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# PERSPECTIVES

FALL 1980-WINTER 1981



## This Year's KKK: Under New Sheets, Old Fears

How Private Should  
Private Clubs Be?

Employment Agency  
Games That Hurt

A School  
Commencement  
Confronts the  
Constitution



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## Guest Editorial

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### Under Cover of Darkness

By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

The landmark civil rights laws were passed in the light of day; they were endlessly debated, extensively reviewed in Congressional Committees, and finally passed as the result of a broad consensus of both Congressional and political opinion. But now we are seeing a concerted effort to gut those laws, an effort carried out in stealth, under cover of darkness, and without appropriate consideration by the public or its representatives.

The strategy for the counter-attack on the civil rights laws is deceptively simple. It consists of adding amendments onto important bills that the Congressional leadership is anxious to pass. One such "back-door" amendment, for example, was passed by the House of Representatives as a part of the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Department appropriations bill. It would bar the use of federal funds to implement or enforce affirmative action programs in employment or in school admissions. Another "back-door" amendment would stop the Justice Department from bringing action to enforce school desegregation through busing. Still another would prohibit the Department of Education from requiring busing as a last resort to desegregate schools that are unconstitutionally segregated.

The Treasury Department appropriations bill is saddled with two amendments, both aimed at preserving the tax-exempt status of segregation academies—the private schools created as havens for whites fleeing desegregated public schools. These and other similar amendments would make it difficult or impossible for the federal government to act in compliance with federal court orders or to implement its own regulations, without which many of the civil rights laws would be meaningless.

No one really has the guts to come right out and present a bill repealing the major civil rights laws. It is unconscionable to toy with minority rights and with constitutional guarantees in such an underhanded manner. Sneaking through an amendment may be clever legislative tactics, but it erodes people's confidence in government, in the promise of the still-fragile civil rights laws, and in the fairness of the legislative process. Sometimes, as in busing, the attackers claim to speak for the majority. But they reveal a fundamental flaw in their argument—the essence of a democracy is protection of minority rights, not the unbridled trampling of those rights by an intolerant majority.

It would be a mistake to overreact to the threats to civil rights laws. Many of those proposals will never see the light of day, and many don't stand a chance, even in the current Congress. But it would be more of a mistake to be complacent about them. There is a clear and present danger that some of the rights and programs that survived the negativism of the 1970s will come under even stronger attack in the 1980s. It is imperative for progressive coalitions to be rebuilt and strengthened, and for strategies to be devised that will protect endangered rights. A vital part of that effort will have to be a campaign to rekindle the spark of passion in the disheartened civil rights camp.◆

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*Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. is President of the National Urban League.*

The Civil Rights Quarterly  
**PERSPECTIVES**

FALL 1980-WINTER 1981

VOLUME 12 NUMBER 3

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**Credits:** Michael David Brown— Cover, 10, 13; Brian Griffin— 2, 5, 7, 8, 9; Del Harrod— 17, 19, 22; Miu Eng— 11; William J. Kircher & Associates— 24, 27, stock photos— 29, 34.

**Perspectives: The Civil Rights Quarterly** is published four times a year by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, as part of its clearinghouse responsibilities. Editorial inquiries and manuscript submissions should be directed to The Editor, **Perspectives**, Press and Communications Division, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1121 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20425.

**Perspectives** is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20492. Use of funds for producing **Perspectives** has been approved by the Director of the Office of Management & Budget by letter dated October 17, 1979.

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# Letters

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## Cheers, Gold Stars and Other Kudos....

The Spring 1980 issue of PERSPECTIVES is excellent! The articles are well written, informative and timely. You deserve a Gold Star for the number and quality of the book reviews.

Three cheers for your new format!

**June M. Ridley, Director**  
Equal Educational Opportunities  
Department of Education  
Commonwealth of Kentucky



I like the name and new format of an old friend.

Keep up the good work.

**Howard N. Meyer**  
Rockville Center, Maryland



Congratulations to you and your staff on the "new look" of the former *Civil Rights Digest*!

You're right. "The change is more than cosmetic." The articles are not only interesting but highly perceptive, emotionally moving and creatively informative. The format, too, is fresh and provocative.

God's blessing on your important task.

**Sister Alma Bill, O.L.V.M.**  
Parish Center for Religious Education  
St. Catherine of Siena Church  
Miami, Florida



I have been reading the *Civil Rights Digest* for about eight years and have enjoyed it tremendously.

I am very pleased with the new format used by PERSPECTIVES and was most impressed with the Lett and Silverman, Parker and Witt articles and by the "Speaking Out" stand taken by Roger Wilkins.



I look forward to receiving future issues of PERSPECTIVES and congratulate you on your fine publication.

**Ki Tecumseh**  
Executive Director  
Albuquerque-Santa Fe Federal  
Executive Board



I found your first issue of PERSPECTIVES to be very informative and well written. The quality of this publication is excellent.

The article, "The Coming Black/Hispanic Coalition: A Black View and An Hispanic View," was especially well done. This is an issue that deserves more attention.

**Wilfredo Cruz**  
Chicago, Illinois

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed, and was stimulated by, your Spring issue of PERSPECTIVES.

I appreciate the wide range of related topics and the delightful writing styles. I enjoyed all the articles and have already passed on Brancatelli's article to a similarly effected friend.

Keep up the excellent work.

**Kathleen Carney**  
Akron, Ohio



### "The Ties That Choke" Almost Did

As a responsible writer/editor, and as a concerned American citizen of Italian descent, I feel compelled to write you concerning an article by Joe Brancatelli in the Spring 1980 issue of PERSPECTIVES, "The Ties That Choke."

According to one of Brancatelli's brilliant theories, Italian-Americans aren't more visible in mainstream society because "they have never wanted to be in the mainstream." I say they aren't more visible precisely because they have been so well assimilated into the American scene and they rarely complain about problems they've encountered. While maintaining their basic traditions and values, they've learned the language of their new country and its customs. Unlike some other ethnic groups, they don't demand that salespeople address them in their native Italian or that U.S. Government publications appear in Italian versions. In short, they've accepted a new way of life.

What's more, Brancatelli's premise that the "good sons don't assimilate" syndrome is peculiar to Italians is ludicrous. What about the Boston banker who's making \$100,000 a year and is miserable because he really wanted to be a railroad conductor, but his father, an Irish banker, wouldn't let him? Or the

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## Letters

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Russian-Jewish woman who's forced into a marriage with another Jew to keep her away from the man she really loves, a Puerto Rican? Or the young Black who gives up a promising career as an actor because his mother doesn't think acting is a "proper" profession? Do these people's problems, which are similar to the ones experienced by Mr. Brancatelli and his friends, stem from the fact that they're Italian? Of course not.

Jeno Paulucci's comments, which appeared in a sidebar to the article, may seem a bit too fiery for some people's taste. But with guys like Brancatelli running around, it's no wonder that Paulucci's "mad as hell." And now, so am I.

**Mary Ann Castronovo**  
North Bergen, New Jersey



I just finished reading Joe Banacatelli's article in your Spring 1980 issue of "PERSPECTIVE."

It took a bit of an effort to get through all of his hyperbole. The generalizations acquired from what must be the author's limited personal experience with Italian-Americans do not hold true under objective, historical, cultural or social examination. No doubt they are true for him and some others. But, if I were to use Mr. Brancatelli's method of personal experiences, my conclusions would be quite different from his. Without scholarly examination and research to support them they would be just as subjective and invalid.

As a fellow Brooklynite, who grew up just a few blocks away from Mr. Brancatelli, let me share some of my own boyhood experiences.

My parents and the parents of my friends sacrificed their own personal ambitions and well being so that their chil-

dren would have the opportunity and choice to break out of the traditional blue collar, vocational world of work, if they so wished. Do not in any way misinterpret this statement as denigrating or in any way looking down on manual labor. I do not.

My parents and friends seem to have had the foresight and desire to give their children the opportunity to choose between competing alternatives and occupations. All my friends were either born in Southern Italy or were first generation Italians. All of their parents were high school graduates and most were manual laborers. Some, such as my father, built businesses to make a livelihood. However, never once to my knowledge were my friends persuaded or forced to follow the paths of their fathers "in order to be good sons." The plain fact is that my friends of some 15-20 years include doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, real estate agents, stock brokers, bankers and professional musicians. The facts will prove that this group is not an exception to the rule.

