

COMMENTS ON CONFERENCE

CHICAGO AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY

400 WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO

BEN W. HEINEMAN
CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

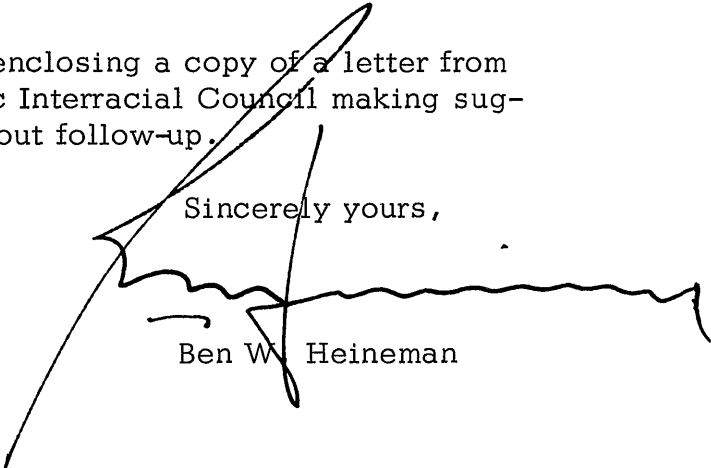
June 7, 1966

Mr. Edward Sylvester
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

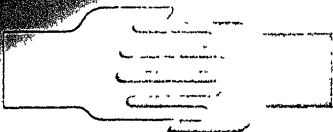
Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter from
the Catholic Interracial Council making sug-
gestions about follow-up.

Sincerely yours,


Ben W. Heineman

Enclosure



CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL 21 W. Superior St. / Chicago, Ill. 60610 / DE 7-1025

June 6, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman
Chairman
Chicago and North Western Railway Company
400 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Congratulations! You have steered the ship of civil rights through the stormy seas of damaging internal strife and brought us all to a new harbor from where, hopefully, the search for freedom can better advance. Thanks to your skillful leadership, the White House Conference which so easily could have failed was a great success.

The Conference Council idea and its membership earned respect for the basic integrity of the conference. The Council's excellent report gave focus to the deliberations and prevented the conference from wandering down a thousand different byways. Your compromise decision on resolutions avoided a bad start for the proceedings and allowed the delegates an opportunity to express themselves and, as it turned out, indicate their basic agreement with the diagnosis and prescription of the report. In my judgment, these decisions were the ingredients of success and not the President's surprise appearance or the visits of administration officials as some of the press has been saying granting, of course, that these things were good and helpful.

Even success breeds its own problems, however, and I believe that the critical post-conference problem is to prevent the Council's report and the better resolutions and recommendations from being merely filed away. This is a peculiar hazard for all great plans and programs. We are all more comfortable with short-range programs. This problem is especially acute in this case because the conference addressed itself to the whole society and not just to the federal government. It talked about everyone's responsibility and what is everyone's responsibility tends easily to become no one's responsibility.

We need to make the Council's report and the better recommendations into new standards of performance for the whole society on the issue of race relations. I am certain that this will not happen of its own accord, and, therefore, I want to make two recommendations to you:

1. The President should be asked to continue the Council in being for some time for the purpose of reporting to him and the country on the implementation of the Conference recommendations and to promote "White House Conference Standards" among various parts of the private sector. Perhaps the Civil Rights Commission whose primary mission is fact gathering could be assigned to provide staff services to the Council.

2. The President should be asked to convene a series of special conferences of the leaders of selected power groups in the next 12 to 18 months to discuss with them what their groups and institutions are doing about the "White House Conference Recommendations". I would suggest the following target groups:
 1. Selected Religious leaders
 2. Selected Governors
 3. Selected Mayors
 4. Housing Industry Leaders
 5. Selected School Board Presidents and Superintendents
 6. Selected Business and Labor leaders

Warmest wishes.

Sincerely,

John A. McDermott
Executive Director

JAMcD:jb

PS. Could we possibly get 100 extra copies of the Council's report?

June 8, 1966

Mr. Clarence Funnye
Executive Director
Idea Plan Associates, Inc.
201 Clinton Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11205

Dear Mr. Funnye:

We are in receipt of your letter of May 26 to the Commission on Housing, White House Conference on Civil Rights.

Thank you very kindly for your congratulatory comments, and also for sending us a copy of the proposal on housing which you presented to Mayor Lindsay.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

(5)

I D E A P L A N A S S O C I A T E S , I N C .

201 Clinton Avenue • Suite 4C • Brooklyn, New York 11205 • UL 8-8346

directive staff

CLARENCE FUNNYE, B.S.A.E., M.S.P., A.I.A.
executive director

May 26, 1966

RONALD SHIFFMAN, B. ARCH.
associate for design

Commission on Housing
White House Conference on
Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

BERNADINE WESLEY, B. ARCH., B.S.M.E.
associate for engineering

LUTHER SEABROOK, B.A., M.A.
associate for community education

Gentlemen:

SUSAN KAEN, B.B.A.
associate for business affairs

May I offer our congratulations on the astonishingly sound, imaginative and progressive program which you produced for the working papers of the White House Conference.

JAMES ROBINSON, B.A.
associate for finances (treasurer)

MARY E. FUNNYE, B.A., M.S.S.W., A.C.S.W.
associate for social planning

We were particularly delighted to see these proposals, since we have been working for some time attempting to secure support for similar programs in the New York area. I am enclosing a proposal which we sent Mayor Lindsay last winter, and which has had a most encouraging reception on both the municipal and private organizational level. We were instrumental in getting the basis of this program adopted at the recent Pre-White House Conference here, as you will note from the enclosed.

ROBERT DENNIS, B.A., M.A.
associate for urban research

ROGER A. SCHULTZ, B.A., L.L.B., L.L.M.
associate for legal counsel

MARY HOMMANN, B.A., M.C.P.
associate for community planning

associated consultants

WILLIAM W. NASH JR., M.C.P., Ph.D., A.I.P.
city and urban planning

I would very much like to attend the conference to help press for endorsement of your proposals. If an invitation can be arranged at this late date, I would appreciate your wiring me to that effect.

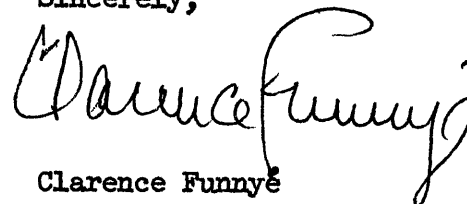
BENJAMIN THOMPSON, A.I.A.
urban design

ROGER STARR, B.A.
housing economics

Again, our congratulations on a job well done.

ROBERT A. DENTLER, Ph.D.
urban sociology

Sincerely,



Clarence Funnye

CF/b

I
P
A

T O W A R D D E G H E T T O I Z A T I O N :

A Proposal for Decisions

In Housing and Planning

In New York City.

IDEA PLAN ASSOCIATES, INC.

Clarence Funnyé, Director

INTRODUCTION

Speeches, editorials and anguished pronouncements belaboring the ills of chronic American ghettos are becoming increasingly commonplace. Scholars and politicians invariably agree that the ghetto is destructive of human values and aspirations, and even serves as a fountain head of social ills which, with more and more frequency, spill over to endanger the health, comfort, well-being and continued viable existence of non-ghetto (e. g., white) communities, and even entire cities. Economists admit that, especially in New York City, large ghettos occupy prime land with excellent transportation and many wasted natural resources, whose continued use solely for blighted slums increases the city's economic problems. Educators assert that an integrated school system, while it may be highly valuable for all children, is a practical impossibility while massive ghettos produce naturally segregated schools.

All the experts conclude that something must be done but, having said this, they proceed to do nothing, until another city erupts, whereupon another series of speeches, editorials and anguished pronouncements fill the airwaves, special study commissions are appointed, and the cycle is repeated while the ghetto becomes progressively worse.

This cycle has been graphically illustrated in New York City. It is our hope that the Lindsay administration will provide the fresh, courageous and imaginative leadership necessary to evolve a solution to a problem which has often been described as our most pressing domestic issue.

Idea Plan Associates, which has completed a one-year preliminary evaluative review of ghettos and the urban environment, is convinced that the only

effective solution to the problems of the ghetto is deghettoization - the systematic reduction and eventual elimination of ghettos as a fact in American life, through design and associated social programs. We are happy to present in capsule form some guidelines for first steps in Deghettoization.

If these or similar steps are taken, we believe New York City may be the first to devise methodology for and to demonstrate the feasibility of deghettoization as municipal policy, and that once again New York City will lead the country in pointing the way to a workable plan for modern urban development.

SALVATORY MYTHS ABOUT GHETTOS

The pathologies of the ghetto community perpetuate themselves through cumulative ugliness, deterioration, and isolation and strengthen the Negro's sense of worthlessness, giving testimony to his impotence. Yet the ghetto is not totally isolated. . . . Those who are required to live in congested and rat-infested homes are aware that others are not so dehumanized.

(Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto, Harper & Row 1965)

Continually facing the hard reality of ghetto existence requires extraordinary courage and strength. Most ghetto dwellers have only the choice of being destroyed by the pathological hopelessness of their condition, or of fleeing into the salvatory balm of deferred hope and fantasy, which tend to attribute to the ghetto and its residents a sort of non-existent heroism and vitality. Similarly, non-ghetto power holders, to salve their own consciences, will repeat and sanctify myths which rationalize the existence of ghettos.

No attempt is made in this section to examine all the salvatory myths which tend to rationalize and thereby perpetuate the existence of ghettos, even in the face of contradictory evidence. This section is included solely to show that we appreciate the difficulties (resistance, etc.) which deghettoization will entail.

Myth Number One: The Negro ghetto is a voluntary grouping (community) of people who themselves benefit from such grouping and who prefer to 'live with their own' and are, with the exception of minor complaints (poor, vermin-infested housing, bad schools, etc.) happy with their 'freely chosen' place of residence. Residents have the power to change the ghetto or to move elsewhere if they like.

This myth has been exhaustively refuted by reputable social scientists.

Among their statements:

The dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and – above all – economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples, victims of the greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt and fear of their masters.

The objective dimensions of the American urban ghettos are overcrowded and deteriorated housing, high infant mortality, crime, and disease. The subjective dimensions are resentment, hostility, despair, apathy, self-depreciation, and its ironic companion, compensatory grandiose behavior.

(Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto, Harper & Row 1965)

It is when Negroes choose to leave their immediate racial neighborhoods that they come up against forces of resistance prevalent among the white population.

The very existence of conventions and devices calculated to keep Negroes out of certain areas is conclusive evidence that the Negro's own preferences cannot, by themselves, account for the maintenance of segregated residential areas.

Negroes continue to live in segregated neighborhoods despite their wishes to the contrary because white Americans keep them there and away from their own (white) residential areas.

(Oscar Steiner, Downtown USA, Oceana 1964)

(Manhattan is) an area where two out of three of its citizens live in freedom, while one out of three of its citizens is confined to a repulsive compound. (Manhattan Borough President Constance Baker Motley addressing the City Planning Commission, December 15, 1965)

Myth Number Two: Maintenance of the ghetto is desirable because it provides a political power base which Negroes would not otherwise enjoy, and this power benefits ghetto dwellers.

The contradictory evidence of fact makes it difficult to understand why this myth is given such wide credence. The ghetto pathology stunts the development both of the body politic and of the indigenous political figure.

The registration figures for ghetto areas are one clear index of the apathy and hopelessness which cripples political action. The politically monolithic

character of voting is another. Although this allegiance to one party can be partially broken in exceptional circumstances, in the ghetto political structure it means effectively a one-party system.

There is also graphic evidence of the toll which ghettos take from their politicians. Dr. Clark has pointed out that Chicago's William Dawson and New York's Adam Clayton Powell and J. Raymond Jones are the only three Negroes ever to have moved from a "constricted ghetto position into really top posts". Far more typical are those who have made their reputations outside the ghetto; William Hastie, Thurgood Marshall, Ralph Bunche, Carl Rowan, Robert Weaver, Edward Brooke, Constance Baker Motley, etc. And Dawson, Powell and Jones, despite their prominence, have not been credited with bringing benefits to their constituencies in proportion to the power they allegedly enjoy. Rather, social concessions to the ghetto usually follow periods of social upheaval.

The political argument for ghetto maintenance is understandably made by limited-ability politicians within the ghetto. But they are joined by others; as Dr. Clark puts it:

Inside the ghetto lie sources of energy that are ordinarily mobilized, overtly or covertly, to prevent change and to perpetuate and exploit the status quo. Outside the ghetto, too, are sources of energy that depend on the ghetto for their own security - all exploitation rests upon real or imagined advantages to the exploiters. Therefore, any social action to transform the ghetto must expect to face apathy and hostility from both Negroes and whites - for a ghetto can be a cocoon as well as a cage.

(Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto, Harper & Row 1965)

Negro political aspirants, some of whom may themselves have great merit, may assume that white voters will automatically reject them because of preju-

dice, and that their only hope would be in working through the ghetto political apparatus, which promptly restricts their ability to rise. Politicians who advance through the ghetto structure become imbued with the pervasive psychology of the ghetto and its total sense of helplessness. White politicians have difficulty taking him seriously, because of their views about the ghetto itself. And the ghetto politician has a vested interest in maintaining the ghetto as it is, to the extent even of resisting voter registration as a threat to his security.

Finally, the emergence of prominent political figures in Chicago and Harlem is the exception. Far more typical is the experience of Los Angeles' Watts, where a study made for the McCone Commission revealed "the 70 per cent who feel largely powerless to shape their own destinies, the 48 per cent who cannot name any local Negro leader" (Newsweek, December 13, 1965). The ghetto does not, as a rule, produce politicians respected even by their own constituents, and this fact aggravates the cycle of hopelessness.

Myth Number Three: The ghetto's problems can be solved by massive physical rebuilding.

It is curious that the implications of the 1954 Supreme Court decision remain largely beyond the mental grasp of the nation at large and many of its leaders. That decision found that separation by race is inherently unequal because of the feelings of inferiority which it inflicts on its victims. The root cause of ghetto problems is precisely this damaging conveyance of notions of inferiority. Such an insidious psychological erosion is not limited to schools. It takes root in the total environment. The physical deterioration of housing, community facilities

and neighborhoods is an effect or a contributing factor, not a cause of this gross ego damage both on the minority and majority population.

