CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

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CIVIL RIGHTS
DIGEST

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THE GREATEST MINORITY OF ALL

By Nancy E. Dowding

It is difficult in a Nation of free men to comprehend the fact that under our Constitution women are not regarded as persons in their own right. Yet this is actually the situation in which American women find themselves today. Although they comprise approximately 53 percent of the total population in the United States, women in effect are treated as a minority group. They suffer daily subjection and degradation equal to or greater than any minority group in this country.

Since 1923, American women have sought unsuccessfully to obtain equal status as United States citizens through passage of an Equal Rights Amendment. This amendment, which is a bipartisan proposal to the Constitution, would provide that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex." For 48 years, this legislation has been bandied about on Capitol Hill, where predominantly male legislators have varied the methods used to kill it during every session of Congress. Therefore, women continue to be the victims of *de jure* discrimination. They remain the one group which does not enjoy the full protection of the American Constitution. And the

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precious rights of equal justice which have been guaranteed under the law to all kinds of minorities by Supreme Court rulings are still denied to the greatest minority of all—women.

Legal discrimination against women by which they are not considered a person in their own right is manifest in many ways. In some States, separate provisions exist for qualifying women as jurors; in several States, a woman cannot start an independent business without court sanction or, in some cases, without her husband's consent; most community property States have laws allowing a husband complete control and management of community property, but do not give the wife this right. Until 1968, certain statutes in some States imposed longer sentences on women than on men for the same crimes. Pennsylvania and Connecticut are two States in which such laws have been declared unconstitutional. In at least two States, the husband is legally the owner of his wife's earnings; and in some States only the father has the right of guardianship and control of a child's earnings and property. There are also so-called "protective" laws, such as restrictive labor standards, which actually discriminate against women. The comprehensive listing of specific injustices is overwhelming proof of the need for the Equal Rights Amendment, and our legislators in Washington should be receiving letters daily urging full support of this overdue legislation.

The minority status of women under the Constitution might prompt everyone to pause and consider the secondary status of women more seriously. It might even be useful for those who suffer minority status of other kinds—race, religion, national origin—to look more closely at the roles assigned to women within their particular cultures. This should be an especially worthwhile exercise for those who complain that women and women's groups are not active enough in support of the efforts to overcome prejudice. Women in any segment of our society must first have a sense of dignity and personal worth as individuals before they can become committed to the cause of the Chicano, the Indian, or any oppressed particular ethnic group. And it would seem to be compounding their oppression to disregard the plight of women as a minority because they have not yet recognized themselves as important allies in the struggles of their sub-groups.

Indeed, this inactivity in the past may be some measure of the real depth of their sense of inferiority and depression. But as more and more of them discover and look upon themselves as individuals of intrinsic worth—first of all as women—then they will be psychologically able to assume a more active role in allied causes. To overcome a long history of treatment as chattel in male-dominated societies is not an easy matter, but it is a vital task facing women throughout the world; only then will they be free to function as human beings in their own right.

Consider the work situations which women encounter today.

Bearing in mind that nine out of ten American women will work outside their homes at one time or another, we note that the annual income of the white American male is the highest, that of the black American male is next highest, the white American female is in third place, and the black American female earns the least of all (and very likely works the hardest.)

Government statistics* reveal that a pattern of lower pay prevails throughout our economy for women. On the lower levels they average about 40 percent of a man's income; with even the highest professional preparation they still run far behind, earning at best about 60 percent of the annual income of their male counterparts.

If a woman in need of employment turns first to the Help Wanted Ads in the newspaper, she is likely to find second-class treatment all the way. The persistent practice of the majority of newspapers is to list most jobs in sex-segregated columns headed "Male" and "Female", and even a hasty review of the listings will show that women are immediately relegated to the lower-paid, lower-status jobs. Where men are sought as accountants, women are left to work as bookkeepers; where men are selected as program analysts, women are hired to serve as keypunchers. Needless to say, the result is that the pay scales for men are consistently higher.

What justification can there be for these unfair balances, other than that of an economic and cultural lag—a carry-over from an earlier life style in which women rarely worked outside their homes?

But that life style is no longer typical for many American women, and without doubt it will be-

*Information concerning discrimination against women, comprising two volumes of approximately 1,200 pages of testimony, was presented before the Subcommittee on Education No. 7, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, July 1970. Chairman Edith Green (D. Ore.).

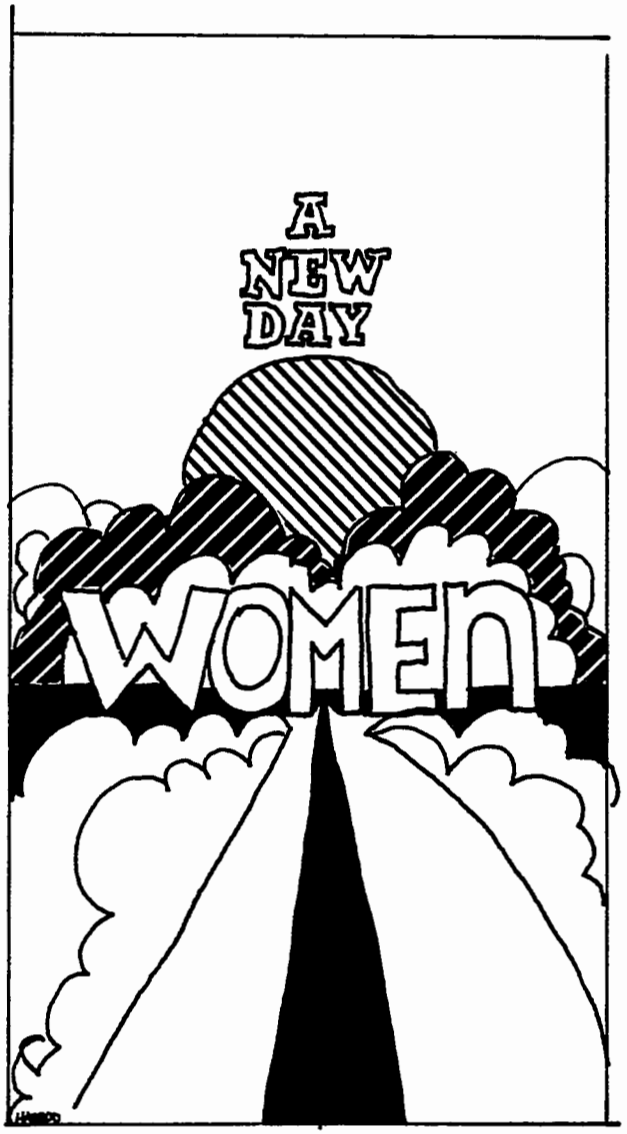
come less typical for women throughout this country and the world in the coming centuries, as individuals everywhere come to be valued as persons in their own right.

The tremendous problems confronting women are now being dealt with by a number of organizations and in widely different ways. One of these, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), concentrates its efforts on two areas of vital importance: (1) equal opportunities for education of women, and (2) equal opportunities for employment of women who must work or who choose to work. This approach is predicated on the belief that women must have equal opportunities to equip themselves with the necessary skills, training, and academic preparation in order to enter the world of work outside their homes with confidence and competence to do that work which is truly appropriate for them.

The word "appropriate" should be carefully noted, for it serves notice on our society that those who are capable and interested in assuming work in other than the ancient, stereotyped roles (those chiefly in capacities assigned to them by men and to serve men) will, in the future, demand more and more policymaking and administrative positions. With an awakening awareness of their own personal worth, women will increasingly question whether the kind and quality of work assigned them is what they might reasonably be expected to do. A re-evaluation and re-distribution of work roles will be sought to bring balance and redress into our employment systems.

WEAL has been effective in calling attention to the unjust practice of sex-segregated Help Wanted Ads, and a few newspapers have already discarded this antiquated procedure. However, all newspapers throughout the country have yet to end the practice of separate listings. They should simply list positions alphabetically for which any competent person could apply. Individuals whom this affects are urged to voice their objections to this practice by communicating both with the advertiser and the newspapers' business offices.

Of course, the argument may be advanced that this is a time of relatively high unemployment and it may be asked, if women are given a fair chance to compete for positions which are already scarce, wouldn't it deprive some male head-of-household of the income he needs to support his family? The answer is "No"; just the opposite might be expected. The more people who are



working, the more money there is in the economy. This increased activity creates accompanying needs and demands for more products; the greater the productivity, the greater the employment activity. In fact, this economic "philosophy of expansion" brings about more good for everyone, and the Nation's vitality is enhanced by it.

Therefore, it is conceivable that all persons who believe women are human beings of worth and merit in their own right could support their requests for equal education and equal employment opportunities. This is just as true for women who may never need to seek employment outside their own homes and for the men in our society who are ready to accept the fact that God has endowed women with equal status, as it is for those women in our society who must work. And we

should keep in mind the great number of women who serve as the sole support of their families; to these women, equal pay may represent the means of supporting their families at a decent level of living.

Employment in our technological society is contingent on educational opportunity, and as the level of sophistication rises year-by-year in the commercial world a corresponding rise in the educational requirements for workers takes place. This makes it all the more distressing to learn that only 1 percent of the apprenticeships in the United States are designed for women. The scarcity of job training opportunities exists for those young women who do not plan to pursue formal education on the college level after high school. Once again they are channeled into lower-paying, less challenging and rewarding work, with the prospect of finding even fewer opportunities for training in their later years.

Those young women who do plan to enter college will also find themselves at an unfair advantage, for the ratio of admissions is in favor of men even at State and federally supported collegiate institutions. Assuming that the female college student is brighter and possesses a higher achievement record and is admitted into a college, she will find herself further handicapped in a variety of ways. Following the general pattern of standards and expectations, she may very well compete for her grades in classes taught largely by males. And if she proves to be too competitive, she may be regarded as unfeminine and aggressive. That same behavior on the part of a male student, however, might well be admired as befitting a "go-getter".

In addition, the female student on campus will encounter a high preponderance of male counselors. Here too there will be cultural forces at play in discussions of career expectations. Recent research* by the writer showed that approximately 82 percent of directors of counseling felt that the predominantly male counselors were adequately prepared to meet the counseling needs of women students. Only 8 percent said they were not sure. It would be of great interest to study in greater detail that confident 82 percent, in order to determine just what their concepts of the life styles are that lie ahead for American women.

*Copies of the study may be obtained by writing Counselor Research, Cuyahoga Community College—Western Campus, 7300 York Road, Parma, Ohio 44130.

Is it not logical to suggest that women students need to see other women functioning in high positions as policymakers, on the highest academic level as full professors, as department heads, administrators, and counselors, if they are to fulfill their own capabilities completely? Such sex role models are vitally necessary if the women in our society are to reach their highest possible levels and exert every effort to realize their full potentials. The wonder is that for so long women have tolerated the status of being the overlooked and ignored in these occupational roles!

One of the most valuable contributions of WEAL has been in the area of education. Based on Executive Order 11246 as amended, which forbids all Federal contractors from discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, and *sex*, WEAL has filed formal charges of sex discrimination against hundreds of collegiate institutions throughout the United States, including all medical schools. Inasmuch as our tax dollars go to most collegiate institutions in various ways, those receiving Federal funds are thereby required to observe fair employment practices and equal opportunities for admission. It is heartening to report that action has been taken to correct and alleviate some of these injustices. It is especially encouraging to non-militant women, who desire to effect change *within the system* without storming the barricades in radical fashion, who believe that change can be brought about through legal, peaceful means. Here is proof of that fact—strong and effective proof.

In reference to tax dollars, it is interesting to note here that this is *one* area where women are not regarded as inferior. We encounter the great equalizer that seems to surmount all minority group barriers—no one ever seems to find tax money paid by women inadequate or unacceptable! Those same legislators and national leaders who perpetuate minority group status of women are never heard to uphold that position when it comes to paying an equal share of tax dollars. Thoughtful women everywhere cannot help but wonder what happens to all those widely publicized "protective" instincts of men who serve as heads of powerful legislative committees when women are taxed on scales that do not distinguish according to sex. *All* applications should be just as free from distinctions based on sex as the tax forms are and for the same reasons!

The distribution of financial aid to college stu-

dents is another area of study that must be of real interest and benefit to women students. Women students should be aware of the percentage of scholarships, grants, loans, and work-study programs assigned to them by institutions of higher learning. Such investigations would seem to be good doctoral dissertation topics.

Recent research by the writer revealed that there was a notable lack of information concerning this whole area, and that there was only limited information regarding available entry level positions and salaries for college women graduates.

Competent women graduates should be encouraged to seek equal pay and appropriate high-level employment, based on their academic preparation and ability. Inequality in employment and promotion of women workers in general may be explained by the highly damaging principle of "psychological invisibility". As it is too often with the black worker, biased human beings who do not wish to hire, promote, pay, or even recognize a person of a minority group as a fellow human being simply do not see that individual, although the person may be present in a very real fashion.

The competent woman working in an office is often not even considered for equal pay or promotion. The female applicant is not even envisioned as a possible candidate for a managerial training program. The female college graduate is asked if she can type; the male is not. Little by little, the female applicant is kept in a low status by all of these unfair assumptions, expectations, and questions. Indeed, if the existence of these biased conditions were truly recognized, the female applicant would be given special consideration and encouragement when seeking employment, to make up for the cultural, economic, and educational deprivation she had previously encountered.

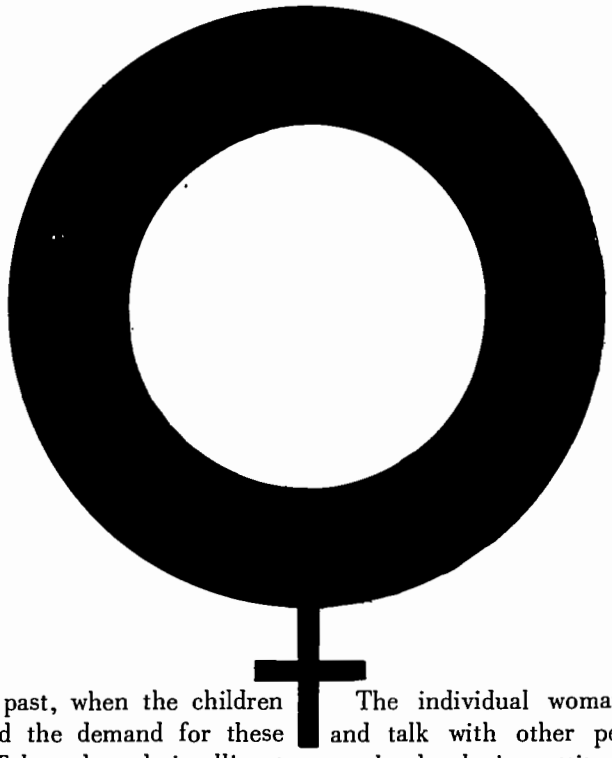
It is all the more distressing for women workers when one realizes that the days when women worked for "fun" money are long gone. Approximately 96 percent of the husbands of women workers earn less than $10,000 per year. Married women workers, who represent the highest percentage of new workers entering the employment market each year, are therefore a vital element of the national economy; they are working for very practical reasons—to help sustain their families in a very costly American society. When this genuine service is widely recognized, more attention will be paid to the establishment of wholesome child care centers for all elements of our society. Additional child care centers are needed both for women workers and women students who are seeking education and training for future employment. The child care centers to be developed hopefully will provide developmental and recreational facilities for our young and will avoid functioning as "parking lots for children", as some have been aptly described. It also should be pointed out that children are left at these centers not just by the "mother" but by "parents"—the father is equally responsible for the necessary child care services in families where both parents work.