Mr. Brancatelli's article perpetuates a less than valid stereotype which may have some, but not universal, application to Italian-Americans. The serious issues for students of intergroup relations and group identity, particularly as those problems impact on the development of public policy, are unaddressed in his generalizations and conclusions. Perhaps for that fact alone, I am disturbed and disappointed by what he wrote.

**Stephen R. Aiello**  
(Mr. Aiello was Special Assistant to President Carter for Ethnic Affairs)



### Brancatelli Responds To Aiello

I know Mr. Aiello's letter was intended to be critical of my story because he ac-

cused me of writing "hyperbole," of using "generalizations," of invoking "a less than valid stereotype" and of having only "limited personal experience with Italian-Americans." However, if one manages to ignore the supercilious big-government-knows-best attitude and the accusations that run rampant in Mr. Aiello's letter, it is abundantly clear that he does not really disagree with the major premise of my story.

My premise, to restate it for Mr. Aiello without "hyperbole," was that it was a dreadful mistake to assume that society at large has discriminated against Americans of Italian descent simply because they do not hold a proportionally large share of the white-collar and high-visibility jobs or otherwise blend harmoniously with mainstream American society.

I can only assume that Mr. Aiello can't be too worried about society's alleged discrimination against Italian-Americans, either. After all, his letter tells us that among his Italian-American friends of "some 15-20 years" there are "doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, real estate agents, stock brokers, bankers and professional musicians."

So if I don't believe Italian-Americans are being discriminated against, and if Mr. Aiello's Italian-American friends are wonderfully assimilated into White Anglo-Saxon Protestant America, what exactly are we arguing about?

**Joe Brancatelli**

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Editor's Note: Reader response to Perspectives articles is welcome. Address letters to: Editor, Perspectives, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1121 Vermont Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20425.

## Tortilla Curtain

by Leonel Castillo

**U**nlike the arrival of the "Boat People" from Vietnam, the "Freedom Flo-tilla" that brought more than 100,000 Cubans onto the Key West docks did something curiously contradictory: It triggered a belated and jarring recognition that something's radically wrong with our immigration posture and yet revived the popular fear of "alien hordes" that our Vietnam mistake submerged in collective guilt.

Much as our Hispanic ancestors braved tempestuous seas and scurvy-filled holds of Spanish Galleons that crossed the Atlantic before the Mayflower, these latter day boat people express a characteristic that has built this country: hunger—a hunger for opportunity. They didn't know if the boat was going to land or if it was going to sink. They didn't know what was going to happen to them, even if they made it. But they had a hope they might make it to the United States as the "freedom place."

The very word "immigration" arouses all sorts of passions. People sometimes forget how we—or our ancestors—got here. Since 1820, nearly 50 million "foreigners" have come here to remake their tattered lives. Like it or not, we are and always will be a "nation of immigrants."

Immigrants are the human capital that funds the "arsenal of democracy." They bring a tremendous drive and determination to bettering themselves economically, and thereby their adopted country as well. Their productivity is high: they are not accustomed to two-a-day coffee breaks or two-martini

lunches. They are not afraid to work 12-to-16 hour days if that's what will get them ahead. Immigrants—whether "documented or "undocumented"—represent a work ethic and a spirit that, I'm afraid, is nearly lost in this country in 1980, at least among native-born Americans.

**If you go to a Western Union office on the weekend, you'll find a lot of people there sending money orders. In a Southwest office, like Dallas, Western Union will tell you 75 percent of their business is money orders to Mexico.**

**There's a restaurant in Hollywood run by a fellow the United States deported 37 times. We've deported some people more than a hundred times. They always come back. There's a job—and there's desperation.**

It would be easy to attribute current sentiment to the basest of racial prejudice. After all, hostility to immigrants is as old as the world itself. Irrational intolerance rears its head each time a particular ethnic group lands here. Remember the "Irish Not Wanted" signs in Boston circa 1848? The Chinese Exclusion Act in California at the turn of the century? The anti-Semitism of the 1920s and 1930s? A *New York Times/CBS News* poll this past summer found that only 34% of the American people would welcome the Cubans into their midst.

The truth is that at the root of the prevailing prejudice is economics. Unemployment stands at 8% as I write

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*Leonel Castillo is the former Commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.*

## Speaking Out



this. Were we now experiencing economic good times instead of an uncertain economy buffeted by double-digit inflation, there would be no controversy, no talk about stemming a "Brown Tide."

The truth is also that it is the immigrants who compete for jobs with other minorities in the marginal industries—the very business sector that is first to feel a recession's squeeze. A recent *Business Week* article even went so far as to suggest that if there were no undocumented workers, if those jobs were filled by Americans, current unemployment figures would drop by at least 4%. (How it arrives at this projection when neither the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) nor the Census Bureau know the number of "undocumented" living within our borders at any given time was not

explained).

The point is that this time, it's not just the *Anglo* who claims to be hurt but also the Blacks and other Hispanics. Or should I say *especially*?

"Many Mexican-Americans are unhappy over the fact that these Cubans are allowed into the United States and given all kinds of assistance," says Rafael Prieto of Los Angeles' influential Spanish daily, *La Opinion*, "while thousands of Mexicans are forced to come in as illegal aliens and live underground, even though they work hard and want to make a living just like Americans."

In Fort Wayne, Indiana, the Rev. Kenneth Acey, a Black, says "we also have people that need homes, people who need to be fed and people who need jobs. Blacks are being pushed over to the sidelines."

Outside the main gate at Fort Chaffee, Ark., where Cuban refugees rioted last spring to protest the slow pace of processing, the Ku Klux Klan held rallies, wives of unemployed workers carried picket signs, and a Black candidate for the lieutenant governorship installed a bed with a sign reading, "Sleep On America, While the Cubans Take Your Jobs."

That's not all. The minorities are also threatened on another front—social services. As it is, across-the-board budget slashing in most major cities has kept social agencies from doing what they do best: smoothing the way into society for those without jobs who don't know the language and lack geographic orientation, steering them through the labyrinth of immigration rules (that are difficult enough to understand if you're white and speak English). In their anger, those already here lash out at the newly-arrived. The



Citizens Legal Defense Alliance of Los Angeles, for example, says that the city currently spends over \$1 million a year on non-essential medical services to the "undocumented." Again, no support is offered for this figure

What makes our "undocumented alien problem" so difficult to grapple with are the numbers. We really don't know how many are here, how many stay, how many slip back and forth. What we do know is that even undermanned, INS catches over a million of them a year and expatriates more than 300,000 — people whose only "crime" is their desire to work.

**In World War II, we recruited Mexicans to work here. As soon as the war ended and our young men came back, we deported them. In 1954, the deportation**

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## Speaking Out

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**problem was so big that...we rounded everybody up, put 'em on buses, and sent them back to Mexico. Sometimes they were people who merely looked Mexican. The violations of civil liberties were terrible.**

As a result, millions of "undocumented" continue to live and work in a sort of twilight zone. They are exploited by employers, susceptible to illness and disease, fearful of seeking protection of the law when their lives are threatened—often by their own kind. They are worse off than the proverbial second-class citizen; they make up the vanguard of a *sub*-class, the largest we've ever had in this country—unskilled, illiterate, reluctant to be seen.

What troubles me most is that, as time goes by, the system becomes more entrenched. As it does, the "undocumented workers" become less of an aberration, more of an accepted fact of life. If the immigration laws were suddenly and rigidly enforced, many segments of the economy would be seriously disrupted. It is interesting that it's not just the food service industry that worries about a crackdown, but that the otherwise law-abiding International Ladies Garment Workers Union now wants the Government to "go slow."

**Restaurant owners tell me, if they have a choice, they'll hire foreign nationals first. They're so eager and grateful. There's a little greed here, too. They pay 'em so little.**

It is time we stop thinking of undocumented workers as a "domestic prob-

lem." They are a *hemispheric* problem, and as such, they cannot be rendered whole and visible and legal by congressional fiat. They bear serious discussion and negotiation with our neighbors, north as well as south.