No amount of prettying up, fixing up, paint, plaster and parks can do more than make the ghetto life a little more tolerable for its inhabitants. No true and lasting solution can be found which ignores the basic pathology of enforced separation. And such a solution must be found, for:

The problem of Negroes is a problem of the city's center; it is not apparent how one problem can be solved without working out the other. (Slums and Social Insecurity, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare Research Report Number One, by Alvin L. Schoor.)

and:

An America of racial discrimination and de facto segregation is a house divided against itself. Urban America can well be torn apart by the explosive power of resentment and hatred. Metropolitan areas that are essentially black urban centers, ringed by the wealthier whites, cannot safely be permitted to crystallize and solidify.

(Hubert Humphrey, War on Poverty, McGraw-Hill 1964)

and:

The people in Harlem know they are living there because white people do not think they are good enough to live anywhere else. No amount of "improvement" can sweeten this fact. Whatever money is now being earmarked to improve this, or any other ghetto, might as well be burnt. A ghetto can be improved in one way only; out of existence.

(James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, Delta 1962)

REDEVELOPMENT OF THE GHETTO

All of Harlem is pervaded by a sense of congestion, rather like the insistent, maddening, claustrophobic pounding in the skull that comes from trying to breathe in a very small room with all the windows shut. Yet the white man walking through Harlem is not at all likely to find it sinister or more wretched than any other slum. . . . If an outbreak of more than usual violence occurs, . . . it is met with sorrow and surprise and rage; the social hostility of the rest of the city feeds on this as proof that they were right all along, and the hostility increases; speeches are made, committees are set up, investigations ensue. Steps are taken to right the wrong, without, however, expanding or demolishing the ghetto. The idea is to make it less of a social liability, a process about as helpful as make-up to a leper.

(James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son, Beacon 1955)

Any attempt to redevelop the ghetto must be accompanied by a firm commitment to deghettoize - to bring the ghetto and its residents into the mainstream of city life. This commitment must emanate from the city administration, which is pre-eminently concerned with constructing the details which will shape the ghetto's future.

Redevelopment must first be preceded by massive relocation of present residents - first on a crisis basis, to ease the inhuman densities characteristic of the ghetto, and then to afford space for improvements. This relocation must be to non-ghetto areas, both as a matter of justice for relocatees, and as a question of self-interest to the city, which cannot afford enlargement of other ghettos within the municipal boundaries. Various techniques for accomplishing such relocation are described in the next section. If redevelopment is to be accomplished within the urban renewal framework, its provisions can be used in a variety of ways to help absorb costs.

The land which then can be cleared of deteriorated housing and anti-social uses can be used in a variety of ways to encourage revitalization of remaining

portions of the ghetto as viable integrated localities. Immediate steps include:

- Locating new buildings, public and commercial offices and light industry of sufficient magnitude, quality and character to catalytically effect redevelopment in the immediate vicinity of such structures.

- Locating cultural and community facilities in the cleared areas in such a fashion and of a scale sufficient to encourage use by a population transcending the ghetto community. New junior colleges and senior high school complexes (or educational parks) with theaters, parks and civic centers are 'design elements' which could be utilized to 'boom' the area, spur revitalization and re-establish fingers of communication with the outer city as a first step in reintegrating the ghetto into the outer city.

- Housing is the most important and delicate portion of any deghettoization program. Housing policy should be designed to take large areas on the ghetto periphery, design them on a total-plan basis, and then move inward toward the ghetto core. The housing should be designed and situated in a manner consistent with the overall objectives to attract or re-attract economically and ethnically balanced populations. For this purpose, mixed income levels and original, attractive design techniques should be encouraged.

Some of the new housing could, as Borough President Motley has suggested, be located over highways, roadways and new low-rise public buildings. However, care should be taken to maintain low over-all densities and adequate open spaces. Full use of urban renewal provisions should be carefully investigated as a means of accomplishing such redevelopment at a feasible cost.

There are many items presently approved in the five-year capital budget plan which should be reviewed for their relevance to deghettoization. Some programs in the present budget can, by their character, if properly designed and situated, lend to loosening up of existing ghettos by increasing their environmental attractiveness to non-ghetto residents. On the other hand, there are projects, such as the proposed Hudson River sewage plant, which might as proposed tend to further blight the area and misuse valuable housing and recreational sites, and thereby impede the process of rolling back the ghetto.

While some of the tools and methodology necessary for accomplishment of a total scheme may have to be developed empirically, present evidence suggests that once a policy commitment has been made to deghettoization, implementation becomes in large part a matter of urban design accompanied by adequate social and economic programs.

Many decisions now aid in solidification and perpetuation of the ghetto. With regard to the City Planning Commission's recent 3.25 million dollar housing report, Mrs. Motley has said:

The report might well have been more timely and effective ten years ago. But today it has a fatal defect. It is fatally defective because if its recommendations are followed, it would perpetuate the ghetto, that city within a city which has been growing for years like weeds in an untended field and which exerts social and economic effects as blighting and poisonous as air pollution.

While the report's shift in emphasis from middle class to ghetto areas is helpful, it is indeed out of date, and serves mainly as the rationale for the delays of the past years in providing imaginative solutions to problems. This tendency to procrastinate can be eliminated only by a strong commitment from the mayor, and we present this proposal in the hope that such a commitment will be forthcoming.

PERIPHERAL METHODOLOGY

... with respect to equality of opportunity, a master plan cannot be neutral. A plan will either promote equality in housing, for example, or the converse. There is no genuine neutrality. (Jefferson B. Fordham, dean, University of Pennsylvania Law School, in Housing, 1961 Commission in Civil Rights Report)

While a massive, concerted planning assault on the ghetto itself is essential, a variety of techniques can be developed to alleviate interim ghetto problems and insure peaceful placement of ghetto dwellers in non-ghetto areas of the city. Because of the emotional resistance of majority group members, the latter may be the most difficult and delicate phase of the program. But no deghettoization plan can be effective without this complementary effort.

With a view toward stimulating new thought on these problems, we present a survey of ideas as starting points in an imaginative and forceful programs. Some of these proposals may not prove to be empirically practicable, and they are not presented as a final answer. But they are a beginning.

To minimize the cost of property acquisition in clearance in the worst, most dense slum areas of Manhattan and Brooklyn, the city could proceed on a block-by-block basis - systematically declaring a whole block unfit for human habitation, a modified form of health and/or safety condemnation which could be final over a short period of time, say 12 to 18 or 24 months. Residents would be moved out to new housing built on vacant land outside the ghetto in select, majority-group communities where associated social programs could insure smooth relocation adjustment and continued viability.

The renewal agency, meanwhile, would be in a more powerful bargaining

position and can thus afford to proceed in a leisurely fashion in the acquisition and demolition of empty slum buildings, without hardship to relocatees or pressures of schedule. The city could insure that this policy operated to reduce profits inherent in allowing further deterioration and overcrowding of slum tenements, defining block condemnation criteria so as to take first precisely those blocks or groups of buildings where owners show a predisposition for milking their buildings. New York City has adequate precedent for making such declarations, even where some of the buildings in a deteriorated block are not themselves deteriorated. In Berman v. Parker, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 held that the existence of individual unblighted buildings in a redevelopment area should not be permitted to frustrate redevelopment intended to overhaul and redesign an entire area.

All city agencies, but especially the Department of Relocation, should be instructed to consider, in criteria of safe, sound, decent and sanitary housing, the environment in which such housing is situated. The quality of schools, ethnic composition and neighborhood deterioration should be considered, and negative marks in these areas should be regarded as sufficient to disqualify individual units as suitable to receive relocatees, regardless of the condition of the units themselves. In short, ghetto housing should be declared per se unsafe, unsound, undecent and unsanitary. The effect of instructions to the relocation office would be to insure that no potential relocatees were offered housing within existing ghettos or gray areas which are on their way to becoming ghettos.

The relocation agency should keep the percentage of relocatees in any receiving community between 10% and 20%, final judgment being made on the basis of sensitive evaluation of the strength of receiving communities, measured in public school capacity and facilities, attitudinal adjustment factors, existing ethnic history and balance, etc.

In pursuit of its goal of systematic deghettoization, the Local Planning Agency (Housing and Redevelopment Board, Planning Commission, Department of Relocation, and all other departments whose decisions can influence deghettoization) should provide a disruption grant of up to \$3,500 per poor family which is uprooted as a result of any public improvement action, including bridges, parks, plants, highway construction, civic center improvements, etc. This disruption grant would be made in recognition of the extraordinary hardships and social as well as monetary costs associated with community upheaval occasioned by major public improvements. The grant, while not a function of family income, should recognize that some families suffer more than others from public action, owing to their monetary and social circumstances and emotional adjustment resilience. The grant should carry provisos which prohibit expenditure for housing within or contiguous to existing ghettos.

Such a grant, while compensating families for unavoidable hardships, will also:

- a) Increase at once their housing choices and competitive positions in the non-ghetto market, and
- b) Tend to reduce family inertia and resistance.

Deghettoization as suggested herein must take into account the economic factors - mainly unemployment and unemployability - which must be corrected in order to insure continuation of desired results once achieved. Many of the corrective steps suggested herein can initially serve as catalytic stimuli in breaking the poverty cycle. For example:

A massive housing construction program in non-ghetto areas would create thousands of jobs which could be filled by those now idled by lack of activity in this economic sector. Proper planning would reserve at least 30% of such jobs for the poor unemployed, with adequate safeguards on apprentices.

A second built-in source of jobs - that is, jobs built into deghettoization - is contained in section 116, Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 as amended, which provides for two-thirds of the demolition cost of abandoned or unfinanced slum buildings to be financed by the federal government. About 350 such buildings have been identified in Bedford-Stuyvesant alone. Once cleared, the vacant lots could be developed (even in the absence of a renewal plan) for a variety of civic or community uses, including playgrounds and pocket parks, municipal parking lots etc., or the city may prefer to lease such property for profitable uses while holding the land for development in a redesigned community. In this scheme, municipal benefits are three-fold:

- a) Jobs are created in the demolition process with two-thirds federal financing.
- b) Abandoned, unsightly, socially undesirable, often dangerous structures are removed, thus improving esthetically the city scape.

c) Vacant lands in dense ghettos are provided which can be used as profit-making ventures while awaiting redevelopment or some or all of them may create additional employment and esthetic and social value by conversion into usable open spaces.

There are presently (partly as a result of 1965 housing laws) several aids for providing non-ghetto housing in any comprehensive attack on hard-core ghettos.

Section 101 (Housing Act of 1949, Title 1, as amended in 1965) provides rent subsidies in private, non-profit legal entities, limited dividend corporations or other limited dividend legal entities, etc. Any occupant of existing substandard housing is eligible, and this would probably include at least half of the persons now occupying the major New York City ghettos.

Section 23 (new), Housing Act of 1937 as amended in 1965 (low-rent housing in private accommodations) allows the housing authority to lease up to 10% of units in standard private housing for persons who meet public housing eligibility.

The myth of no land for massive low- and middle-income housing in New York City can, as partially shown hereinbefore, be set to rest. In addition to the thousands of vacant lots and lots with abandoned buildings, much potential housing land exists along major portions of our misused waterfront, over railroad yards, isolated bridge approaches (some of which is already being exploited) and in underdeveloped regions of Staten Island, Queens and Brooklyn. Additionally, the bulk of the 43,000 old law tenements whose demolition and

removal was recommended by a Mayor's Committee over 10 years ago, occupy space which can be developed to provide more housing while using less land by building higher.

To go even further, the city might give thought - and perhaps experiment with - the purchase of housing land outside its boundaries for sale, lease or rental to the thousands of reverse (low income) commuters who hold industrial and service jobs in the all-white suburbs and are restricted not by choice to central city ghettos.

There is a precedent for city ownership and control of land and land development outside its boundaries - the vast watershed holdings in Putnam County, which are, incidently, one source of jobs for reverse commuters. Some of the Putnam County holdings were recently sold by the outgoing city administration. It is likely that water resources development will make more of the watershed areas unnecessary, and a warning to refrain from selling such land is timely. Even if enough land for deghettoization is found within the five boroughs, as preliminary surveys indicate, upstate holdings can be developed for park and recreation space for city dwellers still excluded from suburban recreation areas.

Various other schemes have been suggested for meeting increased housing demands. One, a plan for development of a community on Welfare Island proposed by Planner-Architect Victor Gruen, would seem to have considerable merit. With adequate provision of low-income housing and open space, it could be a significant factor in the drive for deghettoization and revitaliza-

tion of the core city. When and if federal new town legislation is approved, the city should already have completed plans for federal support of a new town-type development on Welfare Island.

Full deghettoization must entail a certain economic balance in the city's family base. Put another way, a city should have middle-income families raising children, enjoying and thinking of the city as a desirable place to live. New York, as with other major cities, has failed to exploit the full array of advantages which the city offers and has failed to make provision for (e. g. housing, schools and environment) the middle-class family with several children.

A vigorous Department of Commerce, or similar agency, should be assigned the job of looking after the interests of the neglected middle-class family, of selling the city's virtues and the disadvantages inherent in suburban life. In short, what is needed is a reassertion of the city as a status place to live.

Deghettoization, with the consequent elimination of all that ghettos connote, will be a first step in this direction, for while the process decreases crime and social disorder, it also accelerates the rise of the poor into middle-class status, and while not all the poor will achieve such status, significant reduction in poverty levels does dissipate a major negative image of the city as a refuge fit only for the poor, and whose positive elements are enjoyed only by the rich.

A final element in our suggested proposals for deghettoization is in the area of official actions on the part of non-planning agencies. Realtors, real estate

brokers and dealers are licensed by the State of New York. Their actions in behalf of deghettoization can be assured by civic pressure for the imposition of severe penalties for impeding the nondiscriminatory sale, rental or lease of non-ghetto housing, engaging in block-busting, etc.

Both city and state human rights agencies have only moderate programs for insuring free - that is, nondiscriminatory - access to an open housing market. Both place the burden of proof on a potential complainant, and both could show much more vigor in pursuit of stated city and state and federal housing goals. The same indictments can be equally applied to administration and enforcement of the modest federal directives and executive orders in housing.

These actions contrast startlingly with the strong official pronouncements and liberal declarations on the subject. As an element in the deghettoization equation, strong enforcement of these existing laws is essential.

CONCLUSION

Deghettoization must entail total planning and coordination in pursuit of the goal of a society without ghettos. Every agency and department of the city and every decision must take into account the implications for reducing racial ghettos, with all this implies.

For example, the HRB would not be allowed to aid solidification of Harlem by constructing a housing development (Riverbend, for example) obviously for Negroes which could not in some significant way further the stated policy of a slumless city with balanced neighborhoods and quality integrated schools.