Accompanying cultural changes in the structure and functions of the "family" in America are changes in the appropriate roles of the family members. For example, the average mother in America now has had her last child by the age of 30. Even if she decides to remain at home until that child is in school full time and then chooses or needs to work, at about 35 or 36 years of age, she could look forward to 25 or 30 more years of employment. *If* she has a chance!

The "need" to work outside the home does not necessarily imply financial need (although, as we have seen, this is most often the case). Human beings need a strong sense of purpose and meaning if they are to live a fulfilled life. This can come from a variety of activities and in the past most women have found it through family and homemaking responsibilities. But, today, the focus increasingly extends beyond the boundaries of the home. However, fair and meaningful opportunities for employment must be available if women are to make a contribution to society through their work.

In evaluating the performance of women workers generally, it would be well to keep in mind the kinds of work women are asked to do. The element of motivation is tremendously important in any kind of work, and it is obvious that the task of the charwoman lacks the inspiration of a flight into outer space—or even that of a department manager. Despite the low level of motivation in most work that women are expected to do, they are to be credited with turning in exceptionally good performances as compared to male employees. And this good record should be even more enhanced when the level of women's work is improved and they are not automatically expected to find fascination in drudgery.

The continuity which work can provide might very well alleviate some of the "strange" behavior



attributed to women in the past, when the children are gone from the home and the demand for these activities has diminished. Talented and intelligent women who are expected to sit on the sidelines and watch the mainstream of life go by may very well find this inadequate and unacceptable.

Psychologists attuned to appropriate roles for women in our contemporary culture might encourage women clients to work to bring about changes in their present situations, rather than adjusting to and accepting those inadequate roles of the past.

Individuals who wish to support the present movement toward equal status for women and actually effect change in the roles of women can take specific steps. The first is to write to members of Congress urging them to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Affiliation with one of the many organizations which are working to improve the status of women is another effective means of achieving this end. Contacts can be made on the State level asking that so-called protective legislation be revised and rewritten to protect the rights of all human beings. This would be a valuable step toward preventing discrimination on the basis of sex.*

The individual woman would do well to meet and talk with other persons who understand the newly developing attitudes toward women as equal human beings. Through mutual understanding and support, the spark of human dignity deep within spirited women may be fanned and kindled thereby spurring them to positive action. Programs featuring the "Status of Women" should be included in the meeting schedules of organizations. Ask candidates for political office to state their positions relative to this vital issue, and give full support to worthy female candidates whenever possible. A count of female members of Congress illustrates the disparity between the number of women voters and their representation in the Senate and the House.

Without doubt, it is going to take time to achieve redress of all the grievances against women in the United States, but there can be no better therapy for women throughout the Nation than to seize the initiative and take positive *action* to effect change. To write letters asking for just representation and support; to affiliate with an organization working for equal status for women; to speak, read, and write concerning this issue—good efforts along these lines provide the necessary outlet for the natural drives and healthy ambitions of spirited women throughout the Nation to achieve the status and human dignity worthy of women—that greatest minority of all.

*Editor's note: There is considerable legal opinion that the equal protection and due process clauses of the 14th amendment apply to all persons regardless of sex.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE PROFESSIONAL JOB MARKET

Money = power = masculinity—nowhere is this more evident than in the job market. This report . . . gives a documentary overview of discrimination in the professions.

Yes, we have no discrimination—recent survey: 94 percent of companies queried have management training programs "open" to women, but only 74 percent actually have women in those programs.

Yes, we have no . . . and on it goes. While discrimination in the professional job market and within the professions themselves comes in all shades and tones, the least subtle practices are to be found in precisely the areas where it hurts the most—choice, remuneration, and advancement.

It begins during the recruitment process. The survey mentioned above—which was conducted by the American Society for Personnel Administration and the Bureau of National Affairs (Bulletin of March 5, 1970) —also showed that of companies conducting on-campus interviews, "only 30 percent go to women's colleges—as opposed to 63 percent that go to men's schools and 97 percent to co-ed institutions."

Next, you come up against the fact that a number of professions are virtually closed to women—only 7 percent of all physicians are women, 2 percent of all dentists, 3 percent of the lawyers, 9 percent of the scientists, and less than 1 percent of the engineers.

By custom and convenience, we have chosen to sequester women in more "appropriate" fields—primarily domestic service, clerical, teaching, nursing, and retail sales. Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits job discrimination based on sex, we still see so-called protective laws on the books in many States, and in most cases "protection" is tantamount to restriction. Nearly 60 percent of the corporate respondents to the ASPA/BNA survey indicated that they ". . . still disqualify women on the basis of sex for jobs running from claims adjustor to airline pilot." In many cases, these jobs, not open to women, carry above average salary scales, and women not "qualifying" for these jobs are turned to lesser paying positions. The list becomes almost amusing: cable splicer, coin counter, dough feeder (bakery), lineman, meter reader, money exchanger, roustabout (refinery), toolmaker, and utility man.

As is the case with most surveys in this area, it was found that the percentage distribution of females was heavily weighted in rank and file office jobs. Nearly three-quarters of the 150 executives questioned said that less than 5 percent of their female employees were classified as professional and technical, and 87 percent had 5 percent or fewer women in management levels above first line supervisor.

The salary picture is correspondingly grim. Jack Shingleton, Director of Michigan State University's Placement Bureau, made this point in a January news release: ". . . most employers indicate they are paying the same salaries to women that are paid to men graduates . . . [but] . . . limited salary data does not bear this out . . . except in engineering [for the few who are in it], teaching and some business categories [accounting, most often.]"

When employers are con-

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fronted with the question of why women are paid less, their logic, according to Mr. Shingleton, runs along the following lines: "Traditionally, society and management tend to discriminate against women in the employment market; management feels that women have not developed the skills to compete with men; women choose to accept jobs that pay less; women tend to seek short-term employment rather than career-oriented jobs; women do not have the mobility of men." The point to be made here is not whether these points are truths, quarter-truths, or bald lies, but that a significant number of businessmen choose to accept them at face value. This is, of course, borne out by Labor Department salary statistics—only 3 percent of women employees earn more than $10,000 a year. The corresponding figure for men is 28 percent.

Virtually all surveys comparing starting salaries for men and women bachelor degree holders reflect this decided difference in pay—the size of the salary gap depends upon the type of employer and position. This carries over to the MBA level. Male MBA's from top graduate schools, for example, in 1968 earned $12,000 to $12,500. $13,000 to $14,000 in 1969, and approximately $14,000 to $14,500 in 1970, while women MBA's were earning between $1,000 and $3,500 less. The starting salary gap has been recently narrowing, but the change is coming quite slowly.

How about the women in the top and middle management? They are, of course, there—the president of Mattel, the treasurer of Electronic Data Systems, the executive vice president and treasurer of First Wisconsin Trust Company, the president of Wells, Rich & Greene, Globe Assurance has a female vice president of field sales, and General Foods recently added a woman to their board of directors, to name but a few. Most of these women are the exception rather than the rule.

True, new female promotion patterns are emerging, the situation is improving—but slowly. But most observers contend that a woman has to be exceptional, almost overqualified, to move much beyond the bottom third of the corporate pyramid, much less to its top—or inherit a family business.

As is the case with blacks, before there are more women in top management, there must be more moved into lower level line positions—and, of course, the channels to the top must be kept open. A number of companies are taking steps in that direction. Proctor and Gamble has a "few hundred" women in management positions—double 3 years ago; IBM tripled its number of women managers since 1965: New York Telephone has increased by one-third their women management trainees; Bankers Trust Company has increased the bank's top 10 percent jobs from seven in 1965 to 62 today.

Accounting, retailing, and management consulting firms are opening their doors wider—something, at least in consulting, that was virtually unheard of 10 years ago.

Many companies increasingly under pressure from women's groups are following recommendations laid down in "A Matter of Simple Justice", the report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights—including the establishment of day care centers for employee's children.

Although all these changes are admittedly coming slowly, it seems quite likely that the woman MBA—as was the case with the black MBA—will be among the first to benefit. Their numbers, while small, have been increasing. While the number of females receiving their MBA's are not overwhelming compared to the number of males, a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Summary Report on bachelor and higher degrees conferred has shown an increase from 167 women in 1960 to over 600 in 1968, the latest figures available.

A profile of the young (ages roughly 23-27) woman MBA was drawn from research done by MBA Enterprises, Inc. (*The Young Executive: A Behavioral Profile*, 1970): more than half of those surveyed had full-time work experience before business school; a majority had undergraduate backgrounds in a business-related field; 55 percent got married within 5 years of receiving their degree. All indications are that a high proportion of female MBA's are career-oriented, at least in the initial stages of their professional development, and have the background and experience to support their interest. One of the reasons for not hiring women is said to be their high turnover rate. Not true. Turnover characteristics for both groups are remarkably similar—approximately 61 percent of both groups were still with their first employers and 23 percent with their second.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN GENERAL: BLACK SOUTHERN WOMEN IN PARTICULAR

By Willa C. Bryant

The history of discrimination against women in America is the history of stereotypes based on traditional ideologies and cultural myths. The concept of women as a species biologically and socially inferior to men was conceived in the minds of a static society in need of a rationale to justify the oppression and indignities to which women were subjected. They were depicted as dependent and childlike, incapable of reasoning and making rational decisions.

The difficulty women have today in combating this traditional situation is compounded for black women, who are stereotyped on racial grounds as well, and who cannot be liberated from one stigma without being liberated from the other.

In an era marked by unprecedented social upheavals and technological advancement, in which women make up more than a third of the labor force, they have proven the fallacy of the myth of female inferiority against male superiority. And the impetus has been provided for women to join forces to eliminate all aspects of institutionalized segregation and discrimination they have endured. However, black women are reluctant to join the so-called Women's Liberation Movement—a movement conceived by white women, white-dominated, and oriented toward white goals.

There appear to be three major groups involved in the women's movement: working middle class white women, non-working suburban white women, and white female students and college graduates (usually unmarried middle class women). Although the concerns of these groups differ, there exists a common bond of oppression that unites them. The middle class working white women are most concerned with issues related to economic aspects, such as fair wages and job discrimination. Suburban housewives, bored with endless bridge parties, are concerned with the injustice of imposed inferiority and the debilitating effects of severely limited lives. White female students and college graduates are protesting sexual exploitation and their inability to move to the top in their specialized fields.

All are victims of stereotypes that express society's belief in the biological inferiority of women. These women, no longer willing to sit idly by, victimized by discriminatory practices in the labor market, and relegated to the status of inferiors in the social order, have taken to the streets and to the halls of justice seeking passage of legislation that will ameliorate their predicament. While concerned about such matters as job discrimination and equal pay, it is incongruous to picture black women marching with white women against men, all men, when black men have been—and continue to be—the victims of massive discrimination and injustice.

The role black women should play in the Women's Liberation Movement is highly controversial. Some writers view the women's movement as the time-honored strategy of exploiters to "divide and conquer"—a diversion from the crucial problems of discrimination against black persons. Some organizations endorse the movement because they feel obligated to support the concept of equal opportunity. Then there are those who take the position that blacks should banish all notions of manhood and femininity to concentrate on the furtherance of "Blackhood", letting nothing prevent the black woman and black

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man from moving *together*. Consideration must be given to all the diverse opinions, and a search must be made for common grounds in the struggle for the liberation of all people.

If there are white women who consider themselves abused by the system, then consider the plight of black women and black southern women in particular who are the victims of double jeopardy. To be black and female in the South is to experience the depths of degredation, to be socially manipulated, intellectually persecuted, morally slandered, and victims of the worst kind of economic exploitation. Those industries that employ black women are the most exploitative in the world, and the same applies to white housewives who employ black domestic workers.

White women have never suffered the extreme exploitation suffered by black women nor the life-and-death struggle black women must engage in for survival. When the simple act of getting a job is the determinant of "to eat or not to eat", who has the time to argue about equal salaries for men and women, or to care that certain jobs are not available to women? The job is the thing to black women. The fact that you are doing something—something that separates the welfare recipients from the providers—this is the basic issue. And besides, black women in the South have always been liberated within the confines of a segregated society. Inasmuch as jobs for black men have always been at a premium, there has been little competition between black men and black women in the job market.

Black women have long been "liberated" to work in the white woman's home as cooks, scrub women, and baby nurses; to clean office buildings; to do the dirty work in hospitals; to work in the fields; and then return to their slum homes at night to do a repeat performance. Many of these women would welcome the opportunity to be housewives, especially in "suburbia", taking care of their husbands and children. Freedom from the day-to-day drudgery outside of the home would be considered a rare privilege.

Southern black women are far more concerned with the liberation of their black husbands and sons—liberation that would afford them opportunities to work and help support their families, liberation that speaks to simple human rights. The words that support these human rights ring out loud and clear. Yet today there exists no commensurate action that touches the depths of the problem. True, some blacks have exalted, high-paying positions, but they usually had fewer problems of survival from the beginning. True, millions of dollars have been poured into programs by the Federal Government to alleviate the plight of minority groups. But many of these programs have been abject failures.

To get the full significance of the racial problems that of necessity take precedence over the movement for the liberation of women, one should take a look at the newly integrated school systems in the South. The "establishment" here has far surpassed those ingenious planners in the North, who never had large numbers of black men and women teaching in the public schools. On the other hand, schools in the South have been the primary source of occupation for black college graduates. Today, however, the handwriting is on the wall for all to see. The days of the black male administrator and "young" black male teacher are numbered because their presence in the public schools is a threat to white womanhood.

With the walls of oppression closing in all around us, our cry is for black liberation, first and foremost. We want no liberation apart from the liberation of *all* black persons. For black women of the South, it must be one step at a time. Only when all blacks are truly free to the extent that equal opportunity is a reality, can black women speak to the issues of "equal pay for equal work", the boredom of suburban life, and the sexual exploitation of women.

VENGO DEL VALLE
part I

By Edward J. Casavantes

The plight of certain Mexican American migrant, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers and the need to provide them with stable, well-paying jobs have become the focus of attention to many concerned citizens. This is the first of two articles by Edward Casavantes which describe the methods used by one industrial firm to help alleviate this problem, while at the same time filling its own employment needs. From interviews conducted by Mr. Casavantes, the strengths and weaknesses of the project are noted.

Mr. Casavantes is deputy chief of the Mexican American Studies Division of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He is also president of the Association of Psychologists for La Raza.

They call a stretch of land in southwest Texas that runs from McAllen to Brownsville along the Rio Grande River on the Mexican border "El Valle". This semi-tropical valley is a lush area that abounds in citrus and vegetables, and you can drive its roads in the day's twilight and smell the clean, succulent orange blossom air. Its economy is principally an agricultural one. Its population is predominately Mexican American. Many of its residents come from stoop-labor backgrounds and other unskilled trades. They are trapped in a web of poverty for which no easy exit exists.

Although the life style of the border culture has many attractive and tenacious qualities, its uncertain farm economy keeps it economically depressed, and it offers few opportunities even for the schooled and trained. The unskilled must rely on menial jobs or seasonal migration to northern harvest lands and, for many ultimately, the welfare office. Some leave the Valley forever with an occasional nostalgic return to visit relatives. Their common identity wherever they go is "Vengo del Valle"—I come from the Valley.

In the past few years industrial and manufacturing companies have begun to recognize the vast manpower potential in the Rio Grande Valley. A few have located plants there and some have recruited raw manpower and trained it for a particular skill. One of those to tap the Valley's manpower supply was the Vought Aeronautics Division of Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV) located in Grand Prairie, Texas, a small suburban town between Dallas and Fort Worth.