In fact, it is a universal problem. Ask the Swiss, the Germans, the Dutch. In South America, Colombians slip into Venezuela to work the oil fields without papers; in Central America, Guatemalans work the Mexican oil fields. The only government that seems to profit from the undocumented workers is the Crown Colony of Hong Kong: its entire export economy seems based on those who fled the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong issues renewable seven-year "temporary" work permits.

We should not have to wait for 1984 to make certain elementary changes. No new laws are needed to improve the system of controlling non-immigrants who came here with valid documents, and overstayed (like those Iranian students and businessmen last fall). Or to crack down on smugglers of aliens. Or to establish better liaison with agencies that sometimes seem to work at cross-purposes with INS — and vice versa.

Only a slight modification of the existing laws are required to speed up the time it takes to document those entitled to reside in the U.S. Such a change would then allow them to apply for their families, many who now tend to slip in illegally.

**The old dream is still dreamt. The old neighborhood Ma-Pa stores are still around. They are not Italian or Jewish or Eastern European any more. Ma and Pa are now Korean, Vietnamese, Ira-**

**qui, Jordanian, Latin American. They live in the store. They work seven days a week. Their kids are doing well in school. They're making it. Sound familiar?**

I write this as I recall the 1978 Columbus Day Parade in New York City. As Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, I had been chosen Grand Marshall of the *Día de La Raza* parade on Fifth Avenue. Here I was hobnobbing with Mayor Ed Koch and a host of Latino consuls and other dignitaries, and I was glowing with self-importance. Then reality intruded as we came out of St. Patrick's Cathedral. A middle-aged woman, in threadbare clothes, thrust a note into my hands. It read:

"Sr. Castillo, por favor, no nos desampare, siga ayudando a sus hermanos latinos que estamos en esta ciudad sin papeles; se lo agradeceremos siempre. Un sin papeles."

Translated:

"Mr. Castillo, please don't forget us, keep helping your Latino brothers and sisters who are in this city without papers; we will be eternally grateful. A person without papers."

She melted into the crowd. I thought then—and I think now—that I was given that note as a representative of the U.S. Government on behalf of another woman, more statuesque, who stands silently on Liberty Island in the great harbor of New York. A reminder, if you will, that we don't have to look beyond the ocean for those who are oppressed, huddled and yearning to be free. ♦



## Another Wrinkle to Age Discrimination

The list reads like *Fortune's* 500: Standard Oil of California, Textron Inc., ITT, Pan American World Airways, Western Electric, Consolidated Edison, Hartford Insurance Group, TWA, Heublein, Atlantic Container Lines, etc.

Actually, they are among a growing list of U.S. corporations that have either lost, have settled or are about to face major court cases under the provisions of the 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA). And more will be on the way, says *Business Week*, noting that "age bias has become a major corporate issue without benefit of the fanfare that attended earlier race and sex discrimination cases."

By 1985, 36 percent of the U.S. labor force will be over age 40 and facing competition from members of the post-

war baby crop who will be ready to take on top management posts. This will mean a substantial increase in the case load for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which took over ADEA jurisdiction from the U.S. Department of Labor in July 1979. EEOC's Eleanor Holmes Norton underscored the problem recently when she testified before the House Select Committee on Aging. "Age discrimination is widely accepted by many Americans who have rejected discrimination based on sex and race," she said. It will also mean a lot of new business for lawyers specializing in age discrimination litigation.

One of them, Detroit attorney V. Paul Donnelly, says he's got cases pending or in court against 150 major corporations and expects to win most of them.

Despite the stiff price exacted for such discrimination—Standard Oil of California, for example, had to pay out \$2 million in settlement of a class action filed by 264 ex-employees—many companies persist, figuring the "trade-off" at the bottom line is worth the risk. According to lawyer Donnelly, companies are getting more "sophisticated" in the way they go about purging older middle and top managers in order to cut salary costs and pension benefits while making room for the young achievers. Some pass out liberal six months' severance pay to make their victims less vengeful; others relieve the employees of all duties but keep them on salary while receiving free "outplacement" counseling for 180 days.

Under ADEA, plaintiffs have six months in which to file against their ex-employers. Donnelly urges employees who believe they have a solid case to take the money, take the "outplacement" advice, and run... to beat the filing deadline.



## That's the Way the CHiP Crumbles

This, believe it or not, is a picture of a target allegedly used at the Sacramento headquarters and training academy of the California Highway Patrol. According to a dispatch in *New West*, a regional biweekly magazine, the State Personnel Board is investigating charges that this grotesque "Runnin' Nigger" target has been employed on various CHiP firing ranges. According to the legend on the target:

...all body shots count 5. Shots to head do not count unless metal piercing cartridge is used. Heel shots count 100.

And just to show the CHiPs aren't just singling out Blacks, an anonymous letter



signed "fifteen women in law enforcement" reached the Board, telling it there were similar targets going around headed "Sink The Wetback" and "Lay The \_\_\_\_\_."

Unfortunately, California state law does not cover such a display of brotherhood and sisterhood, so the NAACP and the Legislative Black Caucus have introduced a bill to the State Legislature calling for dismissal of state employees who distribute "materials that are racially or sexually demeaning or inflammatory."

## Blacks in Grey Flannel Suits

How goes Affirmative Action outside the secretarial pool? We're indebted to the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Harvard Business Review* for making public a handful of recent studies that answer the question with a "not so good, but slowly getting better."

Korn/Ferry International, which calls itself the world's largest executive search firm, finds that the typical senior corporate executive is 54 years old, married, the father of three, a Midwesterner by birth, a graduate of a public university, earning over \$100,000. Of 1,700 executives surveyed, though, only three turned out to be Blacks.

A more heartening Korn/Ferry study, this one of 552 corporations, shows women sitting on 36 percent of their boards (as against 10.7 percent only seven years ago). But don't cheer yet: only 3 percent of those women directors came from the inside; most were recruited from outside the firm. And another report, this one by Catalyst, a New York-based national women's organization, finds less than 2 percent of 1,300 boards surveyed to have women directors on them. Understates Catalyst's founder-president Felice N. Schwartz: "The incentives to appoint women to

boards have not yet been clearly perceived."

Yet, some would argue, it's easier for white corporate executives to deal with women than Blacks. Stuart Taylor, a Black psychologist with the management consulting firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, told the *Journal* why: "The white male executive is used to dealing with white women. His wife is a woman. His mother is a woman. But most white executives have never dealt with a Black." He is pessimistic: to make it in the corporate world, "the Black has got to think like a white, have the same concerns as a white, go to the same church as a white." This, of course, is an alien "corporate culture"—says Bernard Anderson, a Black economist with the Rockefeller Foundation—a social system involving knowing the "right people" (the preponderance of whom are white), and combining technical knowledge with corporate politicking and infighting. Whites have long been exposed to the system but Blacks obviously haven't.

The corporations are quick to offer their own analysis of the problem. Walter Hoepfner, personnel manager for Standard Oil (Indiana) explains that it takes white executives from 15 to 25 years to work their way to the top of the corporate infrastructure, and affirmative action only began being practiced about 15 years ago. What Mr. Hoepfner doesn't explain is why Black executives are often placed in such highly visible but essentially powerless posts as vice president of personnel, urban affairs, community and public relations or affirmative action. Edward Williams, a Black vice president of Chicago's Harris Trust & Savings Bank thinks he knows why: "By and large, companies remain unwilling to put Blacks in sensitive positions where they can affect the bottom line." Wil-

liams is a happy exception to the rule; his is an operating post.

More typical is James Nixon, VP for affirmative action at International Telephone & Telegraph Corp., the huge multi-national. Nixon came to ITT with 15 years' experience as a nuclear engineer but was hired, says ITT personnel VP Ralph Pausic, "because we wanted someone whose technical background would help him do a better job at attracting and promoting the kind of minorities the company needs."

With Blacks constituting 11 percent of the population and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission more concerned with monitoring entry-level cases of discrimination (because there are so many more of them and they're also easier to make stick), the last word—for now—belongs to Clark Burrus, a Black senior vice president at the First National Bank of Chicago. He told the *Journal*: "Back in the old days, people used to joke about 'the spook by the door'—the one Black employee that many companies hired and put in a highly visible position to show they weren't prejudiced. If things have changed since then, I sure haven't seen it."