Parallel research will probably be needed to determine the exact relevance of design and location of some community facilities to the ethnic composition of their users. However, much is already known empirically, and can be done now.

At present, the focus of the city is on a totally opposite direction. Public housing is built almost solely in the midst of the ghetto, thus acting to perpetuate its ills. The Board of Education, despite a few highly-publicized pilot projects, is acting to discourage integrated schools through assignment of teachers, drawing of school zones, etc.

This sort of lack of foresight must be stopped. The city must be up and out in search of new truths. It must act not just in crisis, but anticipate trends, plan ahead, and set trends - and lead. The single thrust of this proposal is for the city administration to recognize the imperatives for deghettoization. If we act with vigor and vision, New York can lead the nation's cities back to sanity.

Clarence Funnye, Executive Director

I D E A P L A N A S S O C I A T E S , I N C .

201 Clinton Avenue, Suite 4C, Brooklyn, New York 11205 - UL 8-8346

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"Planning for People"

IDEA PLAN ASSOCIATES is a non-profit corporation of professional urbanists - city and regional planners, urban designers, social workers, architects, engineers, renewal law specialists and community organizers - and associated lay groups and individuals. It is concerned with developing plans and programs for systematic eradication of urban ghettos and significant improvements in housing, environment and social opportunities for all urban dwellers.

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201 Clinton Avenue, Suite 4C, Brooklyn, New York 11205

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
QUALITATIVE CONCEPTS OF THE
SLUM BUILDINGS AND REHABILITATION

PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

May, 1966

REPORT ON QUALITATIVE CONCEPTS REGARDING SLUM HOUSING FOR CONSIDERATION
BY THE NEW YORK PRE-WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE, MAY 10-12, 1966

The people in Harlem know they are living there because white people do not think they are good enough to live anywhere else. No amount of "improvement" can sweeten this fact. Whatever money is now being earmarked to improve this, or any other ghetto, might as well be burnt. A ghetto can be improved in one way only; out of existence.

James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name, Delta, 1962

Among those who seek solutions to the ghetto's problems, the only significant fact on which all can agree is that the ghetto has massive problems. As soon as one starts to discuss specifics of solutions, there emerges a deep and divisive conflict between those who would rebuild the ghetto for its inhabitants and those who would use redevelopment to eliminate the forced racial ghetto as a fact of the urban condition.

Those who would preserve the ghetto argue that it provides the vehicle for an enriching culture, and represents the potential for an effective political power base.

Those who would eliminate the ghetto maintain that enforced separation creates an insidious psychological erosion based on notions of inferiority which cripple the development of the ghetto's inhabitants.

The consequences of this conflict, which exists on the emotional, philosophical and planning levels, cannot be underestimated. It has already tended to paralyze any attempts to make progress toward genuine urban equality among those few who care about what happens to the ghetto's unhappy residents.

We believe that the problem of the ghetto is the problem of the central city, and one cannot be solved without solving the other. We believe this dual solution lies in the reintegration of the ghetto into the larger city, and the city into the ghetto.

The proponents of separatism have always promoted it under the guise of the great benefits to those separated - recall the slave plantation and South African apartheid. This philosophy is camouflage for rampant racism, and racism always ends by destroying its victims and its perpetrators with an impartial hand. Separatists share a reactionary philosophy which makes them strange bedfellows with the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils, the PAT, and ghetto politicians or would-be politicians who would preserve the ghetto for their own exploitive ends.

The ghetto's culture consists of: overcrowded and deteriorated housing, high infant mortality, crime, disease, resentment, hostility, despair, apathy, self-depreciation. Those elements of true culture - race pride, a common history, a religious or ethnic tradition - do not depend on the ghetto for their vitality.

Political solidarity has had its inning and lost. The world's largest ghetto, Harlem, has been in existence for 50 years, and is "represented" in the Halls of Congress. Its problems are not being solved, but instead are intensifying with each passing year. The ghetto pathology stunts the development of both the body politic and the indigenous political figure. Ghetto registration figures are one clear index of the apathy and hopelessness which cripples political action; the politically monolithic character of voting is another. And as for the politician, William Dawson, Adam Clayton Powell and J. Raymond Jones are the only three Negroes ever to have moved from the ghetto clubhouse to really top posts, while the list of those who have made their mark from outside the ghetto political structure is long - Hastie, Marshall, Bunche, Rown, Weaver, Brooke, Motley, etc. The average ghetto politician is inhibited by the same isolation and pathology as his ghetto

constituent, and he has a vested interest in maintaining the ghetto as it is, to the extent even of resisting voter registration as a threat to his security.

A true program for equal opportunity in housing in our cities must have a two-fold thrust; it must operate with policies to provide the housing and opportunities which enable ghetto residents to move into the city at large, and it must rebuild the ghetto in such a fashion as to attract the larger community back within its boundaries. This program requires a commitment from the city administration, which is pre-eminently concerned with constructing the details which will shape the ghetto's future, and from the federal and state governments, from which much of the funds and initiative must come.

Redevelopment must first be preceded by massive relocation of present residents - first on a crisis basis, to ease the inhuman densities characteristic of the ghetto, and then to afford space for improvements. This relocation must be to non-ghetto areas, both as a matter of justice for relocatees, and as a question of self-interest to the city, which cannot afford enlargement of other ghettos within the municipal boundaries.

The land which can then be cleared of deteriorated housing and anti-social uses can be used in a variety of ways to encourage revitalization of remaining portions of the ghetto as viable, integrated localities. Immediate steps include locating new buildings, public and commercial offices, light industry, cultural, educational and community facilities to 'boom' the area and re-establish fingers of communication with the outer city as a first step in reintegrating the ghetto into the outer city.

Housing policy must be designed to take large areas on the ghetto periphery, design them on a total-plan basis, and then move inward toward the ghetto core. This housing must be designed and situated in a manner consistent with the overall objectives to attract or re-attract economically and ethnically balanced populations. For this purpose, mixed income levels and original, attractive design techniques must be encouraged.

While some of the tools and methodology necessary for accomplishment of a total scheme may have to be developed empirically, present evidence suggests that once a firm policy commitment has been made in this direction, implementation becomes in large part a matter of urban design accompanied by adequate social and economic programs. All projected city programs must be reviewed for their relevance to this policy.

To minimize the cost of property acquisition in clearance of the worst, most dense slum areas of Manhattan and Brooklyn, the city could proceed on a block-by-block basis, systematically declaring a whole block unfit for human habitation, a modified form of health and/or safety condemnation. The city must insure that this policy operates to reduce profits inherent in allowing further deterioration and overcrowding of slum tenements, defining block condemnation criteria so as to take first precisely those blocks or groups of buildings where owners show a predisposition for milking their buildings. Legal precedent exists for such declarations - Brown v. Parker.

Equal in importance to what happens within the ghetto in this process is what happens outside it. Relieving the pressure on the ghetto by a vigorous program of opening up opportunities in the surrounding city is vitally important.

All city agencies, must be instructed to consider, in criteria of safe, sound, decent and sanitary housing, the environment in which such housing is situated. The quality of schools, ethnic composition and neighborhood deterioration should be considered, and negative marks in these areas should be regarded as sufficient to disqualify individual units as suitable to receive relocatees, regardless of the condition of the units themselves. In short, ghetto housing must be declared per se unsafe, unsound, undecent and unsanitary. The effect of instructions to the relocation office would be to insure that no potential relocatees were required to accept housing within existing ghettos or gray areas which are on their way to becoming ghettos. It is essential that such relocation be accompanied by intense social programs designed to insure smooth relocation adjustment and continued viability of the receiving areas.

Such a policy would leave a variety of relocation possibilities open. First, of course, is existing housing in non-ghetto areas. Public housing plays a vital role in this process, and part of the city's commitment should include a massive public housing increase outside the ghetto, public housing which avoids the giant complex policy, but which is constructed in vest-pocket fashion, or mixed in to middle-income developments. Some areas in the city offer excellent possibilities for creative new towns, and these new towns should be constructed from the start with an integrated, viable community in mind. Federal rent subsidy and supplement plans also provide unexplored possibilities. And the city can profitably consider buying land, or converting land already owned outside its boundaries, for residential use.

In pursuit of its goal, it is imperative that the local planning agency provide a relocation grant of up to \$3,500 per ^{pocr} family in order to increase at once their housing choices and competitive positions in the non-ghetto market, and tend to reduce family inertia and resistance. Such a grant could provide a ghetto family with a vital boost toward economic and emotional stability.

The process outlined here has many advantages for every segment of the community. Aside from the obvious one of ameliorating the tragic waste in physical and human resources which the ghetto represents to the whole city, these advantages include:

- employment. The vast program of housing and other construction envisioned here would produce a new construction boom, with the difference that the city must reserve at least 30% of jobs under this program to ghetto residents. Jobs would also be generated by location of light industries in sections of the present ghetto, and opening up new potential employment for those who are relocated in industries and services near their new homes. Other economic advantages in the employment sector can be outlined - spontaneous rehabilitation, increased services, a revitalized general economy.

- education. "Quality, integrated education" can never become a reality unless such a program as this is implemented, and the whole body of social science studies and court decisions, as well as common experience, demonstrates the importance of its becoming a reality. In addition, the fluidity of population envisioned and the establishment of whole new residential patterns opens exciting new possibilities for adventurous educational departures.

- social. The ghetto pathology is well documented. It is a tragic cycle of poverty, blunted aspirations and discrimination.

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- social. The ghetto pathology is well documented. It is a tragic cycle of poverty, blunted aspirations and discrimination.

The damaging notions of inferiority which forced racial segregation convey represent an insidious and crippling psychological erosion. If this erosion is ever to be arrested, if ghetto residents are ever to possess true pride in themselves, the ghetto and all that it represents and symbolizes must be eliminated as a fact in our cities.

We implore this body to lift its sights beyond the ghetto's walls to the creative opportunities which can be realized in a truly free city.

June 8, 1966

Mr. Craig W. Christensen
Executive Assistant to the Chairman
Chicago & North Western Railway Company
400 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Craig:

I am sending the enclosed letters to you because
I feel they need Mr. Heineman's attention.

Sincerely,

Azie B. Morton
Assistant to the
Vice Chairman

Enclosures
12 Letters
1 Telegram

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



LLF:67 (20)DEA273

DE 1117 PD 5 EXTRA DETROIT MICH 1 435P EST

1966 JUN 1 PM

BOB HEINEMAN CHAIRMAN, WHITEHOUSE CONFERENCE TO FULFILL THE RIGHTS

1800 16th ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL BRAND CHAPTER OF THE
SPANISH RIGHT AFFILIATION HIGHLY ENDORSED AND SUPPORTS THE
OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS
WE FEEL THAT MUCH IS BEING DONE IN THESE DIRECTIONS AND THERE
REMAINS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE

DR JULIA C FITZPATRICK 5040 JOY RD DETROIT MICH

1966 JUN 1 PM 2 24

MAX J



tutorial assistance center

A PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
2115 S STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON D.C. 20008 202 DU 7-5100

June 3, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman
White House Conference on Civil Rights
Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Heineman:

While traveling in Texas for the Tutorial Assistance Center, a newly contracted OEO project, I found many Spanish-Americans who sought to utilize the resources of the Office of Economic Opportunity. But often the anti-poverty efforts had started slowly or were not yet off the ground.

I have been considering what our organization might do to help the young people of Texas, particularly Spanish-American young people, further the goals of anti-poverty programs in their home areas. We want to bring Texas students to our National Student Congress at the University of Illinois in Champaign. At this meeting they could learn what civil rights and anti-poverty programs, such as tutorials, other students have organized. They could talk among themselves about activities to undertake upon their return to Texas.

To do this, we need to raise money to transport and house 80 students at the Congress. The past few days I have been wondering how to approach a railroad (specivically, the Missouri Pacific) and ask for the donation of a private car to take students from Edinburgh and San Antonio, Texas, to the University of Illinois.

Then I learned you were coordinating the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Your name was already familiar to me because of the publicity you have received as chairman of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. I felt you would be equally concerned about the problems of Mexican-Americans and might be able to help us plan a special series of seminars for them at our National Student Congress this summer. We would appreciate hearing from you about your ideas on this program.

I have included with this letter a pamphlet which will give you some idea of what our Association does and an excellent article from the Washington Post that details some of the problems that Spanish Americans are having with the poverty program. Especially interesting is the statement that Mexican-Americans want the President to host a conference for discussion of their particular problems.

Should you be able to spare a few minutes during your stay here to discuss this in more detail, I'd be very glad to meet with you. My compliments for the fine job you are doing with the Chicago and Northwestern Railway; I've always felt that railroads could handle passengers at a profit.

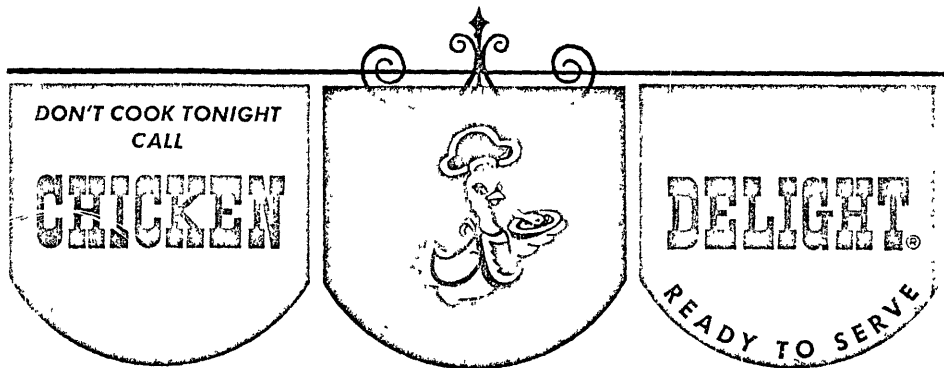
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael Gannon".

Michael Gannon
Field Coordinator

MG:nc

enclosures



CHICKEN DELIGHT / 2700 ELEVENTH STREET • ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS 61202 / PHONE AREA 309 788-6373

May 28, 1966

Mr. Ben H. Heineman
Chairman
"White House Conference"
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

To my regret, I am engaged in a "bout" with the flu, and have been ordered to bed by my doctor. For this reason, I will be unable to attend the conference. I submit, however, the following thoughts, and suggest that they be considered in the recommendations:

It is my opinion that education is the best vehicle available "To Fulfill These Rights." As a member of the Small Business Administration Advisory Council and as charter president and active member of The International Franchise Association, I believe that education is not only necessary for the Negro, but that it must flow in two directions - to the Negro community and to the white community. Exposure and experience in a small business is, beyond a doubt, the most effective medium possible for this educational process. My personal experiences in Small Business Administration loans and loans under the poverty program have led me to the following conclusions:

In many instances, it is unfair to encourage an individual to enter business simply because of his qualifications within the requirements of the Poverty Act. The failure rate, as a result of lack of ability or other qualifications, tends to discourage other applicants who actually might be successful.

