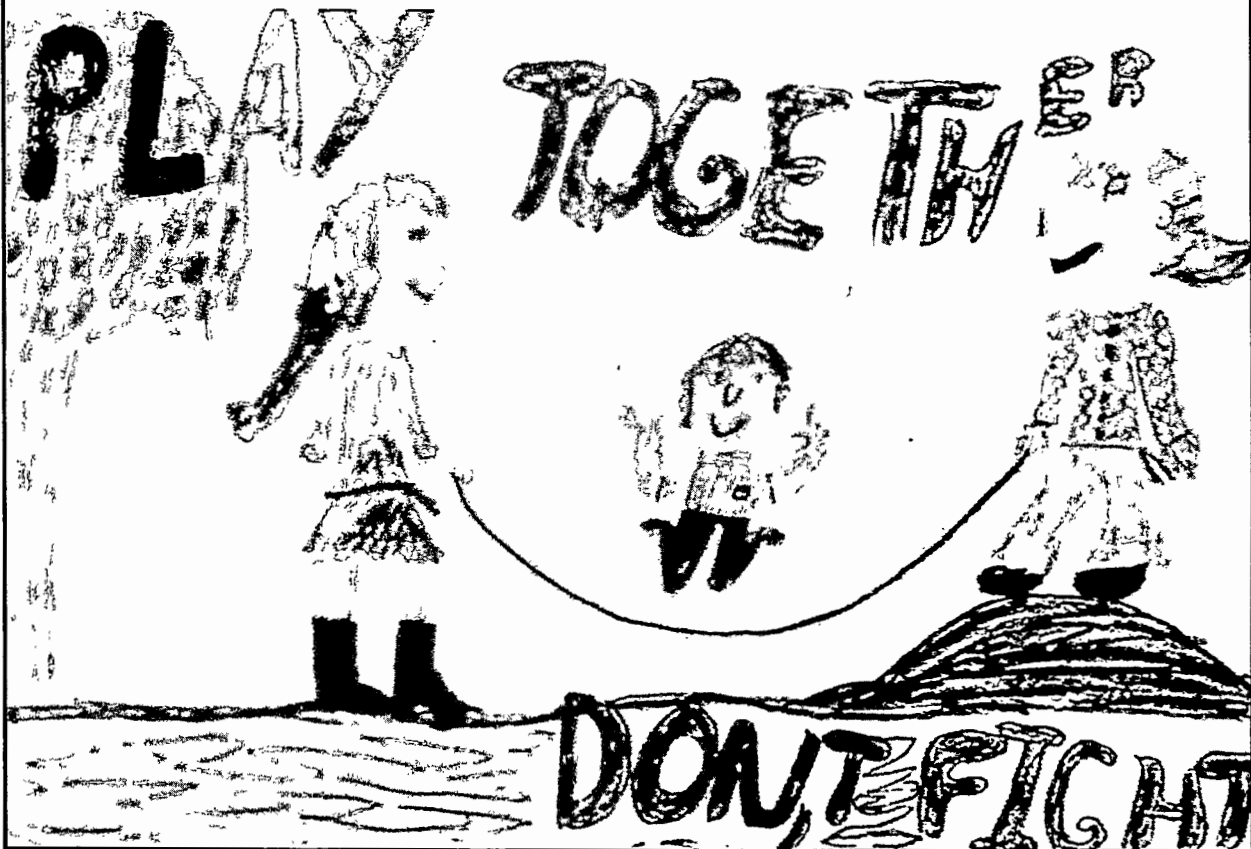
**From Children With Love**, by 200 children of Columbus Intermediate School, Berkeley Unified School District, Superior Press, Oakland, California. 1969-70. 94 pp.

In a departure from our usual format, the editors have selected several poems from the anthology *From Children With Love*. The 252 poems contained in the book are based on the study of black history and culture and were composed by a group of youngsters from ages 8 to 13 during a creative writing project. Under such topics as "Walk Together Children" and "I Have a Dream", they express their thoughts on various aspects of the black studies course and interracial friendships.