### Anyone Here Know How to Sew a Sheet?

It was bound to happen sooner or later. The caller to the Arizona Department of Economic Security wanted to find some piece goods workers at \$3.90 to \$4.25 per hour who could do a rush job sewing 500 robes. Routinely, the clerk asked if the potential employer was in compliance with Federal non-discrimination guidelines. The party replied, "I am an equal opportunity employer." The job order was listed in the job bank and sent out all over the state until—*whoops*—someone took the trou-

ble to check and found out that the employer was the local Ku Klux Klan. Then the order was abruptly canceled, but not before five people had been hired, including one "minority woman," according to ADES official Ronald Bachman. Why the rush job? It seems the KKK needed the robes within three weeks to sell them to new recruits in Maricopa County.

### Relearning the Limits of Patriotism

The Atlantic City (N.J.) Board of Education has censured Atlantic City High School history teacher Ted Manos for having successfully circulated a petition that kept Tina Bahadori, an 18-year old Iranian student, from delivering the valedictory address at her June 12th graduation. It also passed a resolution ordering

the school administrators to send a letter of apology to Ms. Bahadori, a native of Teheran who lives with relatives in the area, and enacted a rule prohibiting the circulation of any petition on school property violating the public accommodation sections of New Jersey's antidiscrimination law because of "race, color, creed, marital status, national origin, handicaps or sex."

The history teacher wanted to protest the continued captivity of the American hostages by the Khomeini regime, and got 80 people to sign the petition. Though she attended her own graduation, Ms. Bahadori declined to give the speech.

### What's the Female for "Hizzoner"?

New York City's Ed Koch, Detroit's Coleman Young, Washington's Marion Barry, Boston's Kevin White, Los Angeles' Tom Bradley and all the other well-known city mayors have an advantage over their female counterparts. While ever ready to report and editorialize on a mayor's successes or failures, the local press regards male mayors as deserving of some respectful distance, and so refers to them in print as "Mayor Bradley" or just plain "Bradley."

Not so the *San Antonio News*, which likes to get real chummy, if not disrespectful, with female Mayor Lila Cockrell. Typical is the headline over a story citing this Commission's assertion that San Antonio's administration is disproportionately weak in the number of Mexican Americans employed:

### Lila Denies Hiring Bias

It may have been fitting, typographically. But if the Mayor had been a man, we think the *News* would not have headlined the story:

### Fred Denies Hiring Bias ♦





# The Ku Klux Klan Malady *Lingers On*

By Irwin J. Suall

In June, 1980, a leader of the Ku Klux Klan won the Democratic Party's nomination for the U.S. Congress in California's 43rd Congressional District, which covers northern San Diego and several nearby communities. Tom Metzger's victory in the nation's most populous congressional district was regarded by some observers—both supporters and enemies of the Klan ideology—as indicative of America's mood at the outset of a new decade. But what is the nature of this mood? Extremist, or merely protesting? Dangerous or not?

Metzger's affiliation with the Klan was widely publicized during the recent primary campaign, as were reports of Klan violence. Admittedly, his margin of victory was slim—only 318 votes out of 87,000 cast in a three-way race. But it is fair to say that a majority of the 34,000 voters who cast their ballots for Metzger,\* while almost certainly not Klan supporters themselves, probably were aware of his true colors and were apparently willing to overlook a candidate's extremism in order to convey a message of discontent.

Mere mention of the Ku Klux Klan, a lingering and perhaps chronic American ailment since just after the Civil War, conjures memories of night-riding violence compounded at several times in our nation's history by a fearsome quotient of political power placed in bigotry's hands. It would be foolish to

overestimate the Klan's influence in our national life; at present, it is minimal. Still, because the past is prologue, we must remain vigilant in our efforts to recognize the symptoms of growing Klan influence if and when they do reappear.

Does this mean that support for the Klan is growing nationwide? Recent statistics on the growth of the hooded order are revealing. The Anti-Defamation League, which has long monitored the Klan, has reported a steady, albeit numerically limited, rise in hardcore membership from a base of 6,500 in 1975 to approximately 10,000 by the end of the decade. While this figure compares poorly with a total membership more than five times greater estimated as late as 1967, membership in today's Klan "empire" probably has not yet peaked, and its capacity to attract a following signifies that there indeed are Americans who find its message attractive.

Even more disturbing, ADL estimates that the Klan's open sympathizers—those who have shown a readiness to attend the KKK's rallies, contribute to its funding and read its publications—now number as many as 75,000 to 100,000 persons. Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that the number of passive onlookers who take quiet satisfaction from the Klan's growth and activities is growing significantly. Gallup Polls, for example, found that 10% of the American people approved of the Klan in 1979, up from 9% in 1973, 8% in 1970 and 6% in 1965. The newest resurrection of the hooded "in-

visible empire" appears to be meeting with an increasingly favorable response.

The KKK, it should be noted, is but a part of a wider extremist formation operating on the fringes of American political life. But in some instances, as in the Metzger case, these extremists have demonstrated creativity in toning down their radical image in an attempt to enter the mainstream of American political and social life. And working from the inside, the Klan, the National Socialists (Neo-Nazis) and other anti-democratic organizations could have an even more pernicious effect on the fabric of our society; this is what makes victories such as Metzger's so disturbing.

Reports from auditors at the Klan's rallies, and a systematic examination of Klan literature, indicate that the organization's exploitation of such controversial racial issues as busing and affirmative action has struck a responsive chord in certain blue collar and lower middle class sectors of the public. Also contributing to a climate favorable to organized racism is public anxiety over crime, inflation, the energy crisis and the new permissiveness surrounding sex, drugs, music and films. Furthermore, the gradually changing racial composition of the nation—a result of new, nondiscriminatory immigration laws, illegal immigrants from Latin America and the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Indochina and Cuba—has enhanced the Klan's ability to attract an added following among xenophobes.

It should be pointed out that a commonly-held notion that the Klan thrives when unemployment runs high is of doubtful validity. The Klan's two

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*\*In the general election that followed, Metzger lost but still managed to obtain 35,107 votes in a campaign in which his Klan affiliation was a major issue.*

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*Irwin J. Suall is Director of the Fact Finding Department of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. He is the author of American Ultras and numerous articles on extremism in American life. He is a graduate of Oxford University.*

peak periods in the present century, the 1920's and 1960's, were notable as decades of prosperity and high employment. What these periods had in common was a breakdown of traditional moral values as our society accelerated its transition from predominantly white, Protestant, rurally-based origins to become a cosmopolitan complex of diverse races, religions and cultures.

A major indication that such factors are still contributing to Klan growth is found by looking at where that growth is most noticeable. Today's Klaverns (local units) are located for the most part in rural areas and in small to medium-sized towns. The only major cities in which they are found are New Orleans, Birmingham, Richmond and Denver. (Klaverns are also listed for San Diego, Houston, Miami and Tampa, but these are mainly comprised of residents of nearby smaller towns.) The geographical region in which the hooded "knights" have most notably swelled their ranks is the South. The only non-Southern states in which they have registered gains are California, Colorado, Ohio and, more recently, in Connecticut, western Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Indiana there has been a noticeable decline in the Klan's vitality over the last two years. Looking at the Klan map, it becomes clear that just as in earlier periods of success, the present rise of the KKK is a symptom of recalcitrance and rebellion among elements of the population who feel their traditional, provincial, well-ordered lifestyles undergoing rapid and bewildering change.

We speak of "the Klan." Actually there are a number of Klan organizations, rivals for allegiance and viability. The largest of them is still the United Klans of America (UKA), headquartered in Tuscaloosa, Alabama and still headed by Robert Shelton, whose imprisonment for contempt of Congress helped bring about the Klan decline of the late 1960's. Membership, mostly longtime veterans of Klandom: 3,500 to 4,000.

The fastest-growing group, which is also the most militant and violence-prone, is the Invisible Empire, Knights

of the KKK, headquartered in Denham Springs, Louisiana and led by Bill Wilkinson, a former electrical contractor in his late thirties who encourages his members to carry weapons openly. Wilkinson's Klan engages in dramatic confrontations with Black civil rights demonstrators; these have resulted in shoot-outs, arrests, and wide media coverage. Membership: 2,000 to 2,500.