The story has simple beginnings. During 1967-68, the aerospace industry—and other industries—was at a production peak, and hiring was at an all-time high in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Unemployment rates reached an unbelievable two percent. This meant that, literally, "unemployables" were being employed.

LTV needed more workers for its Vought Aeronautics plant at Grand Prairie. Finding few in the local area, the company asked itself where a pool of adequate manpower could be found. For LTV two situations had to be dealt with: the general low availability of men; and the high turnover of local men hired. LTV needed not only a workforce, but workers who would be permanent.

In what might be termed a victory over bureaucracy, a total of 16 Federal agencies, State government agencies, and local civic organizations joined forces to bring about change. Staff from these agencies were sent down into the Valley—into McAllen, into Harlingen, into Rio Grande City. They announced their plans and set up a recruitment program in cooperation with the LTV company.

The promise that Vought made was to train men for aircraft assembly in portable educational units in the Valley. A spokesman said: "We will train you for work in our company; we even promise work for you if you finish our training program. If you do wish to be employed, we will pay for your moving expenses and help you find a house or apartment. We will also have counselors to provide orientation or guidance for any personal or situational problems you may encounter." The men's obligation to LTV: None.

In addition, LTV and the agencies concerned cooperatively maintained the men at "unemployment compensation wages" through a grant from the Department of Labor, which enabled them to receive training while technically unemployed.

The training the men received and the manner in which it was carried out were among the success factors. The recruitment process was also very important.

"We were very selective," said Rod Rodriquez, an LTV mechanical engineer turned-counselor, who supervised the counseling services for the workers. "Only three out of every 16 applicants were chosen. Among the requisites were that the workmen spoke English and were willing to make the relocation to the Dallas area."

Selectees ranged in age from 18 to 48 and most were married. Some had worked in skilled jobs, such as mechanics and carpenters, but at very low wages. Others had been migrant workers who had traveled into half of the United States to pick beets, cotton, tomatoes, nuts, and peaches. All had been underemployed, which meant they had been making from $50 to $100 per week. There were couples with no children and others with as many as nine. All wanted a more stable way of life.

The training took place in three Valley cities: Harlingen, McAllen, and Rio Grande City. There LTV set up a series of classes of 15 men each. The first class began in September 1967, the last in November 1968, 14 months later. A total of 684 men entered training; 500 of these eventually went to work for Vought Aeronautics in the city of Grand Prairie, Texas.

With tears in her eyes, a wife of one of the ex-migrants recalled their migrant years: *If you were like us, going back and forth, up and down. It has helped us a lot.* Two of the husbands had similar reactions:

I think working at LTV is all right. I like this 7 to 4 shift. Then I can be home with the kids. You work 8 hours; you get good money. It's not like we used to work—12 to 14 hours . . . hard *work.*

I think they have done me a good deed. I enjoy the work I do. Yeah, sometimes I gripe. But if I had stayed where I was, I would not have what I have now. What I have now is mine.

Not all of the men and wives who were interviewed were optimistic. Some were unhappy. But of those now living in the Dallas area, only one—and he with mixed feelings—said that, although he would like to go back to the Valley, he would not. One 38-year-old worker reminisced: "I was a body man in Rio Grande City, but at a $1.25 an hour. Before that, I was a migrant for 4 or 5 years or I worked on a ranch." He said that he was ready for economic improvement.

A 44-year-old man, one of the oldest in the group, spoke of his previous work, "I was a carpenter for 7 years, on and off, at $1.25. I also worked in a lumber yard." He then immediately added that at LTV he was making $3.73 an hour: "Man that's three times as much as I was making before."

So they came to the Dallas area. But what happened to the men after their initial 5 weeks of training in the Valley can best be understood by looking at the experiences of a typical worker and his family. Carlos Garza (not his real name) received counseling immediately following his application. He was told what to expect and what not to expect. As training progressed, each of the obstacles either he or his family was likely to encounter in the "big city" was brought out and discussed frankly.

The Garza family would have a difficult time being separated from their extended family ties and from friends. Carlos would probably need a car to go back and forth to work. The schools would be different; the church and priest would be different; the traffic and congestion would be worse than in the Valley. Although the father spoke English, his wife or children might have trouble with the language. Money, how to deal with emergencies, or trouble with the landlord were also among the topics discussed.

It may well be that the counseling and emotional preparation were the most important parts of the relocation, for the emotional and social problems appeared to be responsible for most of the difficulties which were to cause trouble later.

When the family was ready to move, Grand Prairie was alerted that Carlos Garza and his family were coming, Carlos was 35 years old, his wife 32, his children, ages 11, 8, and 5. He had a 1960 sedan which was not in very good shape, but it would get him the 500 miles to Grand Prairie.

After notification that a family was about to arrive, the housing counselors in the Dallas-Grand Prairie area went to work immediately. They had to find a house or an apartment to "fit" each family. Carlos and his family, for example, needed a house for five people close to an elementary school. It could be some distance from the plant, for he did have a car. Each house-hunting trip by the counselors had to be tailored to each worker and his unique situation. A single man might be asked to share an apartment. If he had no car, the apartment would have to be close to a bus route.

In the meantime, the modest household belongings that the Garza family had accumulated were shipped to the Dallas area free of charge to the family. In addition, a sum of money, usually about $400, was provided to cover expenses until the first paycheck arrived. These expenses included the rent, utilities and utility deposits, food, transportation, and other necessities.

Once in the city and settled into their new residence, their troubles might not cease, and usually did not. There were some difficulties with enrolling the children in school and in establishing contact with another of the most important persons in the family's life, the parish priest. But the priest was very helpful most of the time.

Sometimes the family needed help with such matters as daily grocery shopping, laundry facilities, and service station and landlord transactions. In many instances these might require assistance from the counselor until members of the household were able to handle such situations by themselves.

Concerning these types of adjustments, one wife was very candid about her apprehension: "I was not used to it [the new environment]. At first I didn't feel very good, and for about a year I wanted to go back. But not now." Another wife had similar reactions: "It did bother me a little at first. You don't know your way around."

Some of the problems were decidedly a product of the new environment. Had Carlos' family moved into one of the notoriously delinquency-prone housing developments, he probably would have complained as loudly as several of our respondents did—of vandalism, theft, fighting, of "a lot of guys drinking all the time." One worker recalled: "We went to Elmer City [one of the slum apartment complexes], and they harassed us. They would fight with our kids. We moved." The husband of a young couple, being interviewed while moving into a brand new townhouse, complained: "The kids at Elmer City —they would tear the wires out from the cars. That's where I lost my [car]. There were shots. Some of the guys would laugh and laugh all night. We moved out."

But, actually, in proportion only a small number moved into such developments. Chances are that the apartment into which Carlos moved was either adequate or marginally adequate. In this apartment, their new life began.

And very likely, their first major "big city" problem was encountered in this apartment also. This new problem was, however, something in life with which many of these men were familiar: *no work.*

Following the 1969 boom, there were massive defense expenditure cutbacks in the aerospace industry. Vought Aeronautics was one of the major victims. Between July 1969, when Vought was at its top hiring level of 25,000 employees, and December 1970, when employment declined to 15,000, many of the men from the Valley were laid off. "Last hired, first fired," became a fact of life for them.

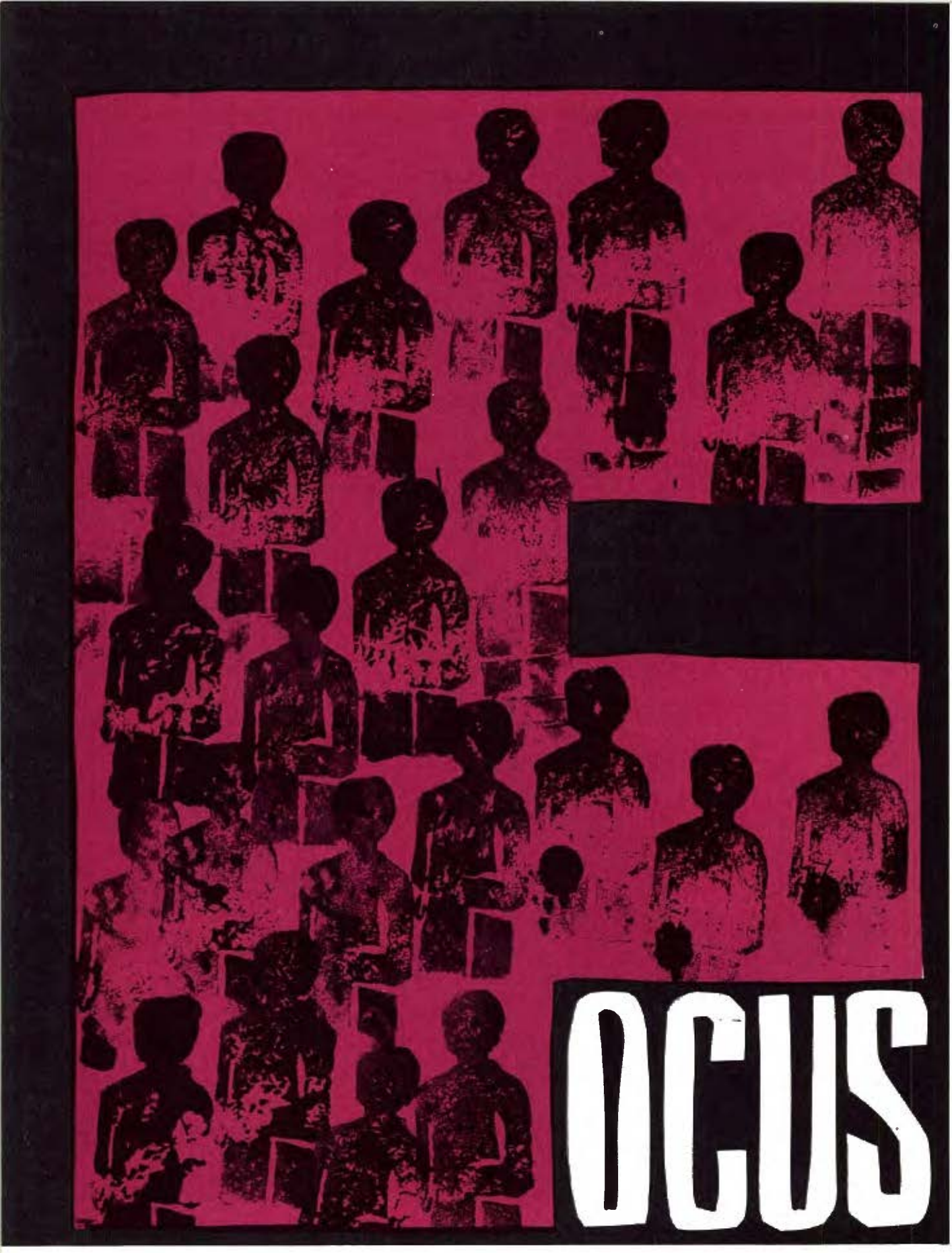
It might be expected that most of the men would return to the Valley after being laid off. This was not the case. Having settled down in the Dallas area for from 1 to 2 years, many of them and their families—indeed a majority—chose to seek jobs and stay in the Dallas area. Those who remained obtained jobs in other enterprises: as warehousemen, automobile mechanics, in shops, in laundries, and other semi-skilled and skilled occupations. One of the workers who stayed said: "Those who went back to the Valley went back because they wanted to, not because they could not find other work."

Did training at Vought enable them to have the ability to find other stable employment? Almost all of the men interviewed indicated that their experience at Vought Aeronautics resulted in a higher level of employment and potential, as well as increased stability in the home. As expected, none of those interviewed questioned the desirability of increased income but all conceded that they had experienced the inevitable day-to-day tribulations. Few felt that the transfer to the "big city" area of Dallas was "damaging" or "detrimental" to their personal or family lives. As one wife said, speaking of the tangible benefits which were only too often foremost in their minds:

My husband is, even now [that he has been laid off from LTV and working at another job], making more money at $2.25 an hour, than he made before. Over there in the Valley he made $40 to $50 a week. If the kids got sick, that $50 didn't go far, and we had many payments, so we were barely making it. Now I don't have to work. We have a nice house, nice furniture. . . .

But what of the cultural aspects of their lives? What of their "Mexican-ness"? What about past customs? Did these go by the wayside as they moved into the mainstream of modern technological, Anglo-Saxon society? What of the long-term implications of their change? Although most approved of and enjoyed the short-term gains, what of the future?

In the next article a final appraisal of the project is made by the participants, former counselors, and by LTV staff and management. Most of the positive aspects of the Valley project have been discussed in this issue. But, what of the disappointments? What do the critics have to say? They too will be heard from.


OCUS

OUR OWN BACKYARD

By R. E. McEvily

This article is a personal account of a volunteer program to help the poor. It illustrates one of the many divergent efforts to meet the problem.

Each one of you is an expert in what I'm about to say. You possess every ability necessary to be a success at it, even if that ability is still latent. But you may already be involved. The subject? Love of your neighbor.

Love has always been a fashionable topic to discuss, but difficult to define. It's something we all seek, and those who receive it are lucky. But I think those who can give it are even luckier. They are those "lovable" people who have a certain glow.

Now, when I say you're an expert in love of your neighbor, I mean just that. For some, however, WHO the neighbor is and HOW to express the love become confusing. Well, there is probably an ever present need in our own backyard. Many of us need only to recognize it.

We Americans are fortunate to live in this beautiful, bountiful country. Our standard of living is the highest in the world. Listen to the local radio announcer's advertisement for the electric company. Your electric bill is higher because you're using more electricity. It types your letter, brushes your teeth, cuts your meat, opens the can. . . . And because of it, and so many more luxuries we've grown to depend upon, we have conceived and accepted the idea that most other people enjoy the same luxuries or at least could if they really wanted to.

Well some don't. Some don't have the electricity to burn a 40-watt bulb. The poor in India, or maybe the refugees of some far-off earthquake-struck land, you say. Yes, poor and deprived. But how about the poor of our own land? "What's that?", you say. "Our welfare programs take care of them." Not all of them. And what is more important these programs don't take care of the basic attitude toward those in poverty.

A Nation's attitude must start with individual attitudes, and here's where your empathy comes into play. Each one of us has helped another in some way. Perhaps you think this isn't much because it doesn't take care of the big problem. But what is the big problem? It's the apathy of some of us toward the plight of others. Some people build barriers that atomic bombs couldn't crumble. And yet, if they possessed that somewhat indefinable love, they could do it.

Caring about others has given birth to small, but active community organizations that involve people with people. The refugee from urban problems has brought the same problems to the suburbs with his baggage. He cannot escape poverty and racism by fleeing to the suburbs. These organizations are seeing the need to solve such problems through interested and concerned citizens who possess understanding and a deep desire to help.

One such organization is FOCUS, which stands for Fairfax Organization of Christians and Jews United in Service. Active in the Fairfax City area of Northern Virginia since February 1968, it was an outgrowth of an ecumenical worship service and dialogue held the previous month at that city's Christ Lutheran Church. FOCUS is a volunteer organization sustained financially by contributions from area churches, which provide approximately two-thirds of its funds, and from individuals who make up the remaining one-third.

Most of the poor in Fairfax County (there are 10,000 poor families, both white and black) live on the fringe of affluence. Yet many of those in comfortable homes and comfortable jobs never seem to see them. The poor travel different paths, living away from the beaten suburban track. And yet, when most people learn of a need they want to help. It's easy, however, to fall into the mistake of aiming too high. Small, sure-fire projects are the initial key to fruitful long-range efforts. Then the experience of success can sustain the organization's labor.