# HOPE

My hopes are dreams  
And wished too  
I hope they someday  
Will come true.  
I hope for brotherhood  
And for peace to come  
All races and creeds  
Under the sun  
Together.

*Susan Wright age 11*



## TO BE SOMEBODY

Do you want to know how it is to be a nigger  
When a white man comes up to you and says,  
"Boy pick up that piece of paper?"  
With a friend I went into a store.  
A man gave me some ice cream  
And I began eating.  
A white man came up to me to slap me,  
And kick and push me out into the street  
And I got hit by a car.  
That's how it is to be a nigger.

*Anna Smithey age 9*

## MY STREET

I have a cool street  
It's really neat  
It is cool  
It knows the rule.  
I can dig it.  
I have a soul street,  
In the new style.  
On our street they say,  
"Black is beautiful and cool"  
And soul is on this street.  
Can you dig it?

*Jean Jacobs age 11  
Connie Phillips age 11*

## HISTORY-MAKERS OF THE PAST

The Amistad, a slave ship was she,  
Whose slaves ended up being free  
For when they reached Long Island Sound  
Illegal slaves they were found to be.

*Lynette Hazelrigg age 12*

## TRIBUTES TO MARTIN LUTHER KING

Martin Luther King  
Was a good man  
I didn't really hear about him  
Till he died.  
I asked my mother  
She didn't say anything  
She was just lookin'  
at his funeral on T.V.  
And they was all cryin'  
I asked her why she was cryin'  
But she didn't say nothing.

*Todd Wright age 12*

He died in Tennessee  
So all men could be free.

*Alonzo Frazier age 10*

Martin Luther King's way was peace,  
He led his people very well  
And in spite of his peaceful ways  
In silence he was killed.

*Brian Giorgi age 10*

## A LEADING MAYOR

Charles Evers,  
Became a black mayor of late  
In Fayette City  
In Mississippi state.  
He rose from the ground  
And people have found  
He could help them around  
Now his honors will abound.