Next in size is the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK), made up of comparatively younger people and headed, until recently,\* by David Duke. Duke's "mod" looks and his pseudo-intellectual approach have made him a popular talk-show guest, as has his dramatic neo-Nazi ideology (he was once a follower of the late George Lincoln Rockwell). His Klan, now headed by successor Don Black of Tuscombia, Ala., is marked by a fierce anti-Semitism. Membership: 1,500 to 2,000.

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**"The most disturbing aspect of Klan activity is its appeal to youth. Today's Kluxers tend to be young."**

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Another major Klan organization thrust into the North in the late 1970's, but one which has dwindled during the last couple of years, has been largely the effort of the Confederation of Independent Orders of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK. Based in Greenwood, Indiana, it is run by William M. Chaney, who was convicted and imprisoned as a result of a 1976 Indianapolis firebombing. Its present membership is about 1,500. In addition to the four groups named above, a number of miscellaneous independent Klans (National Knights, Federated Knights, Justice Knights, Ohio Knights, Adamic Knights, etc.) add another 500 or so to the total nationwide Klan membership of approximately 10,000.

The most significant aspect of the overall growth in the Klan groups over the last two years has been the parallel increase in their lawlessness and violence. And here the "enemy" has not been permissiveness or pornography or

drugs, but rather civil rights. We have witnessed the beating of two Black ministers in Muscle Shoals, Alabama in 1979 (two Klansmen sentenced) and the January 1980 shootings of two bail bondsmen in Mississippi, one of whom died (two Ku Kluxers charged). During 1979, violent incidents involving the Klan occurred in Decatur and Talladega county in Alabama and in Tupelo and Okolona in Mississippi, followed by the shooting deaths of five Communist Workers Party demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina in which both Kluxers and Nazis were involved. And in April, 1980, four Black women were shot in Chattanooga, Tennessee (two Klansmen acquitted, one sentenced).

Speaking of his heavily armed minions, Klan leader Wilkinson has said: "These guns ain't for killing rabbits; they're to waste people. We're not going to start anything, but if anyone does, we're ready to defend ourselves." "Starting something" apparently means displeasing the Ku Klux Klan.

This is not a startling revelation, for the two great past eras of Klan success were also marked by widespread violence, as well as much political influence. In the post-Civil War period the Kluxers' murder victims numbered in the thousands. In the 1920's the Klan grew even faster than the young post-war American Legion, and eventually attained a membership which has been variously estimated at between four and ten million; it swung the election of 14 senators and 11 governors (and at least five of the senators and four of the governors were Ku Kluxers themselves).

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Klan activity is its appeal to youth. Today's Kluxers tend to be young. The age breakdown at a typical KKK rally runs like this: teenagers, 15%; early twenties to mid-thirties, 60-70%; late thirties and over, 15-25%. And a major effort is being made by both the Duke (now the Don Black) and Wilkinson groups to enlist children. A leaflet distributed by Duke's members in front

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*\*Duke resigned his KKKK post earlier this year to form a new group, the National Association for the Advancement of White People.*



of high school gates in a number of cities urges, "White Students! Fight for White Power! Join the Klan Youth Corps." Units of the "Youth Corps" have been formed, or recruitment drives mounted, in Los Angeles, San Diego, Denver, Oklahoma City, Birmingham, Chicago and other cities.

How potent, how dangerous, is the Klan today?

Certainly the Klan of 1980 cannot be meaningfully compared to Klans past—other than in its ambitions. Even the once fearsome cross burning has become an act of vandalism, or sometimes a public ritual or media event with a certain look of parody about it. But the trappings are reminders of a history of terror. And the hate and bloodthirst of individuals, albeit small numbers of individuals, spring from disturbing roots.

Unfortunately, the American news media, devouring the colorful and the sensational, have helped immeasurably to make the "invisible empire" more visible. The media have tended, paradoxically, both to strengthen the Klan and to exaggerate its threat. To the extent that the hooded bands make genuine news, their activities should be covered. But Klan stories have been poorly researched in all too many cases, Klan gimmickry has been swallowed whole, and Klan spokesmen allowed to issue unanswered propaganda or fanciful claims of strength. The Kluxers are secretive and unscrupulous; the media must learn to be less naive, less useful to them.

The Ku Klux Klan is not presently a national threat—nor is it likely to be. Its resurgence should be regarded as a series of warning beeps, not sirens of alarm. That is to say, it has neither the power nor the influence to wound our society as a whole, but its growing strength and the extent of its support should be taken as evidence that all is not well in the Republic.

The Klan can be neutralized if we tend to the roots from which its support grows, and it can be made to wither if its actions are countered by both good law and good sense. We must guard against injustice toward any racial groups. We must redouble our efforts to insure true equality of opportunity for minorities. At the

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## Has the KKK Duped the Press?

by Randy L. Loftis

On Saturday morning, Nov. 3, 1979, America got two very different views of the Ku Klux Klan. One view came from the press, which has been intrigued lately with the contrast between the Klan's old image of violence and its new image as a slightly emotional conservative group. The other view came from the streets of Greensboro. "Grandmother of 14 Proud to be KKK Leader," proclaimed a headline in a midwestern paper that day. And from Dallas came a story about the Klan's efforts to recruit women. Klan leaders present such stories as proof that theirs is no longer a violent, anti-social hate group.

Before noon on that day, five Communists lay dead or dying in Greensboro, and police were rounding up more than a dozen Klansmen and Nazis to face charges of first-degree murder and rioting.

The nation was surprised. But it shouldn't have been, and in the opinion of growing numbers of concerned Americans, the press shares part of the responsibility. "The press has tended to glamorize the Klan," says Dr. Joseph E. Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "They have portrayed the Klan as the great American movement, and they have not shown the ugliness. They will give more coverage to a Klan rally than to one by blacks."

That may be because many reporters and editors find the imagery of the "new" Klan irresistible, but in the process they have depicted a Klan that largely doesn't exist. The media's Klan is at once peaceful, sophisticated and articulate, and a highly organized underground military movement ready to strike. Neither image is entirely correct, but each works off the other to perpetuate myths. And it goes without saying that the press has explored only superficially the social forces at work that make the Klan seem more acceptable to the nation.

Some of the harshest criticism came in 1979 from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), which charged the press with publishing "inadequately researched Klan stories, consisting almost entirely of 'interviews' in which a Klan spokesman—most often David Duke, who specializes in duping the media—is simply allowed to spout propaganda and make fanciful claims about Klan strength without contradiction or hard questioning."

Three short case studies seem to support the ADL. From the Los Angeles *Times* (February 4, 1979):

Yes, there have been instances of violence in California, the dragons and wizards admit, including the deaths of three Klansmen, a riot and other incidents in the past year.

But "infiltrators" or "Communists" caused those, says the Klan.

And yes, they are stockpiling "legal" weapons in California and elsewhere and yes, they are reorganizing the notorious Klan guard, their military arm, but only in preparation for what Duke calls "the coming storm," the race war.

The piece skims over Communist violence, a vital point since Communists have indeed struck first several times, and Klan leaders use the attacks to fashion a blanket plea of self-defense for all Klan violence. (And is it reassuring that the Klan is arming "only" for the race war?)

From United Press International (November 11, 1979):

(Duke) holds a history degree from Louisiana State University, preaches non-violence and has his followers sign a pledge against illegal acts.

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"We don't wave machine guns at rallies," he said. "We are much larger and more powerful than any other Klan group." He is probably right. But no one keeps tabs on the Klan anymore, and most factions don't like to talk about their membership.

At the time the UPI piece was prepared, the non-violent Duke was awaiting trial on a charge of inciting to riot in Jefferson Parish, La. Moreover, the ADL keeps very close tabs on the Klan and published major reports on it in 1978 and 1979. Those reports—which the ADL sends free to reporters—never listed Duke's group as larger than Number Three, and outlined Duke's long involvement with neo-Nazis, another minor fact the reporter overlooked.

From WSPA-TV, Spartanburg, S.C. (January 29, 1980):

It seems that many of the inconsistencies about the Klan may have come about as a result of splinter groups. You see, sometimes after an organization is formed, even with good intentions, splinter groups break away from the main body and draw criticism by doing things that look like the actions of the parent body, but clearly aren't...Take instances where crosses were burned. ...

(Voice of S.C. Klan leader Robert Scoggins) "That doesn't happen within the Klan. It is absolutely against the law, our law, the state law."