The work of FOCUS may never be national news but it is shaping individual lives and attitudes. It's getting ordinary people involved in their neighbors' problems. FOCUS works with the private and public agencies in the area. It seeks to supplement their work and bridge the gap between them rather than duplicate their

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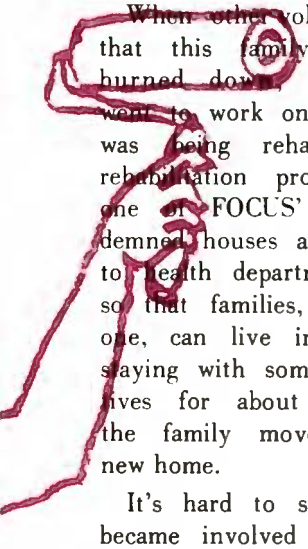
Robert McEvily, a Lieutenant Colonel currently assigned to The Adjutant General's Office, is involved in retired activities. He and his wife have been active in FOCUS for almost 2 years.

efforts.

My family's involvement with FOCUS, I believe, illustrates how ordinary people can help.

My wife had volunteered to assist a poor family—a husband, wife, and eight children. One of our accepted luxuries, the telephone, was given a real workout when we learned that their home had been destroyed by fire. Where would they live? Existing on a poverty-line income, they needed food, clothes, and money. But most of all, they needed the knowledge that someone cared. FOCUS did.



When other volunteers learned that this family's home had burned down, double crews went to work on a house that was being rehabilitated. The rehabilitation program is just one of FOCUS' efforts. Condemned houses are brought up to health department standards so that families, such as this one, can live in them. After staying with some nearby relatives for about three weeks, the family moved into their new home.

It's hard to say how many became involved in this. And probably many will never even personally know the others. On each trip we made to the prospective new home, we found small crews of volunteers either painting a room or repairing windows or fixing something that had been broken. A lot of ordinary things; but for an extraordinary reason. They were *caring* about their neighbor.

FOCUS works on a person-to-person basis with the families referred to it by agencies, churches, friends, or relatives. FOCUS activities include:

- Maintaining food, clothing, and household goods centers which are drawn upon almost daily for those in need.
- Providing transportation for persons without cars to medical services, job interviews, jobs, and special schools.
- Collecting and delivering heavy furniture and appliances and sometimes moving and/or providing entire households with furniture.
- Providing funds for emergency rent or utility bills, rents, and security down-payments, prescriptions, fuel, etc. When possible, these payments are given in the form of loans.
- Providing rent supplements for families who would otherwise be homeless.
- Helping to provide medical care for those unable to pay.
- Assisting with legal problems through volunteer lawyers.
- Providing financial counseling.
- Rehabilitating condemned houses in order to bring them up to health department standards and thus keeping them available for low-income families.
- Giving job help when possible.
- Carrying out a basic education program for those below 8th grade level and those working toward high school equivalency.
- Conducting a "Mothers' Day Out" program to broaden the horizons of families receiving help. This is a day-long exercise, held periodically, which is designed to improve the general homemaking skills of mothers of the families with which FOCUS is involved. It consists of group discussions and activities which include instruction in sewing, food preparation, and shortcuts in housekeeping chores. Each "Mother's Day Out" gives the mothers an opportunity to "get away" from their routine environment, to meet other mothers, and to become better acquainted with FOCUS workers. And vice versa.
- Sponsoring summer enrichment programs for children of low-income families.
- Working toward the long-range solution to the housing crisis by testifying at public hearings, educating others on housing needs, and working with other groups active in this field.

- *Above all,* FOCUS *lets those with little hope know that someone really cares about them as unique, precious individuals—not for just today, but for as long as needed and thereby gives them renewed hope.*

Most of us will never become involved in national or international poverty legislation, but each of us has a talent to help the poor. The time we give is a great contribution by itself.

It's organizations like FOCUS, helping in the community, that can change attitudes. Here's a way our great Nation can become even greater through the testimony of love of neighbor. As Kahlil Gibran said in *The Prophet*, "For in truth it is life that gives into life—while you, who deem yourself a giver, are but a witness."

THE "3-4-5 CLUB"

By Eugenia Cook

Ever since the successful debut of "Sesame Street" in 1969, children's programming has been receiving wide attention from educators, civil rights activists, and parents—if not from the commercial networks themselves. Now, the "3-4-5 Club", a new and slightly different program, is in the offing. Aimed at a younger, preschool audience and having different goals, "3-4-5" will attempt to blend the mores and languages of three major ethnic groups: the black, the Spanish speaking, and the Anglo.

The idea, first proposed by Mrs. Dorothy Sinclair, Director of the Radio-TV-Film Center at the University of Houston, began limited operations in October 1969. Funded by trickles from the U.S. Government, the Houston School system, and the Gulf Region Educational Television Affiliates (GRETA), a pilot program and a proposal were put together in the hopes of gaining a large enough grant to do the job originally conceived. The full agenda for the "3-4-5 Club" calls for 260 half-hour segments, to be shown initially in the Houston area over KHUT (University of Houston) five days a week, twice a day, morning and afternoon. In addition, 52 adult programs, related to the children's segments, will be aired once a week, with multiple showings, featuring longer speeches in Spanish or English than for the children's programs. As of this writing, thanks to a $171,000 grant via Title 45 of the Emergency School Assistance Program of the Houston Schools, 15 child and three adult segments are being prepared.

When asked how she first conceived the plan, Mrs. Sinclair, whose varied background includes teaching, advertising, and radio, replied:

"I just got tired of seeing so many small children—mostly Chicano—entering school at such a disadvantage. Even where the schools made an effort to reach them and provide remedial classes, they fell behind. Everything was new, strange, and frightening—plus spoken in a language half of them didn't even understand. Despite school efforts, most of them just fell by the wayside. I've been wanting to do something like this for a long time, and TV provides the perfect vehicle." Surveys by "3-4-5 Club" staffers have shown that television is in 97 percent of the lower- and moderate-income homes in the Houston area alone.

The "3-4-5 Club" contains many of "Sesame's" proven suc-

Miss Cook was formerly an editorial assistant with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

cesses—with additions. "For one thing," Mrs. Sinclair said, "we feel that the frantic pace of 'Sesame', tailored to the inner city child, is not necessarily suited to all children—especially to those in rural or semi-rural areas. The pace is just too fast for them." Another major difference between "Sesame" and "3-4-5" lies in what the two aim to teach: where "Sesame" hopes to strengthen basic language and reading skills, the emphasis in the "3-4-5" program is on *forming* bilingual, triethnic language and cultural appreciation.

The programs are designed for the average 3- or 4-year old, a bit younger than the "Sesame" audience. Because children of this age cannot read, their language patterns are formed by hearing, not seeing, whether for their "native" tongue or a second language. Linguists, according to Mrs. Sinclair, have discovered that these patterns are formed before children reach school. The "3-4-5 Club", therefore, avoids the use of written words on its shows. Instead, it relies on personalities, animals, animated songs, and a spirit of fun to promote what Mrs. Sinclair terms "the basic acceptance of one another —what we all have to offer each other, whether it be black, Anglo, or Spanish American cultural traditions."

Cultural traditions and life styles are made an integral part of each segment; they are arranged to complement each other, and each segment is progressive, not, however, to the point where a child cannot pick up in the middle or at any point. An extremely simple example would be a "field trip" (a "3-4-5" innovation) to a

doughnut factory, followed by one to a tortilla factory, in turn followed by films of children playing on round objects—merry-go-rounds, jungle gyms, and with hula hoops. Thus the segment would introduce and expand on the concept of roundness.

Some segments are completely in Spanish, others in English, and many combine both languages. A Spanish or English story, for instance, might include something easily conveyed with the aid of animation, a pet, or songs, such as the story of the Little Red Hen—an Anglo tale—told in Spanish.

Other segments may rely on a captivating kitten. While a "teacher" adult points out the kitten's ears, feet, nose, and tail in both languages to a circle of children, the children are allowed to pet the animal, ask questions, and answer them. When a child makes a mistake, frequently it is one of his peers, and not the adult, who corrects him.

Reliance on these tried and true "Sesame-type" attention-getters is by no means the entire substance of the "3-4-5 Club", however. The whole project is backed by a solid phalanx of professionals, from film and production experts to psychologists and linguists. A major part of the 18-month program is evaluation and testing.

"We don't want to do any of our shows earlier than three weeks ahead of actual broadcast time," Mrs. Sinclair said, "because we want to keep in constant close touch with the community — children, parents, and teachers—to find out what works and what doesn't."

Testing and evaluation will

be performed through a network of child care centers, contact with community leaders in each ethnic group, preschool teachers, and actual door-to-door surveys by "3-4-5 Club" staff.

"You can go awfully wrong by assuming that a laboratory technique will work on a child sitting in front of his home television," said Mrs. Sinclair. An example she cited was that her staff has already discovered that the Mexican American parents in the Houston area are more tolerant of what they will let their children see than either the black or Anglo parents. These are the factors that have to be taken into account when considering the "life styles" of the children and parents involved.

This, too, is in accordance with recent linguistical theory, Mrs. Sinclair said. It is now believed that full lectures or complete speeches are better teaching tools than one sentence in one language translated into another. A typical parents' program shows two mothers sitting at a kitchen table explaining how to make "play dough". First the Spanish speaking mother explains the whole recipe, then the English speaking mother goes through the process in English. Such segments are kept short enough so that they do not tire the viewer, or insult his intelligence. The combination of activity and language—as seen and heard—is surprisingly effective.

Promotional plans figure in the budget, too. "I think this program has wide implications on a national scale," Mrs. Sinclair commented. This was the specific reason for limiting each

program to 30 minutes and including segments which could be replaced by other spots so that the series may fit easily into the schedule of commercial as well as educational television stations. Also, cassette forms of "3-4-5" could be disseminated to schools, communities, and cable TV all over the country.

Mrs. Sinclair sees the program's practical importance as twofold: first, it teaches all groups two languages at an age when children are just beginning to form speech patterns; and, second, it inculcates acceptance and understanding of more than the individual child's own culture or subculture. But the "3-4-5-ers" have even higher ambitions.

One of the main reasons they want to keep in close touch with the parents and children is to find out what they really need and want. For instance, a field trip showing a visit to the doctor or the dentist, hopefully, could dispel the fears that many children have about such experiences. This would be advantageous to both child and parents. Preliminary staff studies have also disclosed that some of the rural black and Mexican American children have never seen such common urban sights as a supermarket. And there is a great deal that Anglo children do not know about the daily lives of blacks and Mexican Americans.

The end of the first 18-month period for the "3-4-5 Club" will include testing of preschoolers entering kindergarten, and a control group that has been exposed to the "3-4-5 Club" program will be compared to a group that has had no such exposure. The difference between the groups is expected to more than justify the effort and money expended on the "3-4-5 Club".

She added that the response from all groups surveyed so far has been enthusiastic. "Even the middle and upper middle income families are excited about a bilingual program. They are pleased at the prospect of hearing their toddlers speaking not just one language, but two."

The staff for the series is still being assembled, and wrinkles still are being ironed out. The staff is learning to work as a team and is looking for rough spots, so that when actual on-the-air production begins there will be minimal problems.

In July, a newsletter was sent to all leaders of the major triethnic groups to spread to their communities, asking for comments, suggestions, and informing them of the "3-4-5 Club's" existence. The newsletter, along with other printed materials, will be circulated to parents and teachers regularly. Workbook supplements will also be made available to make sure that the "3-4-5 Club" elicits a response from "the other side of the set".

If "3-4-5" receives additional funding, it stands a good chance of following the tradition (if not the exact footsteps) of "Sesame Street" by becoming an entertaining, at-home teacher for the small child.

"But what I consider our most important goal," Mrs. Sinclair stressed, "is not so much teaching children of this age facts, or language, but to create for all of them an atmosphere of warmth, love, and giving. There is absolutely no reason why a small child has to find the world a strange, cold, frightening place. I only hope that we can prove it."

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN RACISM

By JOEL S. KOVEL

Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill. [They] keep their freedom but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others.

ARISTOTLE, *Politics*

Historically, the non-white complexion has evoked and exposed the "devil" in the very nature of the white man.

What else but a controlling emotional "devil" so blinded American white intelligence that it couldn't foresee that millions of black slaves, "freed," then permitted even limited education, would one day rise up as a terrifying monster within white America's midst.

The Autobiography of Malcolm X

Racism is not a new phenomenon. Men have long tried to identify themselves not only as individuals but as members of social groups; and to set up viable social groups, they have thrust others out. These "others" have been differentiated in various ways, for instance, according to clan, tribe, nation, estate, or class. The forms change, but the process of self-definition is seemingly endless. And all these "others" have one feature in common: they are never quite as good as the self. Some mysterious tag of devaluation is attached to the other person as his essential point of distinction from the group of selves.

So much is common knowledge. Wars have been fought and nations sacked according to this odd way of thinking. History is littered with the corpses of selves and others who killed and died to defend their identity. And today, although we know a little better, the same source of destruction still hangs over our heads, poisons our societal life, and impedes in countless ways the long-awaited maturation of mankind.

Of all America's exclusions, none approaches in strength that of the black people by white people, the distinction of a self and an other according to the mysterious quality of race, especially as revealed in the mark of skin color. Nothing looms quite so large, both as an endless source of crisis and as the sign of a deep cultural malaise, as does racism.

Although the initial European reaction to the Negroid race was mixed and inconsistent, the "heathenism", nakedness, sexual libertarianism, and, above all, the blackness of Africans served to set them off as profoundly distinct men who were *ipso facto damned* and consequently quite suitable for enslavement. . . .

Even if we assume that race fantasies are to a degree immemorial and spring from the universal human situation, they have been greatly influenced by the actual historical use to which they have been put, not only in slavery, but in a host of closely related cultural activities. And so race fantasies were only a contributing cause to the phenomenon of American slavery; it was, like any culturally vital institution, a weaving together of many strands of innovation and tradition, necessities, and contingencies. Let me mention briefly a few of those strands.

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The extreme form of slavery which underlies our racism took a long time to develop. The English were slow to seize upon it. When the opportunities presented by enslavement became manifest, however, the Anglo-Saxon's superior powers of expansion made more efficient and lucrative what his Hispanic cohorts had begun. Even the Spanish and Portuguese, who opened up the slave trade and used it to such advantage in the development of Latin America, acquired but a secondary interest in the practice. Their ruling passion throughout, along with the English and all Europeans, was material and spiritual expansion. At first the slaves were a mixed lot, white and black alike suffering varying degrees of forced servitude. As time went on, however, the inner workings of the new North American culture inexorably forced the concepts of black men and slavery into complete one-to-one identity. Though to a certain degree this racial polarization was dictated by expediency (no other source of forced labor was quite so plentiful, cheap, and identifiable), two profoundly important aspects of the process deserve particular attention.

The first is that aspect of Western culture which has made

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it unique among peoples and has correspondingly made its brand of slavery unique: its attitude toward property. The most superficial glance at our civilization discloses the power of the concept of property, and a good deal of what is radically destructive to human potentiality in our culture derives from its well known preference for property rights over human rights. Well known indeed, and well attacked by generations of libertarians. Yet the preference remains; and it remains to a certain extent baffling. Why become so preoccupied with property that a world is laid waste in its pursuit? Only something thought to be profoundly important can deserve such interest. Property is made of "things". Why prefer things over humanity? What do these "things" mean to our culture?