I feel that our Government should undertake and underwrite a program to



Mr. Ben H. Heineman

May 28, 1966

Page Two

be implemented by the Small Business Administration, the Department of Commerce or another capable office, for the purpose of the initiation of a simple basic course in business education. Many simple and basic business requirements that present a real problem to the uninitiated applicant are taken for granted by the more sophisticated person who has had any business experience, such as proper banking procedures, accounting fundamentals, Government regulations regarding employees, payrolls, and employee taxes, and the proper handling of overhead expenses. All of these basics, and other practical topics, could and should be taught in such a course.

Students of this course might be subsidized during the period required for training, which could, conceivably, be condensed to a three month term. The amount so subsidized could possibly be repaid as a part of the loan in successful cases. At the conclusion of this course, the student could be evaluated by formal tests, and business opportunities made available only to the persons attaining a satisfactory or better grade.

I believe that it would be unrealistic to expect 100% of white applicants to succeed in business merely because of their desire for success. Obviously, the non-caucasian generally lacks the advantage of previous business exposures, and, therefore, the qualifying applicants would be substantially less among non-whites. It is further my opinion that a program of this nature would result in accelerated accomplishments toward our goals and the realization of economies in that accomplishment.

Please feel free to call upon me if I can be of any help at any time in this program or any others. My interest is sincere, and I thoroughly regret my inability to attend this conference.

Yours very truly,

CHICKEN DELIGHT, INC.



A. L. Tunick, President

ALT:dn

8920 South Ada Street
Chicago, Illinois 60620
May 27, 1966

Mr. Ben Heineman, Chairman
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

I have just read in today's Wall Street Journal an article regarding the proposals of your White House Conference on Civil Rights.

My first comment to you is "I feel I and everyone else who is not in the upper salary bracket is being discriminated against." First of all, there are many non-negro people who would have liked to have gone to college but because of financial difficulties or hardships did not.

My own brothers are a good example of this. They, immediately after graduation from grammar school, went to work instead of continuing their education. My one brother after many years of going to night school has succeeded in getting his high school diploma and now by going to night school twice a week is working toward receiving his college diploma. This same brother is now putting his own son through college and believe me this takes some manipulating with the pocketbook.

My own personal opinion is that if anyone, white or black, wants to go to college badly enough, they will find the ways and means to get there.

I grant you that there is some discrimination existing today but the work you and your conference is proposing is not eliminating discrimination - just pushing it over on the other side of the fence.

When you meet on Civil Rights, would appreciate your remembering just one thing -- you cannot help one group attain their rights by destroying the rights of another. It is bad enough now that we cannot even have the right to decide whom not to sell our homes and property.

Thanking you in advance for whatever help you can give us "tax-paying" people, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mary Brouch

(Miss) Mary Brouch

cc: Honorable Everett Dirksen
Honorable Paul Douglas

May 26, 1966

White House Conference on Negro Rights
White House
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman

Gentlemen:

I have just finished reading the report of the measures proposed by the Presidential Panel, which has been appointed by President Johnson to direct the White House Conference on Negro Rights, being held in Washington on June 1st and 2nd.

Some of the points are absolutely necessary and should meet with no opposition from anyone, but others are completely unrealistic.

I am sure no one would quarrel with the need for more jobs, especially among the poorly educated, and if Federal public works projects are the answer, then by all means let us have them. It is far better for a man to work for his living than to be handed a dole for doing nothing, as was proved by W.P.A.

The next point concerns a provision enabling victims of racial violence to bring damage suits in Federal Courts against those who have injured them. My question here is simply - does this also extend to white persons who are injured in race riots? A large proportion of the people injured during the Watts riots last summer were white people. Are their rights to be protected too by this provision?

I do not believe the Federal government has any right to enter into the field of private management of real property. It is my firm belief that no one has any right to tell me what to do with my own home. As a citizen of this country, my right to own property is covered by the Constitution and no where does it say that the Government can make me dispose of it in any way contrary to my wishes. Actually, the prospect of having a negro, or a Mexican, or a Chinese or Japanese, or any other race, as a neighbor, doesn't bother me in the least. My objection to this is the idea of having someone standing over me with a club, which is a violation of my own civil liberties.

I believe that color, race or religion have no place in employment practices. A man or woman should be judged strictly on their abilities and fitness for the job offered. However, the idea of ordering back pay to persons suffering job discrimination strikes me as an opportunity for the chisler to make hay. Who is going to decide whether discrimination has been practiced? Is the burden of proof of innocence to rest with the employer? If so, this is a direct violation of one of our most prized rights. I know that I have been discriminated against many times because of my sex or age, yet I have no redress against the employers who did not hire me.

School desegregation should be universal. I do not share the opinion of some that children should be protected against all others who do not share their own social position. Mingling with children from all types of homes helps to develop a greater understanding of democracy.

Establishment of a broad vocational training program is of prime importance. This should be available to children of all races, as many are not capable of assimilating higher education and the acquisition of a skilled trade is essential. However, the idea of extending free public education to include two years of college is beyond the bounds of reasonable practicality. We were not financially able to provide college educations for our own children and I strongly object to being forced to provide it for someone else. Also, the question arises again as to whether the program would be for the benefit of all children, or only for the so-called under-privileged minority groups, who are rapidly becoming the most privileged groups in the country.

The concept of increasing welfare payments is noble but unrealistic. California is an object lesson in what transpires when welfare is too generous and too easy to obtain. Public works projects would be a far wiser choice.

At the present time income taxes, property taxes, excise taxes, sales taxes, and a multitude of hidden taxes eat up a large part of our already small income, leaving us in a position of being unable to save for the future or even enjoy some of the things that are considered necessities by many. Frankly, we probably would be considered eligible to receive many of these "free" gifts but the heritage from a long line of independent, self-sustaining, Pre-Revolutionary American ancestors prevents us from even contemplating such a possibility.

We have been staunch supporters of the Democratic Party since the days of Franklin Roosevelt and voted for President Johnson in the last election. However, we are of the opinion that the time has come to call a halt to some of the give-away programs now in operation, or being contemplated for the future. We cannot pay any more taxes than we are called upon to pay right now. Anything more would leave us unable to meet our obligations or maintain even a minimum standard of living. If your committee were to take a nationwide poll, I am sure you would find millions of people in the same condition.

This country was founded by the common people for the common people - not for the benefit of certain special groups - be they rich or poor, black or white. Every citizen is entitled to certain basic freedoms - and the right of choice, the right to obtain an education and the right to earn a living according to his ability - are part of these. But, when the obtaining of these by one group reduces the rights of other citizens, then the concept of democracy is lost.

Perhaps no one will even bother to read this letter, but I feel called upon to register my opinions, regardless. If enough responsible citizens were to do the same, perhaps a more equitable and practical solution to our mutual problems could be found.

Sincerely,



Harriet L. Ives

5700 Hartman Avenue
Bakersfield, California

New Orleans, La.
May 20, 1966.

Dear Sir:

Washington news item of 4-22-66 states; "Civil Rights leaders pleaded Thursday for massive, imaginative federal action against what they feel are widespread racial inequities in Southern justice."

Why should these organizations continue to use Mississippi and other Southern states as their targets? They should realize that opportunities for the Negroes (that the Southern states have educated) lies not in the South, but in states outside of the South.

It was congressmen from these other states that voted for enactment of the Civil Rights laws and these congressmen should fulfill their obligation toward the Negroes by helping them in the states they represent. If the basis of government employment is used, (that is federal, state and municipal employees) each state has an average of about 5% of their population in this category. The set up would be as follows;

State	State population	Government employees	Negro population
Idaho	720,000	35,000	1,500
Iowa	2,900,000	132,000	26,000
Maine	980,000	45,000	3,400
Minnesota	3,550,000	173,000	32,000
Montana	709,000	33,000	1,400
New Hampshire	640,000	30,000	1,900
North Dakota	680,000	31,000	800
Oregon	1,850,000	82,000	18,000
South Dakota	700,000	33,000	1,200
Utah	920,000	43,000	4,300
Vermont	400,000	18,000	600
Washington	2,950,000	135,000	49,000
Wisconsin	4,120,000	190,000	75,000
Wyoming	350,000	15,000	2,200
Massachusetts	5,280,000	256,000	112,000

The following states also come under this heading; California, Nebraska, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut and Kansas.

Thousands of people have come from these states into the Southern states during the past several years to work on federally operated missile projects, NASA plants and affiliates. Wouldn't it be proper for the Negro to go into these states (where the Negro population is small) and seek employment?

If Washington, D. C. attorney Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action is so sincere in his efforts to help the Negro, his ACTION should be in the above named states and not in Mississippi, where there are only about 102,000 government jobs and 920,000 Negroes.

Yours very truly

Berlan O. Gause

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POPULATION
F "SIX SEVEN"
HEAVY STATE
THAT MUST
LITERATE
BY ANY

33,000,000
LESS NEGROES
THAN THERE
IN ATLANTA
7 Southern
CITIES

U I W

GEORGE BURDON, President

PETER BOMMARITO, Vice President

I. GOLD, Secretary-Treasurer

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA

AFL-CIO, CLC

87 SOUTH HIGH STREET

AKRON, OHIO 44308



FR 6-6181
6-6182
6-6183
6-6184

June 2, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G. Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

It was with the deepest regret that I was unable to participate in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" held in Washington, D. C., but the press of work in connection with my own International Union precluded that participation.

It is difficult for me to express my feelings in having had to absent myself from this all-important conference, but I am hopeful that you will understand my position. You see, we are not only busily engaged in routine activities but we are preparing for our 25th Convention to be held in Bal Harbour, Florida, the week beginning September 11, 1966.

Trusting that your conference proved successful and fruitful, I am

Sincerely yours,

George Burdon
International President

GB:ec
opeiu 339
cc: Don Slaiman



J. Booker

BOOKS BY HARRY GOLDEN

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ENJOY, ENJOY
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FORGOTTEN PIONEER
MR. KENNEDY AND THE NEGROES
SO WHAT ELSE IS NEW?
THE SPIRIT OF THE GHETTO
A LITTLE GIRL IS DEAD
AND
COMING IN OCTOBER 1966
ESS, ESS, MEIN KINDT
(EAT, EAT MY CHILD)

THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

THE MOST WIDELY QUOTED PERSONAL JOURNAL IN THE WORLD
HARRY GOLDEN, EDITOR

May 25, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Sorry about the withdrawal of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. An observer there has informed me that the new leadership succeeded in injecting the Viet Nam issue in considering their participation in the "Rights" conference.

There is always the danger of some people making "revolution" an end in itself.

I like the Council's "Recommendations." It is not easy, within the framework of a democracy to single out a special group and indemnify its people for a great wrong done to them.

But that is precisely what we must seek to do. We kept the Negro securely locked away during the seventy-five years of the greatest wealth-accumulating period in world history. It will never happen again in just that way.

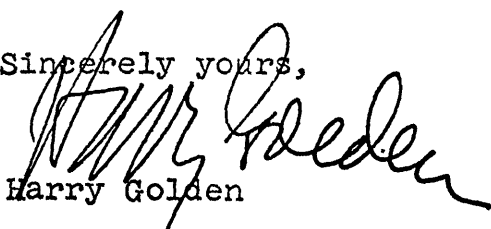
Obviously we cannot line them up and give them "back pay," but we can find ways to do something, perhaps in education for the young and immediate job opportunities for the vast army of unskilled Negro men and women over 25 years of age.

Those who say they cannot "measure up" are really saying that the results of racial segregation and discrimination shall be used as the excuse to perpetuate it.

I have a speech in Detroit June 1, but can get away in time to reach Washington about 5 P.M.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,


Harry Golden

cc: Mr. Joe Califano

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE OF HAWAII

1020 SOUTH BERETANIA STREET • TELEPHONE 566-761, 587-474 • HONOLULU, HAWAII 96814

May 25, 1966

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Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

I received your letter Dated May 17, 1966 which indicated that by now I should have received an invitation from the President to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". I have not as yet received the invitation. This is also true of Rev. Abraham Akaka, Pastor of the Hawaiiahao Church, the oldest church in Hawaii and now a national shrine.

Enclosed you will note some news items giving information about "Operation Goodwill". This project involved a group from Hawaii who paid their own expenses to make a trip to the mainland for the purpose of sharing the Aloha Spirit (which means people of different racial backgrounds having learned to live and work together in harmony) with the people there.

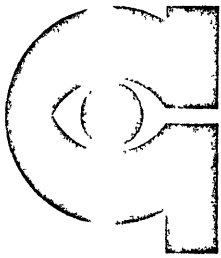
The Civil Rights Committee of Hawaii sponsored a Human Relations Seminar at the University of Hawaii for the purpose of relating to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". I should like to make a brief report on these two projects to the White House Conference. It might be meaningful to the delegates attending. Would you be kind enough to advise me if this is possible.

I wonder whether you are the Mr. Heineman from Chicago who was so active in civic affairs there while I lived there. If so, I shall be happy to renew our acquaintance. I was a newscaster for WCFL and WGES and my wife attended the University of Chicago Law School and practiced law in Chicago at that time.

I too look forward to seeing you at the conference. May I ask you to write to me at my home, Prince Tower 738, 1511 Nuuanu Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96817, since time is so short.

Aloha,

Charles M. Campbell



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June 6, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
White House Conference on Civil Rights
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

I have one suggestion for your post-conference thinking that may not have already been conceptualized by the Conference participants. I think that it would be very worthwhile to approach the problem of integration using the technique of Management by Objective...by Performance Goals. That is, using the same sort of approach as it seems to me that NASA is using in its program to put a man on the moon before 1970.

This would mean setting as a goal complete integration by a date such as 1970 or 1975--complete integration everywhere in the country. Then using consultants from the social sciences to research and identify the legal and psychological bases for effective action. Then using computer techniques to target and quantify intermediate goals for education, housing, and all other aspects of American life. And then to build an executive team with someone managing the project who is responsible for meeting these goals.

If we can do this in the race for the moon, we certainly ought--with the proper use of contemporary techniques--to solve even this enormous social problem the same way.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert C. Rosenthal
President

HCR/dh



THE CITY OF FORT WORTH
TEXAS

WILLARD BARR
MAYOR

May 30, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chairman Heineman:

Upon review of pressing local commitments and obligations, I find that I regrettably cannot attend the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", being held Wednesday and Thursday in Washington.