Whenever a cross is found aflame, often in someone's front yard, people say it's the KKK's work. Not because they might have seen a Klansman torch the fire, because the cross is there burning. In Greensboro, when the gunfight broke out between a Klan splinter group and the Communists and Nazis, every Klan organization in the country took the blame, instead of just the few.

Where does all this lead? The Klan has succeeded, it seems, in dulling public response to its excesses. In South Carolina, for example, fewer than a dozen people wrote to the state's daily paper to comment on the Greensboro shootings. "People are more concerned about their garbage pickup," one editor said.

Dr. Fred Crawford, director of Emory University's Center for Research in Social Change, says he doubts that the Klan can achieve any real influence—but only as long as the press focuses a sharply critical eye on it. Crawford recalls an old truism, almost forgotten in the deluge of publicity about sophisticated racism: "Remember how Hitler did it? He just told the biggest lies and told them over and over, and pretty soon everybody believed them."

© by Randy L. Loftis

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same time, we must not allow necessary "affirmative action" for minorities to be twisted into quotas barring non-minority persons, particularly on the lower economic levels, from fair competition for jobs, advancement and education. In countering illegal activities of the Klan, we must encourage and support vigorous law enforcement—including a wider implementation of anti-masking laws already on the books in many states. Churches, community organizations, political parties, and business and labor groups all have a responsibility to remain vigilant against the encroachment of the Klan. The schools can aid in this effort by educating young people concerning the Klan's pernicious role in American history.

Violence breeds violence. As the Klan attacked leftist revolutionaries last year in North Carolina, so Ku Kluxers have been attacked by radical opponents. In California, Ohio, New Jersey and elsewhere, anti-Klan militants have waded into KKK demonstrations with clubs, irons bars, bricks and bottles; the victims in these cases are usually the police. The guardians and the proponents of rational order are always the losers in such confrontations, as we have seen all too often in other countries where the forces of moderation become polarized and the forces of law and civility rendered impotent in the clash of violent extremes. Perhaps the best lesson we can learn from the history of the Ku Klux Klan is this: we must cease toleration of organized violence of any kind, for armed fanaticism is just as dangerous and deadly as armed criminality.

Finally, people of good will must pay heed to the problem of the Klan—especially in those areas where it shows signs of real growth—and not simply assume that it will wither away. If there are times when the "silent treatment" is appropriate (for example, when a small handful of KKKers desperately seek publicity for recruitment purposes), there are other circumstances that cry out for unequivocal, resolute and non-violent community responses. If such a united response is not forthcoming, the Klan's power and influence may indeed grow and wreak havoc upon us all. ♦

*It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.*

—Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

# WANTED

## Employment Agencies That Don't Discriminate

By Alice Pifer

It was an eerie feeling, knowing that a fuzzy snapshot of me was being passed around the city, at hundreds of employment agencies, along with the warning not to talk to me, certainly not to hire me. It was good I didn't know about the circulating photo till afterwards, when I'd gotten the story nailed down.

At the time I was researcher for John Stossel, the Consumer Editor for New York City's Channel 2 (WCBS-TV), the CBS owned-and-operated flagship station. Over the months, Stossel had been receiving many viewer complaints about certain employment agency practices. I was asked to investigate. And so I got myself fitted for a body tape recorder and microphone, and a new name—"Alice Callahan"—and went to midtown to seek employment in no fewer than three different agencies.

The project almost came unstuck. One of my colleagues innocently gave a photo of me to the wrong person. It was a group shot showing a bunch of us celebrating the local Emmy Awards in January. The next thing we would know—a few weeks later—was that copies had been made and sent all over town. One face in the crowd—mine—had a circle drawn around it. Luckily, we finished our story before the agencies got their act together. My cover wasn't blown until the series was "in the can."

There are more than a thousand employment agencies in New York City—more per square block than in any other major metropolis. The Yellow Pages listing "Employment

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*Alice Pifer is a news producer for WCBS-TV in New York City.*

Agencies, Cont'd." runs for 20 pages—often four columns to a page. The heart of the employment agency "district" is at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.

Every day, rain or shine, thousands of people come here loaded with high hopes, clutching torn-out want-ad pages and resumes. Every night, most of them head home, discouraged, their hopes dashed, but determined to try again the next day. After all, the want ads don't lie, do they?

It's a wrenching experience, being rejected, no matter who you are. But what must it feel like knowing—as we did as a result of our investigation—that if you're a Black or a woman, you've got two strikes against you before you even come up to bat? Our investigation helped us to understand that experience.

We uncovered flagrant violations of federal, state and municipal anti-discrimination laws in most places we looked. Accusing a company of discrimination is a serious matter. We had to be absolutely, positively sure before we made any such allegations on the air. Our investigation was extensive. Here's how we went about it:

- A WCBS-TV employee, pretending to be a business executive, called a number of agencies at random, making two types of calls. In one, he said he was looking for a secretary, adding "Send no Blacks. Don't waste my time or yours." In another, he'd request a salesman, explaining, "A woman just couldn't take the pressure here. It's really a man's job." And how did the agencies respond to such blatantly discriminatory job orders? The law says they're supposed to say, "I can't accept your job order."



It's against the law. Goodbye." Half the agencies called did just that; the other half accepted the job orders, one of them even being so helpful as to tell our caller how to get around the law. More on that later.

- Several other station employees, wired up, posed as job hunters. Teams of Black and white applicants, teams of men and women applicants, fanned out through the district. (Lack of time kept us from sending out Hispanics.) They came back with evidence showing that not all applicants are treated equally.

- Finally, "Alice Callahan" went out to become a job counselor. The idea was sound: once an agency hired me, it would have to train me. And in the course of training me, if the agency was in fact discriminating against minorities and women, I would have to be let in on it. The plan was to go to several agencies, not just one; to work in each for about a week, since we assumed it would take time before being told how things really worked. Wrong. The longest I worked in any of them was three days. And in each place, without any prompting from me whatsoever, I was taught how to discriminate. No one was reluctant to show me the ropes.

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**As one employment agent described the "great secretary": "She types 80... Her steno is 100. She looks good...and she's white."**

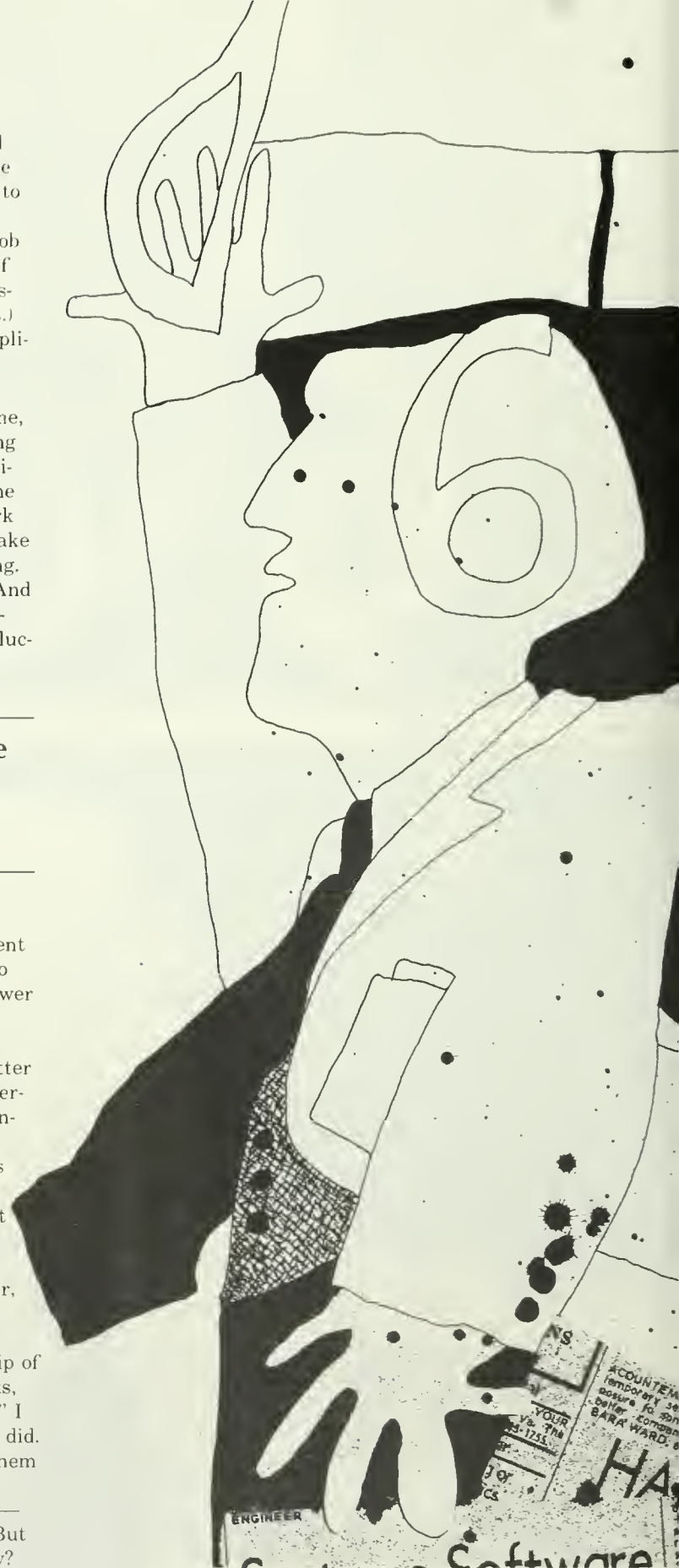
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I should explain: racial discrimination at an employment agency doesn't necessarily mean that Blacks are given no job referrals. What it means is that they're told about fewer job openings, the less desirable jobs, certainly the lower-paying ones. The prevailing attitude at the agencies I worked was that a white applicant is automatically a better candidate than a Black. Or as one employment agency person described *the* "great candidate" for a secretarial opening: "She types 80...her steno is 100. She looks good and she's got five years' excellent work experience. And she's white..."