Property is some portion of the external world that a man's self may call its own. Property means, therefore, that a man's self—the inner idea of his personage—is united with and enlarged by part of the "thing"-world. One part of the world ordinarily owned by every man's self is his own body. Indeed, the body is really all of the world that the self can own—ordinarily. But the West is extraordinary in that it has held for centuries that the *summum bonum* of life on earth is the expansion of the self through its acquisition of property.

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Nothing so demonstrates the oddity of the West's attitude toward property as the manner in which Western man enslaved black Africans. We noted earlier that property rationally begins and ends with the possession of one's own body. It was precisely this limit that the West breached with its slavery. For the American slaver did not simply own the *body* of his black slave—although even that may have been more extreme than some earlier variants of slavery, where the slave's freedom was but limited and only his work owned. The American slaver went one step further in cultural development: he first reduced the human self of his black slave to a body and then reduced the body to a *thing*; he dehumanized his slave, made him quantifiable, and thereby absorbed him into a rising world market of productive exchange. In the creation of this world market, the Westerner was changing his entire view of reality—and changing reality in accordance with his new conception of it. Thus, in the new culture of the West, the black human was reduced to a black thing, virtually the same in certain key respects as the rest of non-human nature—all of which could become property.

A particular master-slave relation developed under the specific circumstances of American history. Although there were points of similarity with other slave systems (much of which remains the subject of active investigation), a basic, and characteristically American style emerged as black slavery hardened into an institution. The slaver in effect said to his slave, "While I own much, much more than my body, you own not even your body: your body shall be detached from your self and your self shall be thereby reduced to subhuman status. And being detached and kept alive, your body shall serve me in many ways: by work on my capitalistic plantations to extract the most that can be taken from the land in the cheapest and therefore most rational manner; as a means to my bodily pleasure—both as nurse to my children and as female body for sexual use (for my own women are somehow deficient in this regard); and as medium of exchange, salable like any other commodity of exchange along with or separate from the bodies of your family. For in fact you have no family, since a family is a system that pertains to human beings, and you are not human. And since I, being a man of the West, value things which are owned above all else, I hold you—or, rather, the owned part of you, your body—in very high regard and wish to retain you as my property forever. On the other hand, since I have a certain horror of what I am doing, and since you are the living reminder of this horror and are subhuman to boot, I am horrified by you, disgusted by you, and wish to have nothing to do with you, wish, in fact, to be rid of you. And since this set of ideas is inconsistent and will stand neither the test of reason nor of my better values, I am going to distort it, split it up, and otherwise defend myself against the realization."

In practice this schema underwent endless variations. The distillation of this notion was the essence of the American slave system, however, and had a reality of its own: it became the basis in *culture* of the *idea* of the black man, and it has consequently become the his-

torical nucleus of our present-day racism.

The reduction of the black person to a thing afforded the slaver much more than gratification. It also became necessary for his security. In order to safeguard the gains he was extracting with his new world view, and to protect himself from his inner reaction to what he was doing to other humans, he had to maintain *absolute control.* This was doubly necessary, for the blacks who survived their frightful passage to the New World were a selected lot of great hardiness. Moreover, they were by no means the Uncle Toms that later ideology made them; in fact we know they carried out, at first in the South and throughout Latin America, many serious rebellions. Thus, from the beginning, the slaver had to contend with real threats to his power.

But cultural evolution is a useful thing, and it eventually became apparent that the dehumanization which afforded the planters such satisfaction from their chattels also provided the best method of controlling the slaves' rebelliousness. Nothing domesticated the undesirable rage out of black people so much as consistent and prolonged "thingification". In time, a compact and coherent culture centering about plantation slavery grew up in the South; and since one function of culture is to determine what is to be considered reasonable and normal, the success of Southern culture made rational what seems bizarre to us today. . . .

Slavery lost its rationalization only when the advance of a more diffused capitalism brought its weakness out into the open—in short, when it became unproductive. As long as slavery worked, it seemed perfectly sensible to most people. This reasonableness, this abstraction applied to what had previously been a straightforward philosophy of domination, constitutes one of the West's central contributions to cultural evolution. And in America, rationalization was applied right at the beginning to an extreme interest in dominated property—property that moreover became totally identified with people who happened to have black skin, the color that had always horrified the West. Here we strike the root of our racism.

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We cannot divorce this problem from that of property, for the two concepts, race and property, became linked at the beginnings of our culture. The connection was made official in the Constitution, which, as we know, wove the whole issue into the fabric of the Nation by neatly quantifying black slaves into three-fifths of a person for purposes of representation. There are certain critical phases through which the historical forces in flux centering about race, property, and national identity have played themselves out. Beginning with the establishment of slavery, these phases encompass many of the principal themes of our national history up to the present day—which is only to restate the centricity of race in American culture. . . .

1. *The Formalization of Slave Status.* Here the ideas of white and black races became coterminous with those of freedom and bondage. The early pattern, in which whites too could be held in some form of slavery, became rigidly redefined along racial lines. This occurred principally in the latter half of the 17th century, in the context of the bourgeois revolution which was sweeping Northern Europe. Henceforth the British colonies would be composed (in cultural ideal if not always in fact) of free, white, propertied, bourgeois citizens, and black chattels.

2. *The Formation of the Nation.* A flurry of antislavery activity, spurred by the ideals of the Enlightenment, accompanied the War for Independence. When the time came to structure the new Nation, however, propertied interests reasserted themselves and further etched the slave-race complex into our national culture. By this time some regional differentiation had set in, and slavery was disappearing from the North. Northerners put up little resistance to the institutionalization of racial slavery, largely because, despite having little direct use for slaves in their own economy, they were nevertheless accumulating fortunes from the slave trade and financial investments in plantation capitalism. A few years later, when the cotton gin and the dawn of the industrial age greatly magnified the profitability of our slave-centered economy, criticism died altogether, and black enslavement became a nationally accepted fact of life.

3. *Regional Struggle.* There were, however, regional variations in the mystique of property. The North (because of fear and lack of profit) eschewed direct ownership of black bodies and moved instead into a more general and fluid kind of eco-

nomic transaction. The South held on to what was in some respects capitalistic, but was fundamentally a means to a feudalistic order—held, that is, onto direct control of land and bodies of men, but tried to live within a larger bourgeois order. The North was vastly more successful as a subculture, and in the course of headlong growth there arose within it a group of influential intellectuals who urged the abolition of slavery. At first considered unworldly visionaries, the abolitionists gradually attracted support as regional expansion offered material grounds for opposing the extension of slavery.

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4. *White Reunification.* The War left one group of whites in power, another group in smoking ruin, and an indigestible mass of black so-called Freedmen. The next 50 years saw the reunion of the whites into a national culture with massive industrial powers, and the expulsion of the blacks into a state of alienation which in some respects equaled slavery. Material success led to material expansion and the gradual gathering of all white Americans into a cult of productivity and ownership. Expansionism traveled beyond America's shores in an extraordinary flurry of imperial interest at the turn of the century; Manifest Destiny was reborn as white America joined hands.

Several complicating factors existed however, most notably the formation of proletarian classes which threatened revolution both on the farm and in the factory, and the presence of assorted non-Teutonic groups: poor European immigrants, newly annexed brown-skinned colonials, and the ever-present mass of Southern ex-slaves. Clearly, these several factors could become one massive threat to the existing order of power. The threat was obviated however; and though many factors were at play, one of the most important was the intensification of racist attitudes—held by nearly all white Americans, no matter how sophisticated. Thus was class struggle thwarted and the unification of white America insured. The sufferers were the non-Teutonic races—most notably the black, who fell victim to a system of segregation and expunged human rights which differed little from formal slavery in its continued dehumanization.

5. *Beyond Racism.* The height of racism was reached with the consolidation and expansion of white America. At the same time, a new historical entity had been created: the Nation-State. The strong central Government, eventually to become an active,

and then the dominant, force in international affairs, directed its influence inward as well as outward. The Nation-State began at the turn of the 20th century to regulate and fuse with the productive activities of industrial capitalism. In contemporary times, with two thirds of the century behind us, this fusion has proceeded to such a profound extent that one may, with John K. Galbraith, call the Nation-State the Industrial State. A more immediate manifestation is the Leviathan we call the military-industrial complex, with all its implications for foreign and domestic policy.

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At the center of contemporary history is the rapid development of black people. Having survived centuries of systematic degradation, they have been taking vigorous measures to free themselves. On the other hand, it is not to be expected that whites will readily let go of something so deeply rooted as their racism. Thus we must continue to expect a furor about race as a dominant theme in American life for generations to come.

Having introduced the *dramatis personae*, let us look a little more closely at the curious relationships between some of these phenomena. Bear in mind that the focus is on culture, and that culture is an evolving system of meaningful relations deriving from the sum total of the activities and institutions of a society. So we must look for relationships between elements of our history, even each other, or even contradictory.

In all phases described above, an existing institutional arrangement was broken down and a new one was created to meet the needs of changing times. From the breaking down of loose domination and the formalization of racial slavery, to the breaking down of entrepreneurial capitalism and the formation of the Industrial State, each phase has involved some kind of major dislocation in American life. A general direction permeates all these dislocations: each dislocation, each set of new institutions and matching identities, has been of an expansive nature. Each has freed cultural energies and resulted in an increased size and potency of the cultural unit. The dislocations may be seen as a kind of molting, as a snake sheds its skin and assumes a new one when it passes a certain size. The metaphor is apt, for, just as a skin is a kind of boundary between an organism and the world, so too does racism provide boundaries within a culture. Therefore our racism can be considered a kind of bounding process that goes on in American culture as it grows. As we grew more powerful, complex, and variegated, so did we become more racist, the race fantasies serving to define and control what might otherwise have gotten out of hand. Racism belongs then, for all its destructive irrationality, to the regulative aspects of our culture.

But as such, racism is only a bizarre aspect of a much more general phenomenon. One of the conditions of the modern struggle against racism is that racism has become more threatening than useful as a regulator of culture. Indeed, the main force in contemporary culture, the State, attacks it precisely from this assumption and seeks to replace it with another regulating device more appropriate to its interests. All cultures include as perhaps their most vital element systems which regulate behavior. We are most familiar with these under the name of morality; yet morality is only the visible superstructure of a culture's devices to control behavior, the tenth of the iceberg above water.

Nonetheless, with the passage of time, and the drawing together of society into larger and more complex groups, normative functions tend to appear in increasing force within culture (and become increasingly represented, as we shall observe, within the individual psyche). The historical manifestations of these normative functions include efforts to reform institutions. Through reformism, culture seeks to adapt itself to changing realities.

It is in this light that we observe the two main historical surges toward reform of racial injustice: the abolition movement and the current effort to unseat the crippling force of racism. Note that this view automatically makes each of these movements ambiguously two-sided. For though the anti-racist surges have been motivated by the desire of just-minded people to eliminate evil, they have also each become incorporated into a larger cultural system in which they serve as regulators—and hence as benefactors—of the underlying forces which have created the racial injustice in the first place. Just as racism has not been a simple matter of gratuitous evil, but rather has been an evil that has served a real use in maintaining the potency of American culture, so too may antiracism be directed

both to the elimination of the evil and to the preservation of the potency of American culture. But it is precisely that culture which in its potency has generated the evils of racism....

As subtle as some of these relationships are in the abstract, the ambiguity of racial reform is glaring in its practice. From colonial times until the present, what has begun as a manifest effort to secure justice for the black race has ended in only another variant of racism: black oppression and white solidarity and power.

The prominent abolitionist Theodore Parker attacked slavery with the utmost fervor, wallowing all the while in a sense of grandiose guilt. This is how he presented the story of enslavement to his congregation: "America, where is your brother? . . . He was weak and I seized him; naked and I bound him; ignorant, poor and savage, and I overmastered him. I laid on his feebler shoulders my grievous yoke. . . . Askest thou for the African? I have made him a beast. Lo, there Thou hast what is thine." Here is a mixture of historical truth and moral flagellation which both appeases the guilt of the white and patronizes the black. . . .

Parker's words have a familiar ring. From Manifest Destiny to Vietnam, we have heard a similar call: clean house, purify and expunge the evil (slavery, racism), and get on to virtuous (ergo, white) conquests. The action should be peaceful if possible; but if not—if others, usually of darker color, should resist—then the "terrible swift sword" of American armed justice would clear the way. Moralism became, with the antislavery movement and its later absorption into the Union cause in the Civil War, the necessary accoutrement of American power. Lincoln's genius was to some extent in letting this equation take full hold in the national culture. As he put it: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

But duty and right and faith all converged on one sure means to might: capitalism, driven by the mystique of property . . . And so radical reform has always foundered in its goal of helping the black person, by and large ignoring him in his actuality and concentrating instead on the evils to which he has been exposed. In this way American culture has managed to expose the black to a succession of different evils by a succession of different reforms.

At times the attitude of reformers underwent a reversion to an extreme of race sadism, which opens onto a fathomless abyss in the American character. At other times the race reformer simply acted with remote and destructive coldness toward the alleged beneficiaries of his efforts.

One example of the first type, the throwback, is Tom Watson. Leader of the Southern Populists, and energetic supporter of the union of poor whites and blacks into a common class against their economic exploiters, Watson underwent a radical change in sentiment when the realignment of national forces at the turn of the century brought Jim Crow segregation to the South. He, who had been the black man's friend, could later say that the Negro simply had "no comprehension of virtue, honesty, truth, gratitude and principle." The South had to "lynch him occasionally, and flog him, now and then, to keep him from blaspheming the Almighty, by his conduct, on account of his smell and his color."*

Perhaps the most telling example of the other, remote, variant of reformer *cum* racist was Woodrow Wilson. The most morally pure of American leaders, certainly a farseeing advocate of principled reform, Wilson stated in 1912 that he wished to see "justice done to the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling." Yet Wilson was in the American mainstream that equated white virtue with power. He did not hesitate to apply that power to America's black neighbors in this hemisphere; and at home, despite fine ideals, Wilson put the *coup de grace* to the misfortunes of black Americans by issuing an executive order which racially segregated the eating and toilet facilities of Federal civil service workers. His final blow was to give Southern Federal officials the right to discharge or downgrade without due process any black employee on any ground they saw fit. Needless to add, it was an opportunity well seized. And when a group of black leaders protested to the President, he, offended, sent them summarily from his office.

These extremes offer examples of what we all should

*Quoted in Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York, Shocken Books, 1965), p. 271.

know: that racism springs from the most widespread and impenetrable level of American experience. But there is another point to be made. Although the conjunction of racism with reformism is in some ways remarkable and deserves special study, we must recall that by and large most racists have been uninterested in reform. Yet whatever the specific situation, most Americans seem to behave in a rough way like either Watson or Wilson. That is, although there is a broad overlap, and enormous individual variations exist, racists have been either of the type who wished to oppress the black directly—as did Tom Watson—or indirectly, through avoidance—as did Wilson. We may generalize here and define two broad types of racism in America, types in close relationship, indeed in a state of continuous transition. Let us call them the *dominative* and *aversive* types of racism. Let me briefly point out a few relationships between the two varieties.

In general, the dominative type has been marked by heat and the aversive type by coldness. The former is clearly associated with the American South, where, of course, domination of blacks became the cornerstone of society; and the latter with the North, where blacks have so consistently come and found themselves out of place. The dominative racist, when threatened by the black, resorts to direct violence; the aversive racist, in the same situation, turns away and walls himself off.

A trace of each type is of course in every racist. But the dominative type is prior, and emerges under extreme threats, or in states of regression (as with Watson), whereas the aversive response belongs to those of higher principle and a more advanced stage of intellectual development, like Wilson. Consequently the passage of time has favored the appearance of the aversive type in America, while threats to the existing racist order favor a regression to domination . . .