I personally support the goals of your conference and we will do whatever we can in Fort Worth to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which he has been so long denied.

At the conclusion of your conference, if there are significant results and reports are available, I would appreciate receiving information about the progress of the conference and results that might be applicable in Fort Worth, Texas.

I am sorry that I am unable to meet with the conference and assist in its activities.

Sincerely,

Willard Barr
M a y o r

WB:lp

BERIAN O. GAUSE

ACCOUNTING
1640 DANTE STREET

INCOME TAX CONSULTANT
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70118

May 30, 1966.

= =

Mr. Ben W. Heieman, Jr. Chairman
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In re your participation in the Planning Council, I wish to submit the attached letter which is self explanatory.

Regardless what many people say, the only solution of the racial question in this country, would be some plan whereby the Negro population would be divided so that most of the 48 states would have a somewhat equal number.

The South does not have enough job opportunities to take care of the number of Negroes that would increase the economy of this group. If anything is to be done in this respect it must be nation wide.

It might not be known to you, but a lot of this equality promoting has been brought about by a conspiracy of certain groups outside of the South, to bring about integration in the Southern states so that the Negro would not want to go into the other states.

I could write much more, but hope that the attached letter will enlighten you as to the conditions in other states.

Sincerely

Berian O. Gause

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CABLE ADDRESS
"COUNSELLOR"

June 3, 1966

Mr. Benjamin W. Heineman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Ben:

I had to leave right after my last session without having a chance to say goodbye to you. I want you to know that I thought the Conference came off magnificently. I was amazed at the rapport of our group, diverse as it was. Notwithstanding the comprehensive scope of the subject matter, we were able to have a very coherent and I believe useful discussion. There was great enthusiasm during the resolution period. And, of course, the two most significant resolutions were those endorsing the report of the Council and rejecting as out of order the CORE-inspired resolution on Vietnam. There was one dissenting vote on each of those two resolutions.

My congratulations to you on a splendid job.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,



Theodore W. Kheel

km

Office of the Mayor / City of Saint Louis, Missouri

ALFONSO J. CERVANTES, Mayor

June 7, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Congratulations on your tremendous
work in putting on the White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights".

The Conference was a tremendous success
and the country and the world will long remember
it.

Sincerely yours,



Mayor



CITY OF COLUMBUS

OHIO

MAYNARD E. SENSENBRENNER
MAYOR

ZIP CODE 43215

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

June 6, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman
Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Your invitation to attend the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", was received in my office too late for a reply, but I was in Washington on a previous commitment. While there I attended the Committee V meetings, but forgot to turn in my card, which I am enclosing.

Due to previous engagements, I had to return to Columbus immediately. I hope that out of this conference will come many worthwhile services, that will be of great benefit to all the states in the Nation.

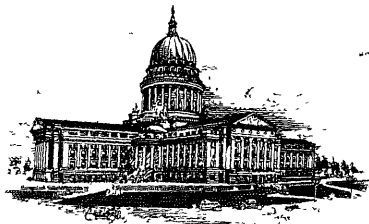
Best wishes!

Sincerely,

M. E. SENSENBRENNER
MAYOR

MES:dh
encl.

LLOYD A. BARBEE
Suite 1010
110 E. Wisconsin Avenue
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53202



Falk
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6th District
CHAIRMAN:
Committee on Enrolled Bills
MEMBER:
Joint Committee on Finance

WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE
ASSEMBLY CHAMBER
MADISON
53702

June 10, 1966

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Attention Section VIII

Gentlemen:

In accordance with the advice given by the chairman of Section VIII of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," I am herewith submitting the following suggestions to be included in the report to the President:

1. All invitees to the conference should meet with and report to their state and local heads of government and of appropriate private agencies on the Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference and on the official conference recommendations.
2. The following additions should be made to matter covered on indicated pages of the Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference:
 - a. Page 21
 - 1) More emphasis should be placed on orientation, curriculum, counseling, and motivation geared toward getting Negroes into colleges and universities.
 - 2) Better distribution of information on available scholarship and other financial aid is necessary.
 - b. Page 40. The purpose of the Teacher Corps is completely defeated when local teachers lead the teams.
 - c. Page 43. School boards should be appointed in accordance with adequate qualification guidelines. Perhaps a civil service equivalent examination could be devised to test individuals' suitability.

June 10, 1966

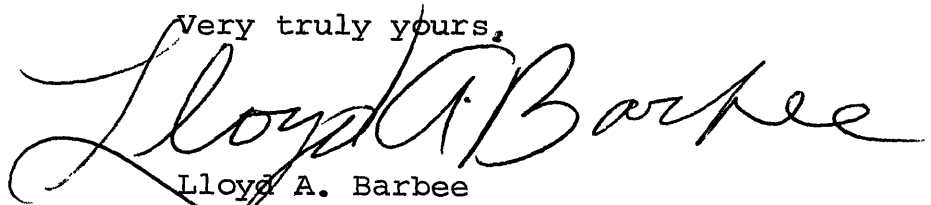
3. Unless some sincere and meaningful steps toward integrating and upgrading schools are taken in northern cities in general and in Milwaukee in particular, dormant hostility against double standard school systems will become active and destructive.
4. Finally, I feel the conference recommendations must be given wide distribution and serious consideration for implementation. Government and private leaders must be confronted with these recommendations and involved in resolving America's number one problem -- racism and its consequent injustice.

Therefore, I wish to have copies of the Council's Report and of the final report to personally present to these Milwaukee representatives and agencies; the major, president of the common council, Commission on Community Relations, director of public welfare, County Executive, county board chairman, school board president, school board superintendent, Fire and Police Commission, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee; and to these Wisconsin representatives and agencies: the governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, Legislative Reference Bureau, superintendent of public instruction, welfare board, welfare director, NAACP.

If you would like specific delineation of actions on the part of key officials and community reactions to them in Milwaukee, which indicate the explosive situation in this city, I will be happy to document them for you. They include a recent recommendation by our city development director that unskilled Negroes be kept out of Milwaukee, coupled with his observation that even highly skilled Negroes might not be absorbed into our society; as well as the school board's recent action to completely contain Negro children in the ghetto by leasing and purchasing abandoned buildings in the area to house children now being bussed from overcrowded Negro schools to underutilized white schools where they are segregated.

It is impossible to overemphasize the need for speedy, effective implementation of all conference recommendations.

Very truly yours,



Lloyd A. Barbee
Assemblyman
Milwaukee - 6th District

LB/rc

File



THE DETROIT URBAN LEAGUE

COMMUNITY BETTERMENT THROUGH INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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Temple 2-4600

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June 10, 1966

Mr. Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman
White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Eddie:

This note comes to congratulate you on the outstanding work you did and are doing to bring about Equality of Opportunity in every facet of American life. Your personal contribution to the recent White House Conference was a tremendous undertaking and an excellent fulfillment. Again, let me congratulate you.

Attached is a copy of the letter I wrote to the President.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS A. KORNEGAY
Executive Director

FAK:bh

Enclosure



GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY—SERVING THE DETROIT COMMUNITY FOR 50 YEARS—1916-1966

A TORCH FUND AGENCY OF THE UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES—AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

June 9, 1966

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I was delighted to be invited to your White House Conference - "To Fulfill These Rights." I felt that it was one of the most timely, productive and meaningful conferences I have ever attended. I was assigned to Group 9, and let me say that the group not only discussed the issues in the recommendations, but additional problems that delegates presented from their various communities. Certainly, the dialogue between the delegates with various backgrounds, religious persuasions, ethnic groups and otherwise produced a unity of feeling that we all are involved in this matter of Equality of Opportunity for every citizen and that we are committing ourselves to the fulfillment of that goal.

Your appearance, statement and the presentation of the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, our Solicitor General, made that day historical and unparalleled.

We shall do everything in our authority and power to implement the recommendations presented by your outstanding Planning Committee.

I have scheduled a professional staff seminar on June 13 and 14, 1966 - 2:30 to 5:00 p.m., to discuss with my staff and to get their reactions on probable suggestions and solutions to the recommendations contained in the Council's Report.

Thank you again for the invitation to my first White House Conference.

Let me offer you whatever assistance our office can give.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS A. KORNIGAY
Executive Director

FAK:bb

file

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 "G" Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Members of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the business community in general desire that all Americans enjoy enlarged opportunities for personal improvement and higher living standards. Because of this, we attended the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

It is the strong conviction of the National Chamber federation that the continued growth and health of the private economy is a key to meaningful enlargement of opportunities for individual advancement and higher living standards.

By working in every way possible toward the continued growth and expansion of the private economy, the National Chamber is taking positive action toward solving the social and economic problems to which the White House Conference addressed itself.

The National Chamber will also continue to work for soundly based and realistic measures which our intensive studies -- in which we have drawn on the experience of knowledgeable and respected authorities -- have indicated are the most feasible means of improving and broadening educational and job opportunities, including manpower training programs. True progress in such efforts is irrevocably linked to the maintenance and growth of a free market economy where people are rewarded commensurately with performance.

It is unfortunate that the White House Conference overstressed federal direction instead of reflecting the growing awareness for the need to find a better formula by which private enterprise, local and state governments and the Federal Government can help remedy social and economic problems. It is unfortunate that the White House Conference did

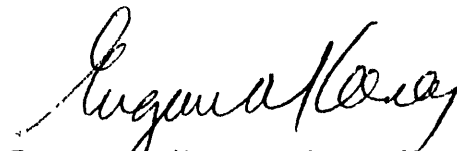
Mr. Ben W. Heineman

- 2 -

not offer more recommendations that could imaginatively utilize the great resources of the private sector and that could strengthen the pivotal role of state and local governments.

We hope you will make this letter a part of the White House Conference record and that any follow-up report by your Council can better reflect the important contribution that private and voluntary action, along with effective local and state government efforts, can make to the solution of complex social and economic problems.

Sincerely yours,



Eugene A. Keeney, Group Manager
and Labor Counsel
Human Resources Development Group



Richard L. Breault
Associate Director of Research
Task Force on Economic Growth
and Opportunity



HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO

1254 MARKET STREET
SUITE 305
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94102
TELEPHONE 558-4901

File

June 17, 1966

Dear Mrs. Morton:

I was a participant in the June 1-2 White House Conference and was impressed by the scope of the resolutions. However, I felt there was one serious omission in the employment section -- there was no emphasis on ways to develop employment opportunities in professional fields for hard-core, unemployed young people.

I submitted a resolution on this subject, a copy of which is enclosed, but I wish to emphasize its significance by sending you a copy of a speech by Dr. Arthur Pearl which the San Francisco Human Rights Commission is distributing. Dr. Pearl, together with Dr. Frank Riessman, has written a definitive book on this subject entitled "New Careers for the Poor," which we recommend as a fuller exposition of the perspective outlined in the resolution.

In the enclosed speech, which deals primarily with the factors in the schoolroom which effectively limit the opportunity for minority poor youth to continue with higher education, Dr. Pearl also discusses "new careers" and the need for universities to play a different role today in preparing professionals. I think you will find it valuable to read.

May I express my thanks for the special effort you gave as a member of the Council and staff. I hope you will find the enclosed material helpful as you continue deliberations.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Frank A. Quinn".

Frank A. Quinn
Director

FAQ/cs

RESOLUTION ON EMPLOYMENT

Offered by Frank Quinn, Director, San Francisco Human Rights Commission
at the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

June 2, 1966

WHEREAS:

35 years ago, the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was the same; and today it is twice as high for Negroes; and

WHEREAS:

the gap in dollar income between Negroes and whites continues to widen - as it has every year for the past 25 years so that in 1939, the median family income for Negroes was \$652 less than white median family income; by 1949, the difference was \$1,368; by 1954, the difference was \$1,623; and by 1962, it was \$2,439; and

WHEREAS:

the kinds of jobs available to the unskilled are vanishing by about 2,000,000 a year and current training programs often prepare people for jobs very shortly to be eliminated by increasing automation; and despair plagues the lives of people who know themselves to be "expendable", fulfilling no societal need; and

WHEREAS:

the tremendous expansion in the service fields (e.g., education, health, law enforcement, recreation, welfare, conservation, etc.), as well as the growth in technological positions are creating great shortages of professional workers; and

WHEREAS:

such jobs require educational credentials, and ineffective or inferior elementary and secondary education has "locked out" millions of young people from the path to a college credential, and a new path must be found to permit them to work in the rapidly expanding professional fields; and

WHEREAS:

the higher educational institutions as currently functioning cannot begin to fill the need for the number of professionals needed by a nation whose population will grow by 40,000,000 by 1975; and

WHEREAS:

experience with non-professionals in human service occupations has already shown that often better service is provided when these people create a viable contact between the recipient and the servicing agencies; and

WHEREAS:

such jobs are needed; not make-work. They are permanent; not easily eliminated by machine; and

WHEREAS:

the basis of any poverty and/or civil rights program begins with job creation and career development as the principal means of incorporating people into the economic and social life of the country;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

- (1) That affirmative action be taken by Federal, State and local governments to create "new careers" -- entrance positions in professional occupations so that the population needing work can be tied together with unfilled jobs, and the professional is freed to utilize more fully his skills, and,
- (2) That the Federal government encourage institutions of higher learning to develop training and curriculum which will enable the non-professional hired at the entrance level to gain credit for on-the-job experience, to take courses relevant to his work in community schools, and proceed through this professional apprenticeship route to obtain a credential with regular promotions built-in based on experience and education; and
- (3) That this process of job creation, a new route to professional credential, and the utilization of the poor to service themselves can maximize the social contribution of both the unskilled and the skilled; remove the major source of unrest; among minorities and the poor by providing millions of jobs; enable institutions to better fulfill their function; and make it possible for millions of individuals to be useful and contributing members of society.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: WHY - HOW - FOR WHOM

from unedited speeches of

Dr. Arthur Pearl
Department of Education
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Distributed by the Human Rights Commission of San Francisco

1254 Market Street - Room 305
San Francisco, California 94102
KL 8-4901

From speeches of Dr. Arthur Pearl
Department of Education
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

(unedited)

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: WHY - HOW - FOR WHOM

Why the poor and disadvantaged don't learn: Two Theories

Current theory underlying most compensatory programs set up to help disadvantaged children assumes that their learning difficulties result from lack of basic preparation -- that is, they are inadequately socialized, haven't sufficient male figures in their lives, have no books in their homes, can't delay gratification, suffer from accumulated environmental and cultural deficits, etc. etc. Therefore, teachers believe their primary role in working with these children is to "repair" them and deal with their handicaps. Programs are based on the premise that poor children are out-of-step and need reshaping. On the basis of such orientation, programs are generated that reinforce the inequality of education and the humiliation of the children.