My instructions were usually whispered to me. I'm not sure whether the whispers were due to a crisis of conscience, a fear of violating the law or of incurring Black retaliation. But whispers or not, the directions were clear, the discriminatory attitude pervasive.

At the first agency I worked, the lesson came within minutes after hanging up my coat and taking my first sip of tea. "You know something about how this business works, don't you, Alice?" my supervisor asked me. "A little bit," I answered shyly. He thereupon proceeded to make sure I did.

"You don't want them to think you're going to send them Blacks or Puerto Ricans," he said. So I was told to use "snob" descriptions like "nice type" and "well-qualified"—code words understandable to any personnel specialist. But what if someone were to ask me outright for whites only?





"Well," said he, "if it's a big company, you don't care."

Into this agency WCBS sent two white women and one Black woman to look for secretarial jobs. All three had about eight years' work experience as executive secretaries, and all had excellent skills. In fact, the Black's qualifications were even better. Both white applicants were referred to a major insurance firm, while the Black woman got no referrals.

It was at the second agency where I first heard about the "number six" gambit. "'Number six' is a minority of any sort, whether it be Chinese, Black, Spanish, or whatever," the counselor there confided in me. The push to put this code in use was not long in coming; a client of the agency's had a receptionist's opening. Before sending people over, I

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## Decisions...Decisions

If you think being an employment agency job counselor is easy, that all it takes is compassion for your fellow man—or as the case may be, woman—guess again. Or take this little test I was given at one of the agencies where I interviewed for a job as an employment counselor:

*You're working here as a job counselor. A marketing firm has a position open for an administrative assistant. The company pays well, and they have great benefits. There's a good chance for advancement and it's a pleasant place to work. And sitting right at your desk is a person who seems perfect for the job. She's worked at a marketing firm before; she has a long and excellent job history; the salary slated for this position will meet her requirements and she's available immediately. You tell her all about the job and then you call the company to tell the personnel director about her. You want to set up an interview. The personnel director says she sounds perfect in every way except she's too old. With all those years of work experience, he knows she's got to be in her forties. You push the guy, trying to convince him to see her. He's adamant. "She just won't fit in with our image. No one's over 35 here and most of us are under 30." You push one more time. "C'mon. She's great. Don't be so closed-minded. Give her a chance." He says absolutely not. Case closed. Now, what do you tell the woman?*

Palms sweaty, I wanted to pass the test. I *needed* the job for the story. So I told him what he wanted to hear:

"I'd tell the woman, 'Sorry, my mistake. Unfortunately, the job's been filled.'"

The agency manager grinned. "That's the right answer," he said, jubilantly. Then, almost conspiratorially, he confided, "Y'know, when I gave someone else the test yesterday, he actually said he'd have to report the marketing firm for age discrimination. That's the absolutely *wrong* answer. You just can't build a business that way."

And with that, he offered me the job. There was only one hitch, though. He wanted to make room for me by firing someone else.

I declined the offer and left.

—A.P.

was told, find out if the employer wants to see minorities. How can I do that, I asked. Here's what my hidden tape played back.

**AGENCY OWNER:** Why don't you just ask them, "How do you feel about minorities?"

**"CALLAHAN":** It's alright to do that?

**OWNER:** Why not?

**"CALLAHAN":** I thought maybe it was illegal or something....

**OWNER:** It *is* illegal. But if they're going to hire somebody, they'll want to know about it.

Hence the "number six." With the "six" jotted down on the application form, the placement specialist doesn't even have to see the applicant. She can tell at a glance who's white and who's not. Convenient? Indeed. Illegal? Quite.

When the WCBS employee called this particular agency saying he was looking for a white secretary, he encountered no argument. In fact, the guy who took the order even offered some gratuitous advice to our man: "If you don't want Blacks, don't admit it outright. Just say you want no 'numbers'...."

At the third agency where I worked, the owner held a training seminar on my second day there for us beginners. I was feeling optimistic. The owner acknowledged that some companies were racist in their hiring policy. But, he said, we should discourage discrimination by trying to refer *all* qualified applicants, Black or white. Ahh, I thought, the happy exception to the rule: an agency that sticks to the letter of the law.

Not quite. For all his lip service to the law, this owner also used the "number six" code. He even took the time to give us a bit of history.

**AGENCY OWNER:** What you're going to hear are the number sixes. Prior to the 1970s there was a code. It went from one to 10. One was a WASP. Nine was "gay." Six was Black. Five was Jewish. Three was Italian. Two was Puerto Rican. Some bullshit like that. Ok? The only thing that remained is Six. Will they "take a six?"

Will they "take a six?" His final instruction to us was that if the employer won't hire Blacks, don't try to change his ways. "It's going to save everybody's time." So there we sat, a group of young white people being taught the tricks of the trade by an old pro. The tradition of racism was being dutifully passed along.

But why do agencies flout the law? Here's one reason. A friend of mine, who owns an employment agency and who happens to be a law-abiding citizen, got a call one day from one of the biggest and most prestigious advertising agencies in New York City. It happened that the day of the call the final part of our series was running on the air. He recalls:

They were looking for a receptionist but stipulated no Blacks. They said a Black receptionist wouldn't fit their image. I told them I couldn't, *wouldn't* accept the order. And I was told, "C'mon, you *know* what we want. If you don't fill the job, someone else will and they'll get the commission...." Someone else did.

When it comes to sex discrimination, no code is needed. It's so rampant, so accepted by one and all, that no one thought to "teach" me the ropes. It was assumed I'd do what came naturally.

It's all terribly neat: a woman is almost always typecast as a secretary or receptionist. She's automatically given a typing test. A man, on the other hand, is told about business opportunities—for instance, sales jobs. No typing test for him. The occasional man who wants to apply for a secretarial job is looked at in disbelief, dismay, and scorn. Conventional wisdom will have it that he's gay. But should a woman ask about a position other than secretarial, she's apt to be treated as being somewhat out of touch with "reality." The stereotypes remain in full force.

Back when I was working at the first employment agency, part of my job was to call one company after another, looking for job openings that we would then be able to fill. This particular agency specialized in secretarial, receptionist and clerical jobs. I was given explicit instructions to ask about openings in the "female" employment area. Naively, I asked, "But isn't that illegal?" My supervisor didn't hesitate a second. A flat "no" was his reply.

And when our station colleague (posing as an employer) called around for that salesman, only a handful turned down the assignment. The majority indicated there would be no problem ("I'll send only men") and those who at first demurred by saying they really could not discriminate, added something to the effect of, "I think I heard what you said and I'll have no problem getting you what you want."