The dominative type usually has a personal tie (albeit destructive) with his black object —the extreme having been slavery, when the slaver allowed his black woman to suckle his child; the aversive type avoids this and treats the black person as though he were a thing. There is thus a kind of reciprocal relationship between domination and aversion. . . .

This phenomenon is of the greatest significance. It underlies the difference between regions of America, and defines the historical development of racism and much else in our culture. Moreover, the relationship between the dominative and aversive forms of racism becomes even more intriguing

when one considers that whites in the North developed a reaction of aversion, and even of horror, toward blacks without any personal experience with them. Racism, in other words, has come automatically to Americans: it is generated by their culture. And even more peculiar is the quantitative aspect. American aversive racists have been, if anything, more intense in their reaction than their dominative brethren. . . .

We have come a long way from slavery, and still racism persists. People "know better" now: the social sciences have demolished the twaddle of racist ideology; education has created a large, informed elite capable of seeing through the old fables of racism; and the decent impulses of millions of people strive to get us beyond the racist nightmare. Yet other millions hold frankly to the officially discredited race prejudices; while the pressure for social change being mounted by militant, no longer docile, blacks forces awareness upon even the enlightened that generous feelings and rational knowledge are in profound conflict with an irrational, obscure, and yet immensely powerful current of underlying racist sentiment.

The racist sentiment which pervades the life of virtually all white Americans is, though real and potent, not the only obstacle to the achievement of racial justice. Equally important as a general psychological factor is the general apathy and remoteness, the nonspecific coldness that prevails in our time. By and large we do not care for one another; we can be momentarily aroused to compassion, fear, or even rage, but as a rule we soon slip back into the comfortable torpor that typifies our life.

Psychology alone does not nearly account for the scope of the racial problem. Even if white Americans really cared, and even if we could at last overcome the underground stream of race hatred and aversion that runs through our lives, it is doubtful whether racism could be eliminated in a period brief enough to satisfy the demands of simple justice. The problems of modern racism have to a great extent passed beyond the wills—destructive or constructive—of individuals. It is a general direction of history for institutions to grow in power by absorbing human activity. And so in racism, as in much else that vexes us, corrective action proceeds against the inertia of the massed resistance of a set of impersonal factors that have become precipitates of all that is antihuman in the culture of the West. And the victims of these forces continue to include, among many, those who have always suffered most deeply from the West's crimes against humanity: the black people.

Therefore the story of racism in America today is the story of poverty and bureaucratic inhumanity. It is the story of the fate of millions of chronically oppressed sharecroppers who left their rural misery in the South for a promise of something better in the North and West, a promise of social progress and work made possible by the superabundant productivity of advanced industrial society, to find instead the wasteland of advanced society. For the machine age had "advanced" society to such a level of abstraction and technocratic skill that it had no use for the labor of the great majority of blacks; and in the wake of this profitable advance it had heaped up the stony shacks we call urban ghettos, which have become, through aversive racism, almost the exclusive territory of black people. Here oppression and aversion pass into invisibility and create a new revolutionary class.

The revolutionary situation of black Americans is a reaction to numerous related institutions of our national society. Some—such as the pervasive police brutality and inferior educational opportunities that follow from black poverty and white bigotry—operate directly against the black people. Other aspects act indirectly but no less tellingly, the most powerful of these being our need—one may with reason call it a religious mystique—to protect and enlarge material productivity at all costs. One cost is the well-being of the poor and the black. Our militarism is derived to a great extent from this need, for it serves our religion of productivity as a near-perfect means, though it also drains away the resources desperately needed for social amelioration. However, this draining away, and the human neglect it produces, is also a congruent part of our national culture.

All of these oppressive forces, which have together forced black Americans into their despair, rage, and rebellion, have a common denominator. It has been hinted at from time to time in earlier pages and must receive our utmost attention.

I am referring again to the

advanced and general state of *dehumanization* which pervades so much of our culture, but which seems to have been focused in our racial situation. Dehumanization is a twofold process, involving first, the formation of an idea of another living person as less than a person, as a living or even inanimate *thing*; and second, an *action* upon that person so as to sustain one's dehumanized conception of him. Obviously these two aspects—the idea and the action—are utterly necessary to each other. We note that slavery was at the first an extreme, yet focal, dehumanization, whereas industrial capitalism has created a slightly less extreme but more diffuse dehumanization. Both race prejudice and chronic poverty have followed from slavery and industrial capitalism, and to that degree have black people been more grossly dehumanized in the eyes of their white fellow citizens.

Today a new style of dehumanization has been added, more rationalized and vastly more diffused than previous forms. I refer to the omnipresent manipulation of taste, thought, style, and wants in the interests of stimulating demand and rationalizing activity — in short, with the aim of controlling and maintaining the material productivity of our society. Carried out by the communications media and the advertising industry (although they are effectively one and the same), this activity is part of the steady fusion of business and government into the Industrial State. People experience it, although often unconsciously, as a kind of general falseness, a bogus and synthetic quality that seems to permeate every aspect of life. It is crushing, squeezing, and suffocating, a dry, cold force dressed in the guise of good cheer and objectivity; it is the concern for image over substance and for technique over truth, and it exists everywhere—in supermarkets, among politicians, on television shows. Certainly, lying is a given factor of the human situation, undoubtedly present throughout historical time. I would suspect that present-day *individuals*, more controlled, educated, and sublimated than their counterparts in the past, are on the whole at least as truthful now as then. What we contend with today is *cultural* falsification: systematized, reasonable, pervasive mendacity, dished up with all the resources of electronic technology and used as a regulator of social activity. It is presented as an objective necessity and seems to be accepted with bland acquiescence. But it represents the cutting edge of all the antihuman forces in Western culture.

We cannot discuss what this development in culture has meant to black people to any substantial extent, until we have explored the fuller meaning of the changing styles of dehumanization. Aside from the usefulness of the technique of falsification in the interests of productivity, its role is in creating alienation, increasing remoteness, further distancing people from each other, and replacing their human ties—even the hostile ones—with a screen of cultural manipulation. In a broad sense, mass cultural falsification succeeded in pushing the black urban masses out of sight, and therefore completed (perhaps unwittingly) what early forms of racism began: the making of a person into a thing. But these non-persons are massed in the hearts of our cities; their presence now poses a threat to the order of industrial society. When blacks lived on the farm, scattered and demoralized, it was easy to control them; in the ghettos, living together in large numbers, exposed to the tantalizations of America's material bounty, they are a threat to the power system. The threat lies in rising expectations, rising alienation, and diminished control. The emptiness and sterile materialism that our culture offers to all becomes incendiary to these black poor, who experience only the manipulations without the possibility of the material rewards that pacify most other Americans.

Consequently, America is attempting once more to reform a racial attitude. The setting is in some respects vastly different from that of earlier reform movements, but certain basics remain the same: what had been invisible becomes visible when it threatens the order of things, and that order attempts to adapt to the threat so as to maintain its underlying assumptions about the world. The pattern of reform is also reminiscent of the past, including the antislavery movement: visionaries—people of courage, passion, and good will—lead the way; the powers lurk behind, warily size up the force of the threat, begin to promise jobs, officially expel racism— *after* ghetto people begin to burn the cities and the factories where the power physically resides....

And all tend to fuse with the State, which has by now erased a great deal of racist legislation from its books and regularly congratulates itself, for example, on the nondiscriminatory policies of its Armed Forces. Here again is an ambiguous and conflicting pattern, for the work of eliminating racist institutions is so enormous that only the Federal Government can mobilize enough expertise, and combine it with enough economic power, to make reform effective. But the State also makes war and hires the talent that enforces our dehumanization. How is the State to resolve this final contradiction?

Consider the Moynihan Report of 1965, which was in some respects the apogee of America's recent efforts against racism. It proposed to restore the potency of the allegedly emasculated black male by using the State's full resources to strengthen his family life. "A new kind of national goal—the establishment of a stable Negro family structure," was postulated. Many of those who attacked the report saw in it the same patronization of the black that has characterized our culture for hundreds of years. But the Report also set a trend for Federal intrusion into the very matrix of personality, the family—an idea that, freed of liberal rhetoric, seems totalitarian to a prudent mind. Beyond this, and perhaps more revealing, the Report exhorted the black man to use his State-granted virility for the greater glory of all in the service of our military. "Military service is disruptive in some respects," [but it is the only place in America a Negro can be equal, and is] "an utterly masculine world. Given the strains of the disorganized and matrifocal family life in which so many Negro youths come of age, the Armed Forces are a dramatic and desperately needed change: a world away from woman, a world run by strong men of unquestioned authority."

This enlightened document is a vivid prefigurement of one possible outcome of the current race crisis, and we must allow for its possibility. There are other grim potentials, the most troubling being the always-present threat of a reversion to the overt racism that has been layered over by the sublimations of recent history. . . .

Set against these ominous possibilities is the hope presented by the very disruptions of our times, and most evident in the degrees of liberation and organization which black people have so far achieved. The burst of black assertion in our times is an expression of cultural creativity of the first magnitude. The United States, increasingly strangled by technocratic banality and manipulation, badly needs such creativity—though whether it wants or is able to use it in a positive way is a doubtful matter, to be decided by an unpredictable future.

I am not calling upon the black people to "save" the white, just as we should never have imagined that the white could be called upon to "save" the black. Rather we must find a way to let growth occur, to let the forces of life inherent in all humans mold the forms of their activity. This is a profound and difficult task. Given the immense spread of forces opposing life and humanity in our culture, I have no blueprints to offer. But we can at least try to understand the plague-like pathology in some depth.

For this purpose it is essential that we comprehend the full range of the human sciences. We must grasp the historical, sociological, political, and economic dimensions sketched in above—and we must integrate this knowledge with a psychological understanding of racism.

Although, as I noted above, psychology is by no means a sufficient tool, it is a necessary one. For race prejudice—which is, whatever its roots, clearly a causal agent in racism—entails a certain kind of person in a certain kind of setting, holding onto some peculiar beliefs about another person who is designated as belonging to something called a different race.

These beliefs turn out to be a function of the total personality, which has to be studied, then in the broadest possible way, if we are to understand the psychology of race prejudice.

Indeed psychology can carry us further yet. If we agree that dehumanization, the desire for property, and the need to dominate have all somehow contributed to the institutional forces that bind us in the chains of racism, it is clear that each of these pursuits requires a certain mental attitude toward the world, and therefore is to a certain extent a function of psychology. Indeed, it may turn out that the underlying attitudes necessary to build racist institutions are congruent with those involved in race prejudice.

WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY

By Everett Waldo

The racial problem in America is essentially a white problem which must be resolved by the white population. This truth has been made sufficiently clear so that the white community should now be aware of its responsibility. It can no longer assume the posture of the ostrich in the sand but must find positive means of resolving the matter. A beginning has been made by far-sighted white individuals who see the problem as their own; the difficulty is that the bulk of the white community still walks around the matter with its eyes closed.

The *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, published in 1964, told "whitey" to get out of the black community and to take care of racism in the white community. Not much later Stokely Carmichael declared: "If the white man wants to help, he can go home and free his own people."*

More recently J. Metz Rollins said: "Every institution, every assumption in American life . . . supports and keeps white racism alive and well. . . . It is necessary for whites to understand that the next move is up to them. The burden is on them . . . because white racism is their problem."**

*Quoted by Joseph R. Barndt, "Setting the White Man Free," Hessel, Dieter, ed., *The White Problem*, (New York, Presbyterian Distribution Service, 1970), p. 14.

**Rollins, J. Metz, Jr., "As the Black Community Sees It," Ibid., pp. 5 and 10.

The Kerner Commission succinctly stated in its 1968 report that: "The most fundamental [matter] is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating . . . since the end of World War II." With Pogo white America can now say, "We have found the enemy, and them is us."

Although white people have been visibly involved in civil rights long before the term became fashionable, their involvement has often been misdirected. They have spent most of their time looking at the effects of racism; they have ignored its causes. Housing studies, for instance, traditionally document the numbers of substandard dwelling units in which minority families live, but they do not focus on the system which has created these conditions. The Kerner Commission may have provided an accurate diagnosis of America's racial illness when it cited white racism as its cause. But it might logically then have prescribed changes in the system which created the inner-cities infested with all the ingredients to make the 1967 rebellions almost inevitable. Instead, the Commission suggested various remedies intended to improve the condition of minorities in inner-cities. It offered aspirin to the victims rather than control of the disease. Racism can only be eliminated if focus is upon causes and not upon victims.

The causes of racism are generally embodied in institutional structures and policies and in standard operating practices, which perpetuate the status quo. But we must realize that institutions are made up of individuals, each with the potential to bring change or reinforce stagnation. Therefore, both the institution as a whole and each individual within it are decisive factors in dealing with racism.

With this in mind:

Racism may be viewed as any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person

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or group because of his or their color. Even though "race" and "color" refer to two different kinds of human characteristics, in America it is the visibility of skin color . . . that marks individuals as "targets" for subordination by members of the white majority. This is true of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, and American Indians. Specifically, white racism subordinates members of all these other groups primarily because they are not white in color, even though some are technically considered to be members of the "white race" and even view themselves as "whites".

. . . Racism can occur even if the people causing it have no intention, . . . or are totally unaware of doing so. Racism can be a matter of result *rather than* intention . . . *(From* Racism in America and How to Combat It, *U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970)*

This is an operational definition, about which it might be asked: "How is it possible for racial subordination to operate in this way without more serious challenge?" The answer lies in the dimensions of the dominant white culture. White people are totally immersed in a milieu of whiteness. As a fish does not question the fact that he swims in water, so a white Anglo-Saxon American does not question the fact that he lives within a culture that belongs to him, is a part of him, and which apparently serves him very well.

In an unpublished paper, "New Whites: Justice and Racism", Robert W. Terry, Associate Director of the Detroit Industrial Mission, describes an all-white group of seminar participants who designed a community that would be "believable" and clearly racist. Four different but related characteristics marked their creation.

1. Whites retained most of the key decision-making positions. Whites kept the power.
2. Whites set up *informal* policies and practices to discourage black access to community resources and higher level influence in critical institutions, simultaneously claiming that their community was open. But whites secured community benefits for themselves alone.
3. Whites assumed standards of success and normalcy that were insensitive to alternative life styles, thus maintaining their ethnocentrism.
4. Whites made sure that attention was focused critically or paternalistically on blacks instead of themselves. Whites continued to believe that blacks are the problem in race.

The seminar participants who designed this racist community were surprised on two counts: (1) the task was easier than they had imagined it would be; and (2) without intentionally planning it, the final design that emerged resembled their own community.

Justice rests upon the way society deals with three basic elements: power, resources, and culture. This designed racist community violated each of them. A racist society maintains power within the dominant group by denying self-determination to those without power; a racist society closes community resources and institutions to the subordinated group, thus denying them to persons who are not a part of the dominant group; and a racist society demands acceptance of its own cultural standards by everyone else. This results either in assimilation of subordinated groups, at the expense of their own culture, or their alienation, both of which deny the cultural pluralism of which America is alleged to be composed.

Expanded political activity and the election of minority group persons to office represent increased self-determination by minority communities; efforts toward community control of schools and police are also attempts by minorities to determine the direction of their own lives. Access to resources and institutions is being increased in minority communities through capitalistic ventures and formation of community corporations and cooperatives. Efforts to build pride in their own culture within minority communities suggest new possibilities for cultural pluralism to become reality.