As a working premise, start assuming that all children want to learn until somehow or other, they become "unmotivated". There is substantial evidence to support this position. Martin Deutsch and others note eagerness for schooling when children first enter, and a declining enthusiasm the longer the exposure to the school. Schools have been part of the problem, not part of the solution. Rather than helping, we, as society, have placed barriers in the way of the education of the poor.

I would argue that alleged disfunctionality of disadvantaged youth is the result of being locked-out of society. Lack of motivation and apathy are the consequences of denial of opportunity. We are not properly sifting out cause and effect.

Some years ago in New York, I was involved in programs for disadvantaged youth that were similar to the school compensatory programs, the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs. The programs, by all established criteria, were excellent -- well designed, competent staff and workable pupil-staff ratios. The programs included rigorous research and evaluation. At the end of a year, it was pretty clear that there was no payoff despite the belief of everyone that such programs were sure to work. The youth in the program were no better off at the end of the year than were a comparable (control) group who had not been offered the programs.

It was out of these kinds of failure experiences over some years that it occurred to me that perhaps we are dashing off headlong in the wrong direction -- that instead of trying to save people, salvage people, and help people, we should be offering disadvantaged youths the opportunities to belong, to help and to salvage themselves and others. Rather than developing programs which emphasize failure, inadequacy and thus continue to stigmatize and spoil the image of youth, focus on the structural barriers standing in the way of their success.*

* See for example: Erving Goffman, Stigma for further elaboration of the spoiled image concept.

Social scientists for some time have noted the difference between the socialization patterns of the poor and the non-poor. The poor operate on the pleasure principal -- they don't know how to delay need gratification. They have to get their kicks right now. We good middle-class people, who have been adequately socialized, operate on the reality principal -- we delay our gratifications for future reward. We never buy a house until we save \$20,000 and we never buy a car until we save \$3,000. But the poor just aren't like that. ... What is not understood in this formulation is that the poor don't suffer from a lack of future orientation -- they suffer from a lack of future.

There must be a restructuring of employment opportunities so that the poor can find a place. Our schools must provide a learning experience which gives children a sense of contribution, of personal worth, a feeling of anticipation about the future and a certainty that they have a place in it. This is not happening now for the poor youth. The school is an alien land from which he "cuts out". This exclusion leads to another exclusion from a society which cannot employ him because he didn't learn. Without change, we face a frightening prospect of millions of people who are literally expendable -- totally unnecessary to the functioning of the society and living with the terrible self-destructive knowledge that they are leaving no imprint on the sands of time, that they are "nobody" and functioning "no place".

Our education system can build in a future for our children only if educators look for what's wrong with current practice and start to truly test their theories. Is a child's non-commitment to education, is his dropping out of school the result of prior handicap -- or are these things due to lack of choice, to lack of future, to being locked out? There is a very important difference. If the handicap thesis is fraudulent, everything we're doing makes little sense -- whether it's the Job Corps program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, or the compensatory programs in the schools. More and more the evidence supports the contention that opening up opportunities has a greater impact on poor children than do programs to "repair" them.

Why is education so important today

Around the turn of the century, about 94% of our people didn't graduate from high school. It caused little concern because there were a whole variety of absorption systems -- albeit imperfect -- available to the poor. But today, at least four years of education beyond high school are necessary for upward movement in our economic system -- and this becomes increasingly more true as traditional ways of making a living become obsolete. At one time there were many possibilities for entrance and upward mobility for most of our citizens.

(a) First, they could market their unskilled labor, learn on the job, and move up. Many of the people who command high positions in industry today started out as unskilled laborers. But today, machines are replacing men. Despite the fact that we've had well over a 30% increase in productivity over the past five years, there are no more people turning out products than five years ago. And the better jobs demand credentials.

(b) Another entrance was farming. But today agriculture is our most automated industry -- over a million jobs have been eaten up by machines in the last six or seven years, despite the fact that agricultural surpluses continue to grow, and another million jobs will be destroyed in the next decade.

(c) Still another possibility was entrepreneurial enterprise. But today, the street peddler cannot compete seriously with a department store; the small machinist with the major auto companies.

(d) Finally, the fields of education, welfare, recreation were available to the poor because there were not the prerequisites for education which are currently demanded. Ralphe Bunche says that the teacher that had the most profound effect on him had an 8th grade education when she began to teach.

These absorption systems are today closed off. Two fundamental things have affected dramatically the way we can become absorbed into society: (1) automation -- eating up the jobs or dead-ending them; and (2) the need for a credential to get into the largest and fastest growing industries.

The biggest, fastest growing industry in the country is education. It has to be the biggest 10 years from now because by 1975 there will be 40,000,000 more people in the country, and the median age will be less than 25. With pre-school education, fewer drop-outs, more people going to college, the lowering of the teacher-pupil ratio, the 2.3 million teachers we now have could easily be expanded to 5 or even 10 million. The equivalent is true in medicine, recreation, welfare -- for all the human services and for all the skilled jobs for which we demand a college education for any significant involvement.*

Without credentials for the professions and for the new skilled and managerial jobs in private industry -- the poor are locked out of participation in the economic life of the country. And yet, the poor need education more than anyone else. It wasn't a great tragedy that Barry Goldwater couldn't get through the first year of college because his family could find things for him to do around the store. But the poor have no such resources -- they must have an education. Education is the only equalizer they have.

Nevertheless, because of the way education is now structured, it's unlikely that very many of the poor will get the credential. Why?

What happens to disadvantaged youth in school

(a) We "sort".

The teachers' responsibility is to teach, but instead we engage in self-fulfilling prophecy. We decide that certain people cannot be

* For a full discussion on how to create millions of jobs in the human services, read: Arthur Pearl & Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor.

educated; we refuse to educate them; they grow up uneducated; and we pride ourselves on our exceedingly accurate predictive index. This sorting principle puts a stamp on pupils very early in the game which follows them all the way through the production line until they come out labeled "dumb" or "smart" because there has been very little done to change the initial judgment. This distorts the educational function -- teachers are supposed to change persons; they are not there only to sort and stamp.

To show you how important role expectation is in determining what you do in school -- in Scotland, a few years ago, the IBM machine made a mistake, and the school sent a bunch of stupid kids into the smart track and a bunch of smart kids into the dumb track. About a year later, they discovered their mistake, and they checked to see what had happened. They found that those so-called stupid kids were acting just as if they were smart, just as if they had the innate ability to do the job, and the so-called smart kids were behaving just as though they were stupid.* Because the role expectation to a large extent determines what you're going to do in a classroom. If the school believes you're incapable of doing anything, you're never going to get an opportunity to show what you're capable of doing.

(b) We refuse to educate the poor.

Very few of the poor will get a chance to get the all-important credential because very few will be placed into tracks that lead to a college degree. As an example, consider the schools in Washington, D.C.

In a school where middle-class, white students go, where the median income for the parents is over \$10,000 a year -- 92% of all students are in college-bound tracks. In another school in Washington, D.C., where 100% of the students are Negro and parents make less than \$4,000 a year, 86% are in non-college bound tracks.** In other words, almost 9 out of 10 of the Negro children are being told they are not college material (and thus they cannot get a credential).

If you accept the proposition that without college in the coming years, you cannot get into meaningful work, these kids are being told that they have no future except possibly in menial service occupations. Thus, selective education imposes a rigid class structure upon the poor -- especially the Negro poor. ... At the present time, the best predictor of a future college education is the occupation of the student's father. If the student has a parent with less than a college education, who works at a blue-collar job if he works at all, and is from a racially discriminated minority group, the probability of being a drop-out is more than three times greater than if a student is reared by professional, well educated, white parents.

Unless one holds to the belief that the poor are constitutionally inferior (and nice people don't believe that anymore), then you have to

* as reported by Martin Deutsch.

** Elias Blake, "Teaching in Washington, D.C. Schools," Integrated Education, June 1965.

assume that the poor are not being educated; otherwise, the "bright" and the "stupid" would be more evenly distributed through all economic levels of the population.

(c) Homogeneous or heterogeneous grouping.

How do we appraise peoples' intelligence or lack of it. If they talk like we do, or act like we do, obviously they have to be intelligent. If they don't, equally obvious, they must be non-intelligent. Nothing could be more logical. So we establish a series of tests -- that we devise for us, standardize on us, operate in situations in which we feel comfortable and on this basis, we determine who is educable or non-educable. And then we spend millions of dollars -- because some people think this process isn't really fair -- to look for that culture-free or culture-fair test. It's a totally unrealizable goal. We don't even try to discover whether it's essential to try to find this kind of test at all. Why is it really important to start labelling kids as being dumb or smart early in the game?

This is not to say that all people are equal, but rather, that no valid measures of intellectual capacity have been developed, nor does it really matter since none of us function anywhere near capacity.

The argument for homogeneous grouping is that it makes it easier to teach; i.e., we're setting up a system for the convenience of the teacher. The teacher takes the position - quite logically - how can I teach a whole bunch of different people if they all have different abilities? But, even in homogeneous groups, the children are not all identical. No matter how you group them, they're different people. They just happen to be somewhat similar on a particular score, but they're different in background, sex, learning styles, tempo and timing. Only one variable has been isolated as a result of this grouping, but the teacher believes her job will be easier because she can operate at the same pace.

By the same token, however, we begin to water down the curriculum successively as we begin to label people as slower learners or less able. Those who learn slower are going to get less. Those in the second track are going to get a second-class education, and a third-class education will be offered those in the third track. This is what happens when one assumes that it is easier and more logical to teach people who learn roughly at the same pace.

Evidence, however, doesn't support the thesis. No evidence shows that homogeneous groupings work better for the students. Both here and in England, it appears that a bright child learns no better when placed with a bunch of bright kids than when grouped heterogeneously. And the poor kid -- the so-called dumb kids -- are hurt by the grouping. They end up doing worse than the so-called dumb kid left in a heterogeneous group. ... It is fairly obvious why. Grouping doesn't help the educational process. Most of these kids aren't stupid despite our judgment. They know who's being grouped with whom even if the labeling is couched innocuously as "bluebirds". If they don't know, the other kids will tell them. They soon learn to fulfill the role expected of them and -- most destructive of all -- learn to believe in the "truth" of the school's judgment of them.

If you're put in basic tracks; if you're given watered-down curriculum; if you're treated as if you're dumb, there is not much you can get from school.

Although evidence does not support homogeneous grouping as educationally valid, it is definitely discriminatory. There's no question that the child that goes into the smart track tends to be the youth whose parents are well educated. Those who go into the dumb class are those who didn't choose their parents very well. The track system is a discriminatory process -- and it reinstitutes a segregated school system right within the school. There are interracial schools in this country where almost all the kids on the honor track are white and almost all the kids in non-honor tracks are Negro or Spanish-speaking. This is not a "racially balanced" school. It's a totally segregated school, but the segregation takes place within a building. The segregation is just as intense; just as invidious; just as pernicious as if it were a racially exclusive school.

Why are the schools alien to the poor

(a) The rules.

There is no logic or rationale for most school rules. There is a minimum tolerance for differences -- and much more tolerance if you're non-poor than if you're poor. For example, if students don't dress or wear their hair in middle-class determined style, they can be asked to leave school. This can happen despite the fact that there's no data to support the contention that learning is disturbed when students wear boots or long hair.

It is not surprising that youth try to establish an identity, often through bizarre dress and hair-dos. What is surprising is that adults have the effrontery to meddle in what is essentially someone's own private business. ... The real issue is: why do young people decide to express themselves in these ways? Why are there so few gratifications for poor youth in our society that they reject becoming part of the establishment? Whenever I see bizarre behavior in students, my initial reaction is to look to what the school is doing to cause the behavior.

School rules are differentially enforced. What is tolerably deviant and what is not depends on the child's background. In the case of middle-class boys, it's often interpreted as a childish prank, a phase which the student will outgrow; in cases involving poor youth, deviant behavior is interpreted as a signal of emerging criminality which must be nipped in the bud.

It's important to insist on logical reasons for the rules of behavior in the schools. If education is to be rational; if it is to be a system which enables youth to learn to think clearly; to learn to work through problems, then a rule shouldn't be ad hoc; a rule shouldn't be made off the top of one's head; it shouldn't conform to the personal prejudices of a school board or the personal whim of principals. School rules should be backed by empirical evidence that they are supportive or negative to the learning process; that they endanger health or safety

of another person or school property.

(b) Powerlessness.

The more deprived the background of the child, the less power he has in our educational system. To be totally powerless is to be placed in a terribly disquieting and uncomfortable position. Humans do not like to feel that they're nothing, that they have no control over their destiny. No one likes that feeling. ... It's quite clear that there's a great difference between the poor and non-poor and their ability to defend themselves in the school system. A child of white, middle-class parents has things going for him when he gets into trouble. He can talk the language of the system, and teachers and principals are much more likely to listen to him. But he can also turn to his parents. His parents also talk the language; they can negotiate for their child. The middle-class parent can do things for his child -- he can hire a tutor, a psychologist, a lawyer -- if worse comes to worse -- he can take his child out of the system and put him in a private school. The poor have no escape, no voice. The whole system is a colonial imposition on them -- made up by others, for others.

(c) Meaningless material.

For the poor, education is totally removed from their life experience. It cannot be related to their backgrounds or immediate circumstances. In middle-class families, parents can talk "algebra" with their child; the material he gets has some meaning in the context of his life. The material is presented in a familiar language, in an understandable style and at an acceptable pace. None of this is true for most disadvantaged youngsters.

Some social scientists have advocated replacing teachers with machines insisting that machines can do everything teachers can do. There may be sense in this postulate because machines are more flexible (more human) than teachers. Machines, at least, can be made to change their pace. The child operates a learning machine and he operates it at the pace at which he is learning. Teachers cannot be manipulated that way: They operate at one pace; at one track; and with one language style.

At the University of Oregon, a counselor was simulated on a 1620 computer by collating the responses of a live counselor and developing a program based on queries to him from clients. The capacity of the computer was not taxed -- very few unique responses were required regardless of the questions asked. The students were asked to describe and evaluate the machine and compare it to a human counselor. They found the machine more warm, more understanding, more sympathetic. ... Schools must stop dehumanizing teachers. The teacher has a unique quality which no machine can replace and that is the ability to challenge students constructively, to reach out and help, to exercise flexibility and judgment. Those qualities must be liberated if education is to have meaning to the poor.