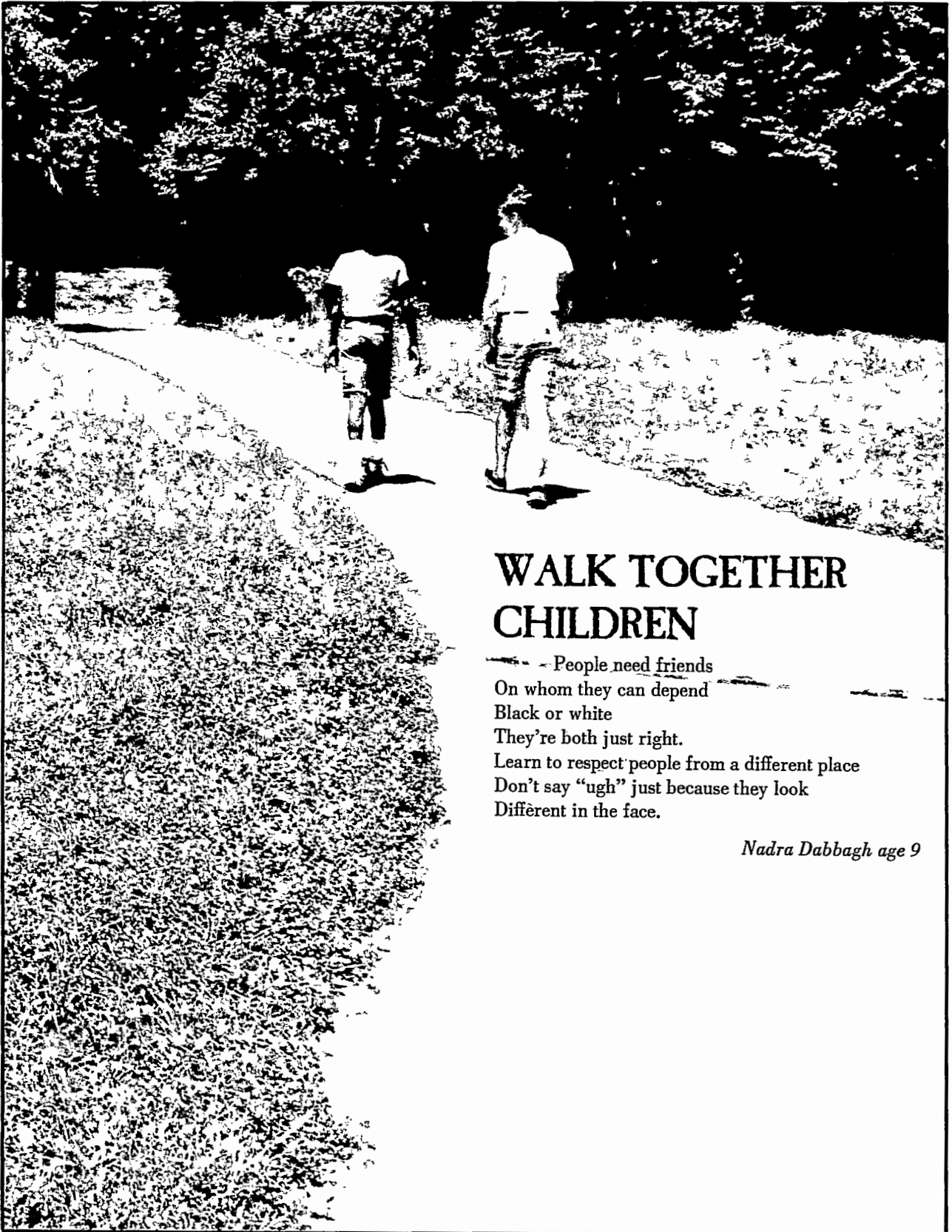
*Alan Golds age 9*

## SPORTSMEN

Jackie Robinson a baseball player  
The first black player to be  
He hit home runs, he made the score  
And that's why he is known in history.

*Caroline Reay age 11*





## WALK TOGETHER CHILDREN

— People need friends

On whom they can depend

Black or white

They're both just right.

Learn to respect people from a different place

Don't say "ugh" just because they look

Different in the face.

*Nadra Dabbagh age 9*

# WALK TOGETHER CHILDREN

Walk together children  
Black and white learning  
Being friends.  
To stop violence  
And to start integration.  
We should walk together  
We're stuck with it.  
If we could walk together  
We won't be prejudiced.

*Steve Neeley age 11*  
*Matt Borenzweig age 10*

I don't think this world is too bad,  
But I know it could be better.  
When I think of it I feel sad,  
That we cannot live together.  
But this world is still beautiful  
No matter what you say!  
Even if it was upside-down  
Or any old way.

*Anne Pope age 9*

Black people in the United States  
Some are glad  
Yet some are sad  
Just like the whites.  
In the United States there are many  
colorful sides.  
We should treat all as  
brothers and sisters.  
We should live  
And die together.

*Ingeborg Bjornholm age 11*

When I look at my friend  
I do not see her color;  
I do not see her looks  
When I look at her I see  
My friend.