Of greater significance, however, are the methods by which white persons are involved in eliminating racism. The most familiar is the appeal to conscience and morality, by which one is called upon to eliminate racism because "it is the right thing to do." This way is closely related to traditional appeals to one's humanity, his religious instincts, or to brotherhood in general. Results of such appeals are usually marked by apathy but what response there is, is usually paternalistic; that is, doing something to "help the less fortunate, the disadvantaged, the underprivileged." It results also in a focus on interpersonal relationships or on individual attitudes and feelings—a sort of "sweet charity" attitude which is meaningless in approaching the "gut problem" of racism as found in institutions and the individuals who compose them.

The "Confession-of-Guilt" syndrome is another

pattern long familiar to white participation in the elimination of racism. Black-white encounters have appeared to be the most frequent of these in which the self-confessed guilty white person lets an angry black person verbally flagellate him. Not only is the anger of the black person drained off by an exercise in futility, but the guilt of the white person is reinforced and he is left paralyzed by it. Both parties have played their games and nothing results.

Changes by law have involved the white community to a measurable degree. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965, and 1968 have outlawed overt discrimination and public spirited men and women have since committed themselves to strengthening them. But the response to such legislation has been marked by reluctance on the part of whites to allow or to press for full implementation of the laws. School desegregation has progressed at a painfully slow pace although Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regulations implementing the law were issued only a year after its passage.

Desegregation of schools, where it has occurred, has resulted either in assimilation of minorities into the white cultural patterns or their alienation from whites. In both cases, whites have reaffirmed their own ethnocentric cultural standards and they have become confused and bewildered.

Equal employment efforts, aided also by law, were first marked by efforts at being "color-blind". All indications of race were required to be removed from applications and other records. However, it was simple for an employer to find alternate means by which to identify an employee's or applicant's race, and racist exclusion from jobs has continued. Those who sincerely tried to operate on a color-blind basis produced almost the same job exclusion because they were utilizing white standards and traditional mechanisms and structures. Whites operate on the basis of color almost automatically; racism in white institutions has developed as a result of such automatic response, in some instances originated by specific design and even by law. A system that was constructed on the basis of skin color cannot be dismantled by color-blindness.

White involvement in the elimination of racism has not been distinguished by signal success. As quoted in another paper by Mr. Terry, published in the Detroit Industrial Mission's *Life and Work*, (Vol. 11, No. 5, Winter 1969), a remark made to

one white man may apply to all: "That's a find job, but you have been concerned with the wrong people, the wrong things, in the wrong place in the wrong way at the wrong time." The white man had been concerned with minority people instead of being concerned with our systems and institutions which white persons have made racist.

Several specific needs within the white community must be recognized and dealt with in any effort to combat racism, especially since antiracism efforts must be shared by the entire community if they are to hold promise of success.

The first is that the white community must change its sights. The traditional concept of "The Black Problem" must be discarded, and the white community must realize that the problem of racism stems from basic causes found within white institutions and the white culture. Until this fact is recognized, no approach to a solution can be effective.

The second need is that the white community recognize how expensive racism is to itself. White children have been, and still are, generally miseducated regarding minorities and their role in American history. Enormous costs result from racial subordination, both economically and in terms of lost human resources. But most important, while racial subordination generally results from the normal operation of our current systems and institutions, it erects an impenetrable obstacle against the cultivation of humanism, so that it is impossible to interact freely one with another. White persons pay heavy penalties for their fears which stem from racism.

A third need within the white community is to understand how information pertaining to race is disseminated. Educational systems distort such information by eliminating mention of minority contributions to the growth of America. Whites must come to understand where and when racism is being perpetuated, even strengthened, in public information media. This occurs both in programming and in advertising as well as through school curriculums.

White persons must also begin to understand how the mechanisms and structures by which most white institutions "normally" operate tend to subordinate on the basis of color.

If institutions are "liberal", they may include minority members. This usually means asking whites to accept the minority persons on white terms. Decisionmaking is left in white hands. A few doors are open and a few resources made available but genuine access to influence generally remains closed. No one questions the norms and standards upon which such actions are based, so white standards continue to dominate.

Whites need to understand that such "liberality" perpetuates racial subordination under new guises. Self-determination, open access to resources and structures, and cultural pluralism need to be acknowledged as the marks of a nonracist institution.

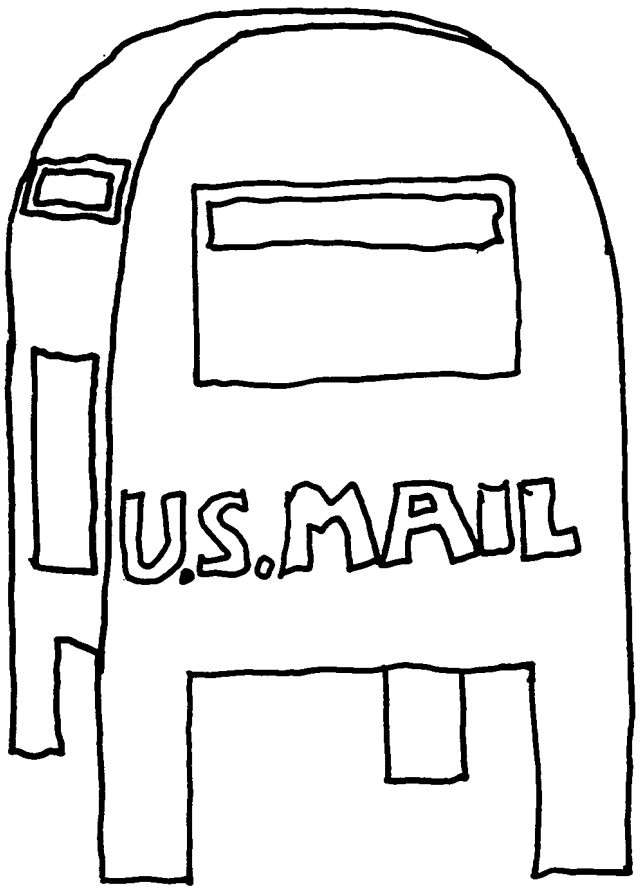
New opportunities are opening within the white community to achieve these ends. White institutions, schools, businesses, government agencies, community organizations, industries, and churches should analyze themselves in terms of racism and effect changes necessary to eliminate racist aspects of their being. The self-analysis process of an organization educates all those involved and at the same time moves toward effecting changes which benefit the whole community.

Facilitation of communications among white organizations which are committed to combating racism is a second means of eliminating racism within a community. Knowledge of others who are similarly committed is in itself supportative; moreover, a network linking white antiracism efforts will create a base from which techniques, skills, and resources may be shared, thus reducing the effects of isolation.

Yet another way to make it possible for the white community to become more effective is to develop specific goals which white community groups can hold in common with minority community groups to develop collaborative efforts toward common goals. Minority community members who are sensitive to the needs of the white community should assist in keeping the focus upon white institutions to the end that they will be impelled to change their policies and practices.

White persons can drop out of civil rights activities and withdraw from involvement but nonwhites can never do so. The involvement of white persons in civil rights and antiracist activities is an absolute essential to any authentic and sustained success. Thus, it becomes incumbent upon any civil rights activity to inquire: "Where are the white folks involved, and what are they doing?" Americans interested in civil rights and justice have the double job of assuring that whites are in there and that they are in there doing the right things.

COMMUNICATIONS



Gentlemen:

"Residential Segregation: Its Effects on Education" by Anthony Downs was a most disappointing article. It was disappointing in that it came from Mr. Downs, whose booklet *Racism in America* has been a useful tool in my work, but it was most disappointing that the *Civil Rights Digest* published this work.

Recognizing that you have certain "clearinghouse responsibilities", I feel you also have certain responsibilities to lead the way in new and innovative approaches to understanding the racial situation today. The aforementioned article fails to meet the latter and perhaps more important responsibility.

Allow me to critique the article. As a whole the article implies that neighborhood integration is a key to solving the race dilemma. This is not only a very narrow outlook, but it also implies that our goal is to eliminate the lower class, i.e., to have everyone assume white, middle class standards and values.

After salving the conscience for those whose goal it is to maintain segregated neighborhoods (the first two pages of the article), which in effect leaves lower economic class citizens in neighborhoods of poor quality service, Mr. Downs goes on to explain to the middle class how they can most nearly maintain these advantages. In the words of the author "the fundamental requirement [for integration] is that each cluster of low-income housing be small enough so that the children living in it would not dominate the schools." In addition to this, the adults will have no meaningful voice in the community, if any.

He consistently places "good" values on the middle class and "bad" values on the lower class. He talks of "so-called" traits which are attributed to the lower class, but offers nothing to deal with the misconceptions middle class people have—indeed throughout the rest of the article he writes as if they were true!

Mr. Downs also imputes that each class would be compromising. In truth, it would be nothing more than the continuation of white, middle class people setting down the rules which must be followed, if black and lower class people are to receive the basic services which a government should provide—equal education, police protection, trash collection, and other services.

In my opinion, this article is neither new nor innovative but in truth retrograde. It presents an intellectual apology for all white middle class segregationists and bigots. It places the major responsibility for a just society on those who have consistently received the least from it. This article does not present, in any way, a viable solution for an equal participatory society. . . .

Yours for equality,

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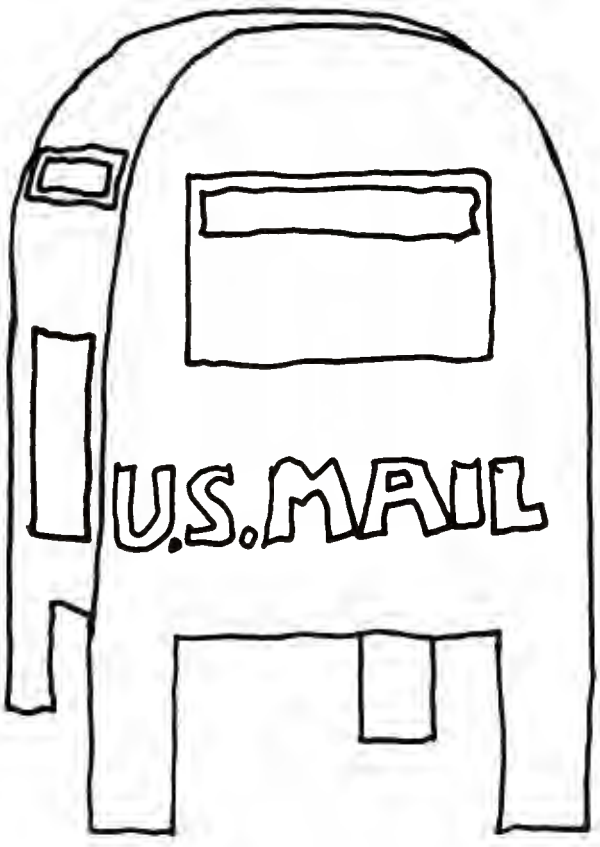


Dr. Down's reply:

The testimony from which the *Civil Rights Digest* article was condensed was not intended to be a complete and fully balanced presentation of all aspects of urban problems connected with racial justice. Consequently, I can understand why it might seem rather one-sided. It does emphasize the middle class suburban viewpoint more than the equally-important viewpoint of lower-income, central-city residents. The testimony also did not sufficiently stress my belief that the vast majority of low-income residents everywhere have about the same aspirations, viewpoints, and behavior patterns as middle class suburbanites—just less money. Thus, I agree with Mr. Salley in rejecting the view that the middle class has "good" values and poor people have "bad" values. Most of both groups have the same values.

Nevertheless, I believe no realistic observer of urban life can deny that a significant number of people living in central-city poverty areas engage in more crime, drug addiction, vandalism, delinquency, and illegitimacy than the average American—white or black, central-city or suburban, middle class or poor—wants to have occurring in his own neighborhood. Most of the residents of the poverty areas themselves are appalled by this behavior they are forced to live with.

I do not make this observation in order to "blame" anyone. The behavior I have described is probably much more the result of social conditions than personal character. Yet it surely exists, as overwhelming statistical evidence proves.

Moreover, it is surely legitimate for the residents of any neighborhood where very little such behavior now exists, whatever may be their economic class, to try to prevent the entry into that neighborhood of persons they believe will bring such behavior with them. I do not believe that this conclusion "implies that our goal is to eliminate the lower class; i.e., to have everyone assume white middle class standards and values." On the contrary, I believe almost all Americans, rich or poor, are opposed to crime, drug addiction, and vandalism, and most are opposed to illegitimacy. So keeping these things out of one's neighborhood is not a desire confined to any economic class.

This does not mean that all means of accomplishing that goal are legitimate. Many are not, as my testimony indicates. Yet it remains true that the widespread desire to create neighborhoods free from the adverse behavior I have described should be accommodated in some way that is fair to all income groups in society, and does not unduly abridge individual freedom of choice about where to live. I do not believe recognizing this fact constitutes an "intellectual apology for all white middle class segregationists and bigots." True, everyone trying to explain a complex subject at length risks having parts of his explanation quoted out of context with the remainder. So "bigots" could defend themselves by quoting some selected passages from my testimony, just as "radicals" could advance their cause by quoting other selected passages in it. Admittedly, the testimony was not as balanced as a full presentation of this complex subject should be. But I do not believe it warrants the conclusions about it drawn by Mr. Salley.

ANTHONY DOWNS

Editor's note: *Anthony Down's article appeared in the Fall 1970 issue of the* Civil Rights Digest. *His* Racism in America and How to Combat It *was published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in January 1970.*

Reading & Viewing

BOOKS

Because it is Right: Integration in Housing, by James L. Hecht. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970. 290 pp.

Deals with the problems of ending discrimination in housing and achieving racial integration. The author focuses on the Buffalo, New York area and his involvement with a fair housing group there called HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal). He also draws on the experience of countless individuals and organizations to offer detailed instructions on how to change discriminatory practices and attitudes in a community.

Between Two Worlds: a Profile of Negro Higher Education, by Frank Bowles and Frank A. DeCosta. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971. 326 pp.

An account of the historical development of Negro higher education from the period preceding the Civil War to the present. The authors describe and analyze the present condition and role of the historical Negro colleges. The demand for educational opportunities for Negroes, both present and foreseeable, and the extent to which this demand will be met by various groupings of institutions are also examined.

Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jews, by Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970. 242 pp.

The purpose of *Bittersweet Encounter* is twofold: to provide a study which places contemporary Jewish-Negro relations in historic perspective; and to shed some light on an area of interracial relations that has generated much heat and misunderstanding in recent years. An in depth coverage of the many facets of Jewish-Afro-American interaction including: the differences between the Afro-American and Jewish-American historical experiences; the extent and nature of Jewish racism and black anti-Semitism; black nationalism and the Arab-Israeli conflict; and the bitter New York City school dispute over community control.

Business and the Cities: a Book of Relevant Readings, edited by Neil W. Chamberlain. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970. 521 pp.

Contains articles and documents concerning the involvement of business in urban problems. The 78 readings describe and evaluate business efforts in specific areas, ranging from manpower development and education and retraining to urban development and black capitalism.

La Causa: The California Grape Strike, photographed by Paul Fusco, written by George D. Horwitz. New York: Macmillan Company, 1970. 158 pp.

Photographs and text are skillfully blended in presenting a dramatic account of the California grape strike and the plight of California's migrant laborers. The evocative photographs and extraordinary prose portraits capture the spirit and character of the boycott and the movement against racism and poverty.

Politics and the Ghettos, edited by Roland L. Warren. New York: Atherton Press, 1969. 214 pp.