(d) Linkage with a future.

Where do youth go with schooling? A middle-class child may find rules stupid; may bridle because of his powerlessness; may find most

of the courses meaningless -- but these are obstacles he is willing to suffer because he knows at the end, there's a place for him.

What about the non-college bound youth? What is that track leading to? What is he getting out of the educational experience? He's being told to stay in school to become an unemployed high school graduate. Drop-outs I've worked with told me they felt worried about not having a high-school diploma until they discovered you could lie about it. For the most part, a high school diploma leads to menial dead-ended jobs. There is no meaningful linkage with the future for anyone who is not in a college-bound program in school. Vocational education is, to a large extent, antiquated. It's antiquated because the job may be disappearing. Or if the job is still viable, the youth does not have the informal credentials; e.g., many of the building trades offer preference to union members' children in apprentice programs. (We can't really reshuffle fathers as part of the vocational education program). Much of the vocational educational is delusional -- a complex fabrication which disguises the reality of the world out there and the inappropriate nature of current procedures which ostensibly prepare youth for the world of work.

(e) Gratification.

Jobs aren't everything. Man does not live for bread alone. Dignity and a sense of self-worth are also extremely important. And here the school's effect is the most devastating of all. We rarely allow students the opportunity to become a person in the school. We rarely allow students to have a sense of competence. ... Schools permit some to obtain competence and these are the "brains" and the "athletes". But the largest number are subjected to a humiliating and degrading experience. The middle-class child gets the rewards bestowed by teachers who understand him because he dresses and behaves appropriately. The deprived youngster, for the most part, goes to school everyday to be punished. He gets no reward out of the system. Psychologists and social workers all treat his "deficiencies". But these are only some more overlords reinforcing humiliation.

Not only do the poor fail to develop a sense of mastery, they are not permitted a sense of contribution. They are not allowed to be important to anyone else.

These gratifications must come out of the school system if it's going to have real value to our children. If they have no sense that they're learning something; that they're contributing to others; that they're a member of something, then it's hard to expect them to give very much to the school program. If they feel that the school is run by outsiders, with rules made by outsiders, in which they have little power to make any decisions and no understanding of those that are made; if it leads nowhere and they're getting no kicks out of it -- how do we expect them to put out very much for that kind of school?

How do we construct a different kind of school?

- (a) Before we can build anew, we have to test whether our cherished beliefs are true.

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We "know" that if we reduce class size, education will be better. We "know" it's true that if we give teachers time to prepare for classes, they will do better. We "know" that if we improve pupil personnel services and pour in psychologists and social workers, we can overcome children's handicaps. And yet, there is no evidence to support this "knowledge". And if we researched it, I would predict that very little of the above would pay off one iota over an extended period of time.

Looking at what data there is, it is clear that none of these things by themselves produce better education. In fact, we have increasing evidence that nothing positive takes place in the classroom. ... Omar Milton, a Professor of Psychology at the University of Tennessee, is considered to be an effective teacher. He is dynamic, interesting, well liked by his students. One semester, he took a random half of his students and ordered them not to show up in class. These students took the midterms and the final, and at the end of the semester, he found that the half that didn't show up at class did better than those that did. Two years later, they were still doing better. They were more interested in psychology; they had a higher grade point average, fewer had dropped from school. On every possible objective and subjective index, they were doing better for not having been in class. This experiment has been repeated in many places with the same findings. I am sure that we would find it true in secondary schools if it were tested. If we ordered kids to stay home, they'd be better off. ... In the Omar Milton experiment, despite the fact that teacher-pupil ratio was down because half the students were home, there was absolutely no gain for those attending class.

We had better begin to look at some of our most treasured, heartfelt assumptions and test them out. If education is to pay off, we have to recognize that it wasn't set up for the convenience of the teacher. We didn't really set up public education to keep middle-class people off the streets. Schools were established to help the students, and we'd better test if it is working as intended.

Teachers have to accept the responsibility for teaching human beings to learn. One of the things I have tried to get across in my classes is that when I give a test it is not a test of my students. It is a test of me. I am testing whether or not I am a good teacher. If the students get poor grades, I interpret that as an indication that I failed to get the course material across. ... After one of my tests, one of my students came up and patted me on the back and said: "Hate to break it to you, buddy, but you flunked." ... And he was right. But this attitude is hard for teachers to accept. There is no other system in the world in which we flunk a product. We do a rotten job, and we flunk the kids. We fail to teach, and the kids are held accountable.

(b) The student as teacher.

We have to build in the gratification which comes from having a sense of contribution -- a sense that you are of value to someone else. The student role as a passive sitter and absorber of knowledge is not particularly gratifying. The teaching role is. So one of the things to recognize is that it would be better if teachers did some learning and the learners did some teaching right from the very beginning.

In a residential school for delinquents and abandoned kids in Oregon, a 7-11 club has been started. The 11th graders are teaching the 7th graders. One of the things that happened is that most of the 11th graders didn't want to go home for Christmas because they had to work on lesson plans over the holiday; the 7th graders felt the same way. The school no longer just belongs to the teacher, but now the students have a stake in the system and suddenly school swings. The school is an entirely different school because the kids themselves are involved in the teaching process. ... And the teacher becomes somebody who is pretty important to the kids because he is needed to help them prepare lectures and work with each other. They find they need the teacher to help work through problems, to suggest ways of teaching, and to refer children who need special help.

In another school, there was a youth who appeared to be absolutely unmanageable. He threw darts at the teacher; broke windows; was the one arrested if anything was stolen. He was not the kind of kid you would have suspected would be an optimal teacher, but almost in desperation, it was suggested that he be allowed to teach. He was in the 8th grade, so he went to work helping 6th graders in spelling and 2nd graders in tumbling. Three or four weeks later, he's doing much better in all his classes because he has to keep up his work and stay out of trouble if he's going to be allowed to work with the other kids. His whole idea about education has changed. In fact, where once his life's aspiration was to be a Marine, he now wants to be a teacher.

Another way in which you inject the idea of making a contribution is to have the kids teach each other in the classroom. Instead of a classroom where the teacher does it all, some courses in some experimental programs in which I am involved are set up in teacherless led groups. The youth decide upon projects that interest them. This is being done with an 8th grade science course. The teacher initially thought it was absolutely insane. She saw her job as lecturing for a whole hour whether anybody listened or not. She saw her primary obligation as reaching the kids who cared, and those who didn't -- too bad. We prevailed upon her to break the room into groups and let them have some alternatives as to what they might like to do. They began to do things that the teacher thought only 11th and 12th graders could do. When she gave a test out of the text -- in spite of the fact that they were doing almost nothing out of the text -- the whole class had gone up in performance. Why?

Because now these kids had an investment. They were working on things themselves. They had some control over their own destiny -- they had some concern for their own educational process; it was no longer something forced upon them. And the teacher found that teaching had become fun. She used to hate to come to school and look at the hostile faces and the kids felt much the same about her. Now the whole educational experience has become exciting. She's playing essentially a consultative role -- she answers questions, she helps individuals, and the kids are learning as they never learned before.

The principal keeps worrying because he doesn't know what he'll say when the parents come storming in complaining because their kids say school is fun. Many people feel that agony is a necessary part of the learning process. But he can demonstrate performance. There are kids in that

school getting A's who never got anything better than an F. Kids are participating and asking questions who before only were able to incur wrath and be sent to the principal's office where, of course, all education takes place in our system.

A change has taken place because the kids are getting opportunities for gratification, an opportunity to develop a competence. They're working in heterogeneous groups where they all have a chance. Moreover, the so-called dumb kids are better in some things than the bright ones; e.g., when the 8th grade kids were constructing tests for the 7th graders, the bright ones made up "catch" questions that no one could get; the slower kids asked fruitful questions that made real sense -- and got a big kick out of being the best test-makers. ... The whole school is a different school -- for both teachers and students.

What we are creating is cooperative team-learning. Holding people up in individual competition is inherently unfair especially when mixing middle-class and poor children. We've had team learning in this country for a long time -- only we call it cheating. I suggest that we buy into cheating and help our kids work together. The pioneers could never have gotten across the country if they hadn't pulled together, with those who had helping those who hadn't. School should also be a cooperative effort.

(d) Quality Control Research.

We must begin to incorporate quality control research into the teaching process. We must begin to test some of the basic hypotheses that we "know" are correct. We can't just do outcome research -- which is the type of research that checks, for instance, whether reducing pupil-teacher ratio leads to better school performance without ever determining what factor in the classroom situation has actually occasioned change. There must be another type of research -- a process research which checks on what is happening in the classroom. It doesn't help to reduce class size if the person with 15 in the class is doing precisely what he was doing with 35. Paper work may be up-to-date, but his relationship with individuals is no different.

We must begin to monitor systematically school activities. Discover what is being done and feed that back to the teachers. When I first go into a school, I try to give to the teachers a theoretical orientation pertaining to student disaffection from school. Graduate students then monitor what's going on in the school by observing classes at random moments. Students, especially those who are troublemakers, are interviewed and asked to discuss their school experiences. Every week we convene with the teachers and present the observations or playback tape recordings of the interviews. We attempt to determine whether some behavior might be ignored. We consider means by which we could make material more meaningful or interesting. We consider how the student could be more actively involved in school -- could he teach or tutor? Is there any way he could be involved in class activity so that he may gain a better picture of self or derive the satisfaction of helping others? After analyzing a number of alternatives, a strategy is devised to help the student in question. The class is again monitored to determine if the agreed-upon approach is followed as planned, and whether it's having the desired effect. ... This kind of quality control is

essential or we could start adulterating a program and not know that it is happening.

In our initial seminars, many teachers listen to the tapes and start every response with "I'd like to start by saying something in my own defense." But since teachers get profound gratification from seeing their students "come alive", they soon begin to commit themselves to participation in the learning process, and we find that this continuous evaluation results very soon in basic changes in classroom relationships.

Experiment at Howard University: New Methods → New People

The school, transformed as I've described it, will create the alive, thinking, absorbed children that result when teachers have respect for each child's intelligence, competence, and need to participate actively in the teaching-learning process. ... Meanwhile, however, millions of young people have already given up the school system and unless they are to remain permanently and dangerously non-functional appendages to our society, we have to move towards programs where you get your job first and your education afterwards.

At Howard University, in 1963, we took a look at some failures of the school system -- a group of hard core delinquent school dropouts -- to determine what would happen if we stopped trying to compensate for handicaps and instead tried to open up opportunities for useful work, combined with a relevant education.

We created jobs in research, child care, and recreation for a group of youth who would appear to have no potential to make it. The minimum requirements for the program were that youth had to be (1) high school drop-outs; (2) live in the most economically disadvantaged neighborhoods in Washington, D.C.; (3) have no pending legal action; (4) have no active venereal disease.

The ten youth chosen for this original program were between the ages of 16 and 20, had a measured 77 IQ on a group test, and had between 8th and 11th grade education. None had worked more than a month in their lives. Four of the seven boys had extensive delinquency histories including time in institutions; two of the three girls had borne children out of wedlock. One of the girls was diagnosed by our psychiatrist as a catatonic schizophrenic. Our psychiatrist said it was ridiculous to include her in the program. We insisted she be included -- we would test the proposition that her condition was not a psychological disorder, but the result of a locked-out condition with no future.

A number of tasks were structured which we thought it would be possible for persons with these backgrounds to learn. In six weeks of research training, we expected them to learn to conduct and tape-record interviews; to code and prepare these interviews for key punch; to run a counter-sorter; to wire an IBM 407; to prepare instructions for a programmer in a 1620 computer; to operate desk calculators sufficiently well to compute percentages, means, medians, standard deviations, chi squares, rank order correlations, product moment correlations, and other statistical manipulations. They were doing all these things and more, including

helping design research experiments, in six to ten weeks. Similar performance was expected in the day care and recreation programs, and WE GROSSLY UNDERESTIMATED THEIR ABILITY.

We discussed with the youth our orientation and told them we were going to see if our point of view made any sense.

On the question of tolerable deviance: Our position was that no rule would be imposed unless we could provide strong justification of its need. We didn't care how they dressed; how they wore their hair -- unless we could prove to them that these things would affect their performance on the job. The fact that their appearance might outrage a professional was his problem.

On power: We established that they were the policy-making group for the program. They would determine in which of the three job areas they wished to work; they would decide the discipline to be applied if people were late or continuously absent, etc. They established the rules. Our role would be that of a review court. If the rules they made could not be supported, we would refer them back to them for review and consideration. ... Often we found the kids too tough, and our policy was to tell them their discipline seemed inconsistent with their complaints about how they had always been treated by others. We would ask them what their problems were -- why did they find it difficult to adjust to each other's differences when these caused them no personal harm. In time, they became very supportive to each other.

On meaningfulness of curricula: Everything we taught related to the work they were doing. We gave them a course in growth and development that you would find on a university level, but we keyed it into the behavior of the children they were dealing with in the pre-school program. We gave them a course in group work, not too dissimilar to what you'd find in a school of social work, but again we keyed it into their activities in recreation. We oriented them to statistics by pointing out to them that they already knew a lot about probability theory. They knew it was a 2 to 1 bet not to make a 10 in a crap game. But as much as they knew, I knew more, and we went through a simulated crap game and I showed them how much money I'd have won if we'd really been playing "for real" because it isn't an even money bet against a 6 or an 8; it's 6 to 5 against the shooter. They got quite interested and excited about probability theory and really wanted to know more.

On linkage: We pointed out that their jobs could lead possibly to a career in the fields in which they were now engaged.

On gratification: They got tremendous joy from discovering competencies they never knew they had and in knowing that they were making a contribution to each other and to those with whom they worked.

Our success was beyond wildest expectation. Despite late paydays (depriving them of the supposedly essential "instant" gratification), a staff that made hundreds of mistakes, we not only had no drop-outs from the program, but we couldn't have beat those kids out with sticks. This created some difficulty because considering the kind of intake criteria we set up and our previous experience with more traditional ways of helping kids, we didn't expect to have anyone left after 12 weeks and

we had only raised 12 weeks worth of funds. At the end of that time, we were scrambling around for additional money since all 10 kids were still there. Two years later, all 10 were still involved in a whole series of activities and all had displayed spectacular competency, including our catatonic schizophrenic who was "chattering like a mynah bird," according to a friend. In addition, we had no drop-outs, most had returned to school. None of them walked the same, talked the same, or acted the same. Their whole lives had changed as a result of getting to show what they could do.