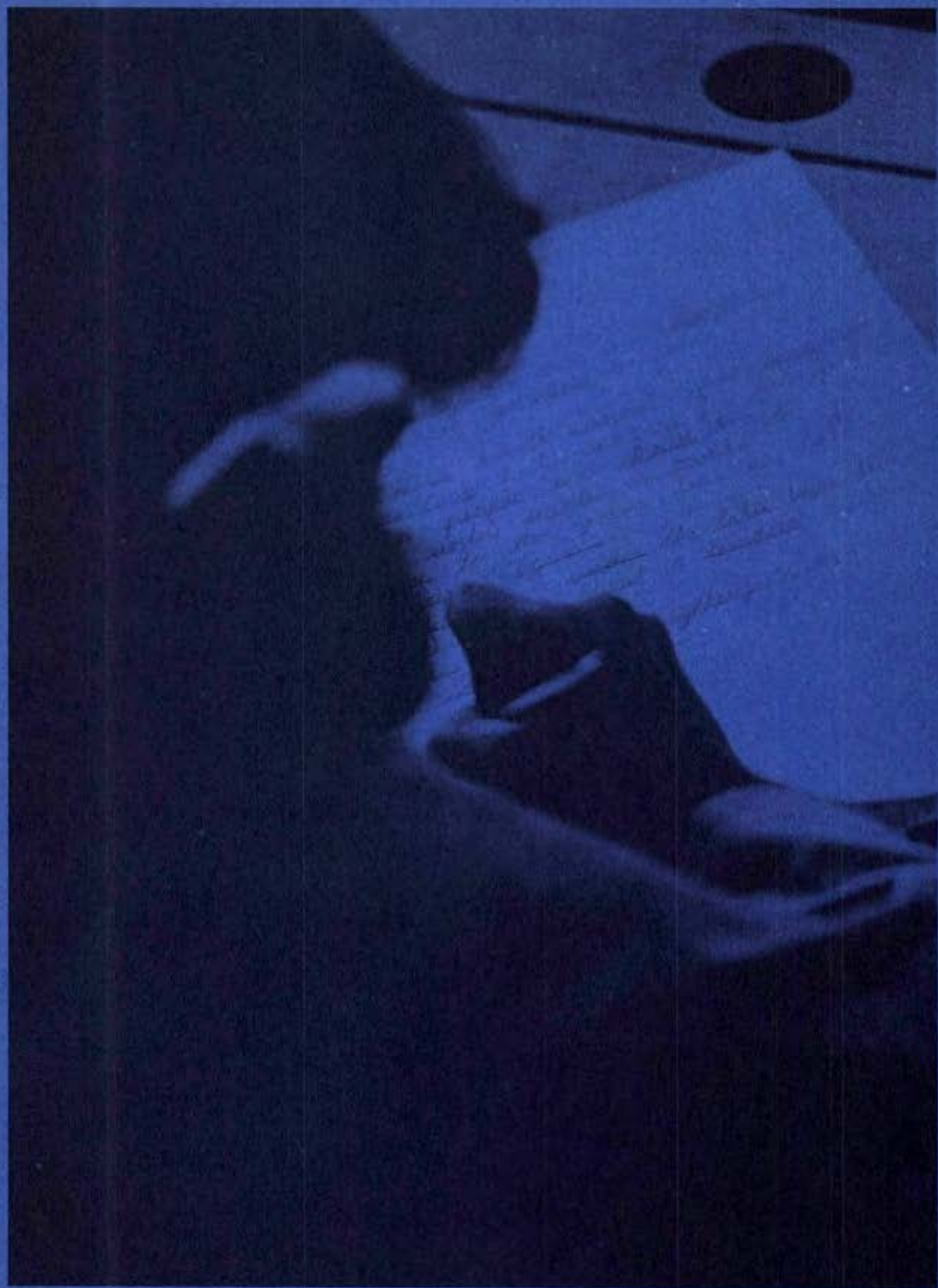
Friendship is something I  
Cannot describe;  
She is simply  
My friend  
And she is not different.

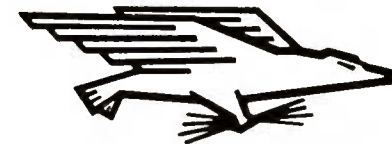
I am proud to be her friend.  
I like her very much,  
She is a person;  
A human being.  
She is also my friend.

*Eileen Keefe age 11*

I feel black and you feel white,  
Together we shall walk the night.  
I feel black and you feel white,  
How come we weren't born with equal rights?  
I feel black and you feel white,  
Slaves and masters an ugly sight  
Look at us now, say fight, fight, fight.  
Killing, warring, dying, might—  
All we see is red, red, red—  
I'm dying, I'm dying, now I'm dead.  
When will we learn to share this world?  
I feel black and you feel white,  
Together we shall walk through the night.

*Mark Sherman age 8*





POSTAGE AND FEES PAID BY  
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

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

Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*

Frankie M. Freeman

Maurice B. Mitchell

Robert S. Rankin

Manuel Ruiz, Jr.

Howard A. Glickstein, *Staff Director*

---

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

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

velopments 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.