A collection of papers by thirteen specialists which examine the complex forces and counter forces whose aggregate result is to perpetuate, in the Nation's cities, areas in which poverty, inadequate education, poor housing, and involuntary segregation converge to form a black ghetto. The contributors focus on the policymaking processes that have led to the development

of today's ghettos and maintain that an adequate understanding of these processes is a basic precondition for changing them.

The Rights of Americans: What They Are—What They Should Be, edited by Norman Dorsen. New York: Pantheon Books, 1970. 679 pp.

A comprehensive and probing analysis of individual rights in the United States. Thirty-one essays by acknowledged law experts define the range of rights recognized by the Supreme Court and legislative bodies. The established rights to due process, equal protection, free expression, rights of prisoners, consumers, juveniles, women, mental patients, and aliens are among the rights discussed. Each essay explains whether or not these rights are actually protected and the ways in which they can be either expanded or defended from further encroachment, governmental or otherwise.

The Social Security Fraud, by Abraham Ellis. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1971. 200 pp.

A scathing attack on the Welfare State and Social Security. The author raises serious doubts about the validity, soundness, and integrity of Social Security—assailing it as one of the cruelest illusions of our time. He recommends the abolishment of Social Security and warns of the dangers when free individuals turn their economic security over to the Government.

STUDIES AND REPORTS

American Indian Education: a Selected Bibliography. Supplement No. 1. Compiled by Alyce J. Nafziger. October 1970. Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University, 1970. 125 pp.

How Students Rate Their Schools and Teachers, by Gordon A. Sabine. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1971. 76 pp.

Local Administration & Enforcement of Housing Codes: A Survey of 39 Cities, by Barnet Lieberman. January 1969. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1969. 73 pp.

1971 Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971. 796 pp.

On the Season: Aspects of the Migrant Labor System, by Dorothy Nelkin. Ithaca, New York: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1970. 85 pp.

The Unemployment-Inflation Dilemma: A Manpower Solution, by Charles C. Holt, C. Duncan MacRae, Stuart O. Schweitzer and Ralph E. Smith. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1971. 112 pp.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. A More Activist Role? A special report, by Jack Nelson. June 1971. Nashville, Tennessee: Race Relations Information Center, 1971. 32 pp.

FILMS

Eye of the Storm. The setting is a small town in Iowa—population under 1,000—where a courageous elementary school teacher decided to teach her 3rd graders what discrimination really means. There were no ghettos or blacks in the town, but shortly after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Mrs. Jane Elliott devised a plan to deliberately plant the seeds of prejudice in the minds of her students. As she put it, "I wanted my children to learn something about living beyond the textbook." She separated the class into two groups—those children with blue eyes and those with brown ones, while carefully explaining why blue eyed people were superior. In addition, each brown eyed child was required to wear a blue collar so that he could be distinguished as different from a distance. The teacher then placed certain restrictions on the brown eyes but gave extra privileges to the children with blue eyes. The next day the situation was reversed. The reactions and interactions of the children are very revealing. This 16mm color film is suitable for all ages; running time is 25 minutes. Produced by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the film won the George Foster Peabody Award for television programming of special merit. It may be obtained from the League, 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 393-5284.

Book Reviews

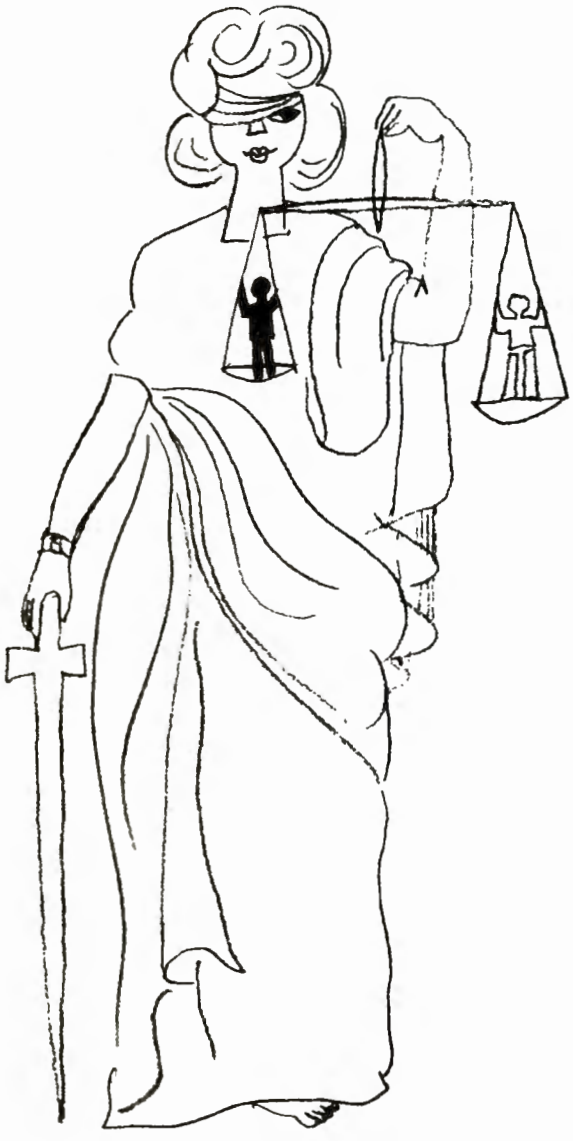
READY FOR THE DEFENSE, by Martin Garbus. Farrar, Straus & Giroux: New York, 1971, 306 pp.

Martin Garbus, a lawyer in his mid-thirties, has already had more challenging and worthwhile experiences in his career than most lawyers have in their lifetimes. Out of these experiences, he has chosen five cases, of varying significance to both the Nation and the legal profession, as the basis of his new book, "Ready for the Defense". "The cases chosen for this book," Mr. Garbus tells us, "are those in which drama combined with constitutional principle. The resolution of each case makes a point about our society." Such tales would surely have made an eminently readable and popular book—as the author no doubt intended. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that Mr. Garbus did not let them speak for themselves. Perhaps then the reader would have been able to enjoy them and to absorb their significance without having his attention continually distracted by the author's songs of himself.

The cases themselves cover a wide range. The first, and most dramatic, is *The State of Mississippi for the Use and Benefit of Henrietta Wright against Wages, et al.*, a suit for civil damages alleging official misconduct in the treatment accorded Mrs. Wright after she registered to vote in Winona, Mississippi in 1965. The facts of Mrs. Wright's story are absorbing and shocking, and Garbus recounts them skillfully. Within minutes after her courageous act, she was arrested by the county sheriff and two deputies, ostensibly for passing a stop sign. She was brutally beaten, jailed overnight without food, and refused permission to contact her husband (who was turned away from the jailhouse). Two doctors from the State mental hospital were called in and without hearing or examination certified to Mrs. Wright's lunacy. She was immediately whisked off to the mental hospital, where the examining doctor on admissions found her normal. Nevertheless, she was confined there for 7 weeks.

By HARRIET R. TAYLOR

Mrs. Taylor. is a lawyer associated with Miners Research Project in Washington, D.C. She is a member of the New York and Washington, D.C. Bars and has been admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court. Her major legal experience has been with the law firm of Rauh & Silard of Washington, D.C., with which she was associated for 8 years, and Delson, Levin & Gordon of New York, where she worked for 3 years. In private life, Mrs. Taylor is the wife of William L. Taylor, former Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and now Director of the Center for National Policy Review, Catholic University Law School.



Garbus also sets the scene vividly. The circumstances leading up to the 1965 Voting Rights Act and Mrs. Wright's act of courage are neatly documented, including an excerpt from the 1963 Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The bulk of the chapter on the *Wright* case is devoted to the pre-trial and trial proceedings. Neither Garbus nor his clients ever expected to win their case before an all-white Mississippi jury. But they did achieve a number of moral victories throughout the proceedings—beginning with the examination of prospective jurors concerning their color prejudices and climaxed by having that same jury take one and a half hours to decide not to award damages to a black plaintiff against white defendants. Large excerpts from the transcript hold the reader's attention, as do some of the author's observations. But the first twinges of annoyance are felt at Mr. Garbus' scattered comments pointing out the novelty and/or ingenuity of some tactic employed by him—tactics which in most cases are, in fact, standard operating procedure for trial lawyers and which it is difficult to believe had the shock value he attributes to them in 1969—even in Oxford, Mississippi.

These twinges of annoyance build to an overwhelming sense of skepticism and despair in the next two chapters. The first of these, *The People against Lenny Bruce*, tells the story of New York State's criminal prosecution of Bruce on a charge of obscenity. It is a moving, pathetic story, and whether or not one agrees with all of Garbus' interpretations of the causes of Bruce's ultimate downfall, one must admire his loyalty to, and clear sympathy for, a client who made life so very difficult for his lawyers. The niggling question that persists throughout this chapter—as in others—is, how much of what Garbus takes credit for is really due others—in this case, the distinguished lawyer, Ephraim London, who brought Garbus into the case as his co-counsel. In the course of the entire recounting of the story, there is only one passing reference to London's participation. And coming, as it does, in the midst of the author's continuing technique of telling all in terms of what he, Garbus, did at each step of the way, it makes the reader stop and think: "London? Oh, yes—he was chief counsel in this case!"

Smith against King was a landmark case in the

effort to achieve welfare reform—culminating in the decision of a unanimous Supreme Court invalidating the "substitute-father" regulation. Garbus brought the original suit in the United States District Court in Alabama and, after a favorable decision before a three-judge court, stayed with it through Alabama's unsuccessful appeal to the Supreme Court. Garbus' account of Mrs. Smith's story should be read by all, as a prime example of both the injustices that can be perpetrated in the name of the system and the continuing vitality of our judicial system in correcting those injustices. To do so, however, it will be necessary for the reader to overcome two major obstacles: The author has used this account as the vehicle for attacks on some of his fellow lawyers which, to this reviewer at least, are unnecessary, misguided, and misinformed. Moreover, the chapter contains some of the most outstanding examples of Garbus' insatiable need to blow his own horn—including four short paragraphs in which the word "I" appears 11 times.

The last two sections of the book deal with criminal cases: *The People against Correa*, *The People against Wood*, and *The People against Timothy Leary*. The first two of these are treated together, since both were capital cases. *Correa* raised the issue of the use of a confession forced by promising drugs to a heroin addict in the throes of involuntary withdrawal. In addition to the forced confession issue, Garbus' account touches on other important questions: whether prospective jurors with conscientious scruples against the death penalty should be allowed to serve; whether the death penalty really acts as a deterrent to crime; whether the racial composition of juries is a significant factor in providing for a fair trial.

The *Wood* case goes to the heart of the question of capital punishment. Garbus draws a picture of a man insane, so bent on self-destruction that he repeatedly kills in the hope that the State will respond in kind. After numerous unsuccessful (from Wood's point of view) attempts, all of which ended in commitment to mental institutions, Wood finally came before a jury which accepted his professions of sanity and found him guilty of murder in the first degree, with a mandatory death sentence. Garbus came into the case one month before the date scheduled for Wood's execution. His account of the ensuing events forms the basis for discussion of an appalling New York State statute. This statute provides for the hospitalization and treatment of those under sentences of death who are determined to be insane, so that they may be "cured" before execution—and thus presumably better able to understand its significance. This is followed by an explanation of the uphill battle which culminated in the virtual abolition of the death penalty in New York.

The *Leary* case will be familiar to most newspaper readers, and Garbus' account adds much minute detail but little of interest. Perhaps, too, it comes too late in the book; Leary's problems just cannot measure up to the much more absorbing stories which preceded his.

A final note. In the "Prologue", Garbus spells out the faith which impelled him to devote much of his career to fighting for civil rights and civil liberties in the courts. But all his protestations of such faith are phrased in the past tense—all are relegated to the decade of the sixties. "Through it all," he tells us, "I continued to place my hopes in the courts. . . . I knew that if [they] failed—if we failed—the alternative was to take the conflict to the streets." And the clear implication of his reading of the seventies is that the time for that alternative has come.

But Garbus does not support his despairing conclusion with reasoned analysis. The implication that "the streets" are the only alternative to the courtroom is wrong; one so concerned about the issues of our day must be aware of the vital effect that legislative and political action can have in the very areas with which he deals—welfare reform, capital punishment, and legalization of drugs, for example.

But even beyond the question of alternatives to the courts, one cannot help but question Garbus' commitment, itself, if he is really ready to give up on the system after a few years toil within it. There are men and women, known to us all, who have been fighting injustice in this country far longer than Garbus, with equal skill and dedication (and a whit more modesty). They have known defeat as well as victory, yet they continue to believe that our best hopes for a just society lie in efforts conducted within our legal system.

IN THE TRAIL OF THE WIND, American Indian Poems and Ritual Orations, edited by John Bierhorst. Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 1971. 201 pp.

John Bierhorst, in his introduction, says that: "The record of Indian life from prehistoric times to the present . . . comes to us mainly through the writings of historians and anthropologists. But it can also be traced to a surprising degree in the so-called oral literature—the songs, chants, and speeches—of the peoples themselves." In this, his first collection of poetry, he has presented more than 100 selections, translated from 40 different languages of the major Indian tribes of North and South America. Included are orations, battle songs, war songs, hymns, omens, and love lyrics of such Indian cultures as the Aztecs, Sioux, Zuni, ancient Mayas, Pawnee, and many others.

The selections are divided into 14 thematic areas beginning with "The Beginning" and ending with "We Shall Live Again". In between, the various sections speak of the historical life of Indian peoples—the creation of man, love for the native country, nature, the trials and tribulations of each day. But also of those significant events which affected their lives and would affect the lives of their descendants for years to come. For instance, under the theme of "Omens and Prophecies", the following is written:

Many winters ago, our wise ancestors predicted that a great monster, with white eyes, would come from the east and . . . consume the land. The monster is the white race, and the prediction is near fulfillment. . . . (Iroquois)

The next section, "The Arrival of the Whites", depicts the profound problems whites brought with them. The prophecy was fulfilled and " . . . It was the beginning of tribute, the beginning of church dues, the beginning of strife with purse-snatching, . . . the beginning of robbery with violence, the beginning of forced debts, . . . the beginning of individual strife, a beginning of vexation." (Maya)

Period engravings are used as illustrations with each section. Detailed notes are provided in the back of the book for each piece, indicating which language it has been translated from (some for the first time), and explaining a custom or myth, or perhaps the origin of certain words or phrases. Mr. Bierhorst points out that sometimes it is very difficult or impossible to give the exact or word-for-word translation because it "rarely yields readable English." Therefore, his is a "literal" translation in which "the words are rearranged . . . to make the text comprehensible." All this is explained in each note, however, where applicable. There is also a helpful Glossary of Tribes, Cultures, and Languages which outlines the original location of each of the 45 tribes represented in this work, as well as some similarities among the tribes. For those interested in pursuing the literature and background of the Indian peoples further, Mr. Bierhorst has included suggestions for further reading.

Similarities among the various Indian cultures can be seen throughout the collection, and the author thinks that "a growing emphasis on shared traits" among the increasing numbers of Indians in this country will result in the elevation of "the cultural prestiges, even the political power, of a people that only a few decades ago was thought to be doomed."

"We Shall Live Again," the last topic in the book, speaks of renewed hope. The words of a Commanche song warn of a coming end to this world and a new beginning where they will be supreme:

I

The sun's beams are running out
The sun's beams are running out
The sun's yellow rays are running out
The sun's yellow rays are running out
The sun's yellow rays are running out

2

We Shall live again
We Shall live again

The first anthology of its kind, this book is not only pleasant to read, but of historical and cultural value.

By WALLIS W. JOHNSON

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