Initially, these kids were drawn at random from a group of 20 -- the other 10 constituted a control group which had been matched for sex, age, employment, education, and delinquency records. Checking these 10 after a year, we found one person had been arrested for a felony, homicide; two others for burglary; none had gone back to school. This was not just a question of statistical differences -- there was no overlap. The two groups were just not operating in the same universe.

It's important to note that these changes could not be attributed to the Hawthorne effect; i.e., the initial effect which results from almost any novel program which incorporates special teachers, special attention, special equipment, etc. The effects usually wear off very soon. But in our experiment, there was no wearing out even after two years, or any lessening of success when staff was changed or when dozens of others were added to the program.*

How do we open up a parallel route to the credential

If the war in Vietnam ended, unemployment would soar. Even in the midst of war, the more skilled jobs remain unfilled, and unemployment and low-wage employment are prevalent. Since employment at the expense of lives will hopefully not be a permanent way of life, peace and the inevitable increase in automation will leave the human services as the area with the greatest potential for massive job creation.

The skilled jobs in industry and in the human services require credentials. Millions now unskilled and untrained cannot get credentials because they cannot go to college. We must begin to test the value of the proposition that education can come first and then the job. As the Howard experiment showed, it is not motivation, but opportunity that is lacking for the poor. A parallel route to the credential should be available. In essence, the educational facility should be moved to where the people are, instead of making people go to the educational facility. In terms of the teaching credential, this is important -- not only to get the poor working -- but it is educationally valid to do teacher training right in the schools, dealing with problems as they come up with monitoring and discussion and combining the research and training functions.

One of our problems in education is that we have taken a whole series of

* Send for "Community Apprentice Program" from the Center for Youth and Community Studies, Howard University, Washington, D.C. (\$2.00) for the full story of this experiment.

different functions and labelled them "teacher". If we analyze what a teacher does, we find many things that require little skill, training, or experience; many things that require some skill; and some things that require all the professional experience at his command. We have lumped all these functions together and call them teaching.

I would suggest that we establish an alternative route to the teaching credential. We can begin with a teacher aide position. Teacher aides could operate audio-visual equipment, monitor hallways and lunch yards, perform clerical functions, read to children, and tutor students in need of special attention.

As they demonstrate ability, they should be given college credit for their on-the-job experience and be encouraged to enroll in essential college courses offered at a city college, university or extension division. These aides, with experience and some back-up courses in two years can advance to the position of teacher assistant. The assistant can take on additional responsibility; can teach under the supervision of a professional and lead small group discussions. In another two or three years, having gained additional college credit for the increased work experience, and having taken some additional needed courses, the teaching assistant could become a teaching associate, performing much like a teacher does now. In another couple of years, the associate could become a fully-certified teacher. The role of the fully certified teacher would necessarily be considerably different from his role today. The certified teacher would be a specialist, a consultant, a trainer, and a supervisor for those in training.

These various sub-professionals can liberate the teacher to truly reach every child in the classroom. Her assistants can lead small groups while the teacher can give individual attention to those who need special aid. Aides can help children with homework in the evenings; or they can communicate with the parents and pull them more closely into the educational experience.

Getting a teaching credential via the route of job-first, education-later could take 8 to 10 years. But throughout those years, a person is doing useful work. If motivation or ability are limited, he can remain at a landing and still make a contribution. If he wishes to go all the way, the system is open all the way to the credential. ... This is not merely a proposal for aides in the schools. We have had aides in the schools for years. But aides to date have been limited to menial, dead-ended tasks, and a menial dead-ended job in the school is not much different from the menial, dead-ended job in any other field. ... It's the opportunity to move up that is the essence of a "new careers" program.

If we don't create this parallel road -- this apprentice approach of on-the-job training, back-up college courses, and increasing responsibility which can ultimately lead to a professional status -- we create two problems: (1) we'll continue to have alien schools -- schools which belong to outsiders and never can attract and hold the students; and (2) we'll lock out the poor from the largest and fastest-growing industry in our country.

The teachers' aides should be recruited from the neighborhoods around

the school. If this is done, a different atmosphere can be created in the school. That school is then no longer a place where some people drop in from the peninsula at 8:00 a.m. and are sure they're on the way home by 3:30.. Today, slum schools cannot be accurately described as neighborhood schools because the teachers never live in the neighborhood. One of the problems of the slum school is that it is difficult for a working parent to talk to a teacher because the teacher is miles away by the time the parent comes home from work. One way to create a neighborhood school is to have teaching resources in the neighborhood.

There are some who feel that this concept tends to further enclose the ghetto. However, if career development is institutionalized in the school system, and the indigenous poor are able to move in the system, they become eligible to move anywhere such jobs are available, thus facilitating a move out of the ghetto. At the present time, there's no way in the world to truly eliminate segregation because true integration requires economic liberation. Housing and school segregation will be reduced much faster when many more people have the credentials to work in higher-paying jobs, giving them the financial resources to buy houses anywhere.

How can universities respond to society's need for "new careers"

There are many who oppose any tinkering with higher education procedures, even though the great need to replenish the "vanishing professional" in all the expanding human services will not be met by the universities as they function today. It is somehow assumed that the model of higher education has stood the test of time and any effort to provide an alternative path in which "learning by doing" is heavily emphasized would be retrogressive.

I think that higher education needs to be critically evaluated. Universities have not achieved the ultimate. In fact, it may not be straining truth to suggest that higher education is the most atavistic of all systems -- that it was made obsolete with the invention of the printing press. It made sense to go to the place where the book was when there was only one book. However, since books are both plentiful and relatively inexpensive, some of the palpable weaknesses of the system should be explored.

Higher education as currently constituted in the helping services provides very little truly simulated experience before a person is exposed to the pressure of the job. Practice teaching and field experience are trivial and only minimally relevant to job experience. A person may go to school for four years before he is exposed to a classroom situation and can then decide whether teaching is for him. Similar agonizing reappraisals are forced upon prospective candidates for careers in social work, medicine, law, etc. The problem of this "all or nothing" nature of training is further complicated because there are no intermediate landings in human service professions. A person can train for nearly a decade and become an almost-doctor (and probably then sell pharmaceutical supplies), go to school for seven years to become an almost-lawyer, psychologist, social worker, teacher, etc. The lack of intermediate positions in the professions puts considerable pressure on credentialing agencies to pass unqualified candidates to professional status because

the alternative of giving no reward for such investment of time, money, and energy is unconscionable.

The new careers proposal, providing an alternative path to a credential, allows for much greater flexibility in the education process. A person unable to attain the terminal position can be offered an intermediate office commensurate with his ability and competences. A person can utilize a number of combinations of training experiences to obtain a degree. Some might start off in the on-the-job training and in a few years, cross over to a university experience (at the equivalent grade); or a person may be at loose ends at the end of two years at a university and cross over to the learning-on-the-job alternative at an intermediate position (e.g., teacher-assistant). The existence of a number of career landings and the possibility of cross-over allows for much greater opportunity for persons to make meaningful contributions to society. While this increased flexibility would be of particular significance to the poor who are denied the conventional path to professional status, such a program would be valuable to affluent students as well who have difficulty negotiating the current route to a credential.

Why we must begin to make change in public schools

Pressure for educational change will continue to increase because of the "functional illiterates" that the schools are graduating or pushing out by the millions; because of the expanding need for more professionals; because of the millions who are locked out of the economic system for lack of a credential. There will be an increasing need to link up the population that needs jobs with the jobs that need doing.

Total change in the schools is not possible quickly. But demonstration projects can be set up which can be beachheads from which more extensive efforts can be launched. Demonstration projects can be started with "soft" money -- funds from the Elementary & Secondary Education Act, the Anti-Poverty Act, the National Institute of Mental Health or the Ford Foundation. Start with small demonstrations and continue to expand as effectiveness is demonstrated.

There's a need to work out a coherent educational package. Presently, we are all going full speed in all directions. One group says the solution to everything is bussing; another that paying teachers twice as much will make the difference; another that homogeneous groups are the answer; some believe in providing an instant reward for good grades; some want even more credentials for teachers; some want more social workers or psychologists. Some say we are too permissive; others say we are too repressive. ... We need to discuss a total school -- what is it to look like? What kind of staffing do we need? How do we get the funds for it? How do we demonstrate that it works? And then how do we institutionalize it on a larger scale? Each year, more and more funds for education are authorized by Washington and Sacramento, but these funds are not drawn together into one package. ... Most of the programs offer compensatory education for those who didn't get the education the first time around, but such programs without drastic changes in teacher-student relationship won't be any more successful the

second time around.

There is much concern about the expense involved in creating vast changes in the institutions of the country. It is expensive to be sure, but the cost of maintaining a large spectator population is great too. It costs money to "welfare" people and to "warehouse" people. It costs about \$10,000 to build one cell in a maximum security prison; it costs over \$4,000 to keep one youth in the California Youth Authority for a year. Watts was also an expensive proposition.

If the human service systems are not opened to the poor, there will be the "costs" due to a lack of teachers, doctors, social workers, etc., and yet the majority of the people who need work will be unemployed or dead-ended in poverty-income jobs. Poverty is pretty simple. Even Calvin Coolidge figured it out. He pointed out that when a lot of people are out of work, unemployment results.

There can be no reality to human rights or civil rights if, instead of being discriminated against because of color, people can be discriminated against because they lack credentials. The two are so highly correlated that it amounts to the same thing. The basis of a poverty program must begin with job creation. And the huge education system must share the social responsibility of creating a portion of the jobs in ways that have proved to be educationally valid.

Much of the money needed for changes in the school system already exists in the flood of educational and anti-poverty legislation. But most of it is used for programs that have long since proved unproductive. We need programs that do not "bandage" the poor, but rather give a fair break to every child.

The importance of educational change for all children

Most school problems militate particularly against the poor and disadvantaged children. But schools tend to degrade all children. The irrational rules, the sense of powerlessness, the dependency, the insistence upon conformity is destructive to the development of all children -- and is antagonistic to preparing citizens for democratic responsibility.

What has been suggested here to remedy the ailments in education is a strategy which offers a better education for all youth. It allows for democratic decision-making, creates a link with the future, provides gratifications and puts meaning into the educational experience for all youth regardless of background, neighborhood, or learning style.

June 30, 1966

Mr. Alfred F. Brown
315 Mt. Prospect Avenue
Apartment 3J
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Brown:

Your letter to the President was referred to this office and it is rewarding to have your views on the recent White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Noting your concern that "the conference body was not permitted to take formal action in regard to acceptance, rejection, or modification of [the Council's] recommendations and proposals," may we point out that such was not the case. The Council's proposals were offered as guidelines for the comment and criticism of the invitees. The closing sessions allowed each of the twelve panels not only to vote on resolutions of the Council but to offer resolutions of their own.

However, it is gratifying to have letters such as yours as well as transcripts of the proceedings which can together help us relay to the President the word of a people about whom he is greatly concerned.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

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Alfred F. Brown
515 Mt. Prospect Avenue
Apt. 3J
Newark, New Jersey
June 6, 1966

Mr.
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

If I am in order as a private citizen and if I may assume that the press coverage was substantially accurate, I should like to express to you my personal views on the recent White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

By way of background, I am a Negro, a veteran of the Korean War, and ever mindful of a myriad of economic, educational, political and social pressures which have been oppressively exerted upon the American Negro for 347 years.

As for the recent so-called civil rights conference, it had all the earmarks of a staged political publicity gag; designed to lull one into a false sense of your administration's concern, and featuring form over substance. It is my understanding that certain recommendations and proposals were drafted by the planning and executive council -- the members of this counsel having been appointed by you. These recommendations and proposals, I believe, were drafted before the conference formally began. I further understand that the conference body was not permitted to take formal action in regard to acceptance, rejection, or modification of these recommendations and proposals. Now, in the light of these facts (assuming them to be as stated), what purpose was served in bringing all those people to Washington? You concededly had many of the most influential and outstanding Negro voices there, but you effectively silenced them by the procedure adopted. (The New York Times of June 3, 1966 reported that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was silent throughout the conference.) I take this as a sad and unfortunate commentary; not only as to the heavy hand manifestly present over the conference but also in regard to the apparent thinking involved that either Negroes cannot separate

June 6, 1966

the wheat from the chaff or that, in any event, it doesn't matter as long as a well-publicized civil rights "show" is held. In short, it was a talkathon; and we have had many -- far too many! It is interesting to note that there was much adverse comment about the decision of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) not to attend the conference. Without passing on the merits of that decision and in view of the staged character of the conference, a more appropriate and fitting decision has never been made by anyone, anywhere.

One newspaper quoted you as saying, "Do not expect us, even together, to put right in one year or four all that took centuries to make wrong." Well, let me say respectfully and humbly, if the methods employed by this conference are to be expected to yield the true posture and proper dimensions of the problems of race so as to enable one to chart effective guidelines and formulate workable solutions, then we are all hopelessly lost and misdirected. What has become of our dedication to the principles of a free society, to the amiable but forthright and honest exchange of ideas, to the belief that a free and uninhibited flow of thought is the hallmark of a free and enlightened nation? ? I voted for you as an expression of my confidence in your dedication, ability, and know-how; I write this as an expression of my own humble concern regarding a situation which is a discredit to our democratic tenets and a blight upon the lives of many, both black and white.

Vice-President Humphrey delivered an eloquent appeal for equal justice under the law as a moral imperative. (I regret to say that I have not often heard him speak in such liberal tones since the early 1950's.) However, though my heart swells to hear such words of freedom and justice flow from the lips of such a high government official, those words, amidst the pre-planned atmosphere of this conference, appear to be just that - - words.

Why not an open conference, with free and unfettered exchange of ideas within practical time limitations, upon an agenda drawn up by a cross-section of interested and able citizens from all ethnic and racial groups, and with formal action upon resolutions arrived at in free and open discussion??

The President

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Certainly it can be said that the impressions left by this conference have done nothing to improve the image of your administration and has not given any substantial hope to those citizens, both black and white, who strive always for a better America.

Finally, if all of the "grass roots" Negroes, who work for and in, and are deeply loyal to, America, could have attended this conference, I think they would have been foreed, upon leaving, to paraphrase the words of Johnnie Scott from the Watts district of Los Angeles, "I'll report back to Watts that I didn't hear a word about us."

Respectfully,

Alfred J. Brown

P.S. You are entitled to double congratulations on the coming marriage of Luci, and the laudable academic effort of Lynda.

cc: The New York Times, New York, New York
The Newark Evening News, Newark, N.J.