After I "came in from the cold," so to speak, John Stossel took a Channel 2 camera crew to call on a fourth employment agency—one to which we'd earlier sent two of our testers, a man and a woman. They were the same age and both were recent college graduates. Each expressed similar preferences—just about any kind of job just as long as there'd be opportunity for advancement.

The man was told about management trainee and sales jobs; the woman was referred to secretarial positions. When Stossel confronted the owner on camera, he explained it was all done for the sake of convenience.

**STOSSEL:** Why did you ask the woman if she could type?

**OWNER:** Because it's a pretty predominant skill for women. I think my experience dictates I'm saving time.

**STOSSEL:** Isn't it sexist not to offer her the sales job?

**OWNER:** You may consider it sexist. I certainly don't.

Attitudes like his often rob women of the chance for professional achievement and economic growth. My impression was that the owner really saw nothing wrong in his attitude, and wouldn't—not until he was slapped by a lawsuit. Even then, his attitude might not change, though his public posture might.

The employment agency industry reacted predictably. Its representatives were livid. The Association of Personnel Agencies of New York (APANY) was particularly incensed by our random sampling, claiming that only one of the culprits we exposed was a member. Thus, it argued, if every agency we investigated had been one of APANY, we wouldn't have had a story. Perhaps not. But then again, the only thing standing between an APANY member and temp-

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## XYZ Job Counselors

### Re-affirmation of Company Policies Regarding Discrimination for [XYZ] Personnel Agency and [XYZ] Temporary Service Employees.

You have been advised and are now cognizant of our long standing policy concerning placements without regard to race, color, religion, sex, age or national origin; and this statement reaffirms present company policy.

In making referrals of job-seekers and accepting orders from employers we require that neither race, color, religion, sex, age or national origin shall be a factor in selection of candidates by you. Screening of applicants is to be based upon one consideration only—merit.

Placements counselors are to code applications and orders only for appearance and personality. There must never be a code of any type on any applications, on any job orders or on any records that would indicate in any way race, color, religion, sex, age or national origin.

If this employment/temporary agency determines that any employee (placement, counselor, account representative, clerical or reception) violates company policies regarding discrimination, his position will be terminated forthwith, and it must be assumed that such discrimination by the employee was voluntary on his part and without the consent of XYZ Job Counselors.

I have read the above policies & have received a copy for my records. I hereby agree to abide by these policies.





tation is an unenforceable Code of Ethics that reads, in part, "A Personnel Agency will provide the best possible placement assistance to each and every qualified applicant, regardless of race, creed, color, age, sex or national origin."

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## Gal/guy Friday

**Assistant Producer of well known soap opera is seeking a brite, diversified candidate to act as Asst. Secretarial skills nec but not used often. Great potential for management promotion. Sal. \$215-265. Bnfts include college tuition, dental plus four day work week in summer. For info call Mr. JONES. Eves & weekends: 123-4567; days: 765-4321. XYZ Personnel (agency)—Fee Paid.**

Terrific job opening, right?

*Wrong.* Oh, the ad is genuine: it ran during the winter of 1980 in the Help Wanted section of a New York newspaper. Only the names and the telephone numbers have been changed to protect the guilty.

The job doesn't exist. It's a come-on, a ploy used by many employment agencies to bring in the bodies. You wouldn't respond to an ad offering a take-home pay of \$88 for a 40-hour week as pool typist, would you?

In the retail trade, it's called "bait 'n switch" advertising.

When John Stossel of WCBS-TV confronted the woman whose agency placed the ad, she insisted the job was very real. But to me—in my guise of "Alice Callahan," trusted job counselor—she had confided earlier that 90 percent of such jobs, including that one, were fictitious. forms needed to be filled out, etc. Then she handed me a sheet of paper, her own anti-discrimination pledge. It was much tougher than APANY's Code of Ethics. It said that screening of applicants was to be based on one consideration only—"merit." If I ignored the pledge, I would be instantly fired. As I was signing this blood oath, I was impressed and remembered telling the owner so.

"Hey," I said, "you're really serious about this, aren't you?"

The woman looked me straight in the eye, for what seemed to be a long time. At last she spoke. "What you do verbally is your business. Just don't get caught."

To be fair about it, quite often the discriminatory pressure is put on the agencies by their clients, the employers. The competition among employment agencies is so cut-throat that they sometimes face steep economic pressure. To get along, go along. After the series, we received several anonymous letters and phone calls from agency heads saying that they were really the fall guys for corporate business; that large organizations have learned to "farm out" the dirty work of discrimination. There seems to be evidence that this may be the case.

Still, what about the agencies who resist, whose owners are unequivocal in their adherence to the law, unwilling to take in someone else's dirty laundry? Like my friend's agency, which is growing despite veiled hints that it's losing business to others willing to play the game.

They're clearly in the minority. What takes place in New York City probably also takes place in Chicago, Los Angeles and all the other cities in between. Sex and race discrimination are rampant in employment; that's a given. The question that must be asked is why employment agencies aid and abet this sorry practice. And why they can do so without punishment.

The fact is that government agencies charged with policing these "job specialists" tend to look the other way. The New York City Department of Consumer Affairs (DCA), which licenses employment agencies, says it wants to do more, but in a city which is perpetually on the verge of bankruptcy, DCA says it has neither the staff nor the budget to enforce its own rules. (Under the law, agencies found practicing discrimination can either be fined or have their licenses suspended or revoked. Of course, when that happens there's not much to prevent an owner from regrouping and hanging out a new shingle.)

After our series of broadcasts, a number of agencies were charged with discrimination. Most of the cases remain to be heard. One was recently settled "out of court." The punishment: a \$200 fine and a promise, under a "consent agreement," never to do it again. It would seem that Consumer Affairs is a toothless tiger that can only growl its displeasure.

Given the threat of such "severe" punishment, something that happened to me at the end of my assignment becomes more understandable. I applied for a job at a fourth employment agency. The interview was long and grueling, but finally the owner offered me the position. She began filling me in on office procedure—what time to start work, what

Later we would learn that in a number of agencies it's a game to see who can write the "sexiest" ads. It was an office joke. Lots of laughs.

Only at one agency did the manager express any regret. He allowed that what he was doing was "clearly unethical. There's no way that I can delude myself into thinking it's not." But he still ran the phony ad.

The two agencies caught with their ads down have been charged with false and misleading advertising by the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs. Their cases will be heard this fall. Until they are, and until judgment is passed, they can continue to run ads like this, and hope they won't be caught. ♦

MEMBERS ONLY!



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# Private Clubs Under Siege

by Samuel Rabinove

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**T**he late Groucho Marx once wrote a letter to a private club where his daughter was denied swimming pool privileges with friends because she was Jewish. He asked if she might be permitted to wade in the pool up to her waist since she was only half Jewish.

Sydnee M. Schwartz, an award-winning member of the Washington, D.C., Junior Chamber of Commerce and director of its successful Soap Box Derby, was one of thousands of women nationwide expelled from the Jaycees last year. Their offense? Being born women.

Some of us, though sympathetic, might wonder why minorities are interested in such private clubs. Private clubs have long engaged in discriminatory practices in the choice of their members. Private club membership is far more than just a social lever for

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*Samuel Rabinove is Director of the Discrimination Division of the American Jewish Committee. He is author of numerous articles on civil rights issues.*

status seekers. The drive for equal employment opportunity has forced us to look more closely at private club discrimination. For there is mounting evidence that professional, business and political advancement is vitally affected by private club membership—or non-membership. Private clubs, whether social, fraternal or professional, are often seats of power, furnishing the settings for important business and political decisions. In the words of the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council, composed of the top federal banking officials:

Because business is commonly conducted at such clubs, membership prohibition may have an adverse and discriminatory effect upon the career advancement of employees who are denied equal opportunity to access either as members or guests.

The all-white, all-male Commonwealth Club in Richmond, Virginia, for example, is a popular rendezvous for state officials, lobbyists and influential members of the Virginia General Assembly. "A lot of legislative business gets done at these 'good ol boy' meals,"

said Elise B. Heinz, a state legislator from Arlington. "This means women and Black lawmakers get left out."

A national survey of 700 banks conducted last year found that 419 of them regularly pay for employee memberships in private clubs. The banks apparently feel that such memberships are beneficial to business and at a minimum cost, since the membership fees are tax deductible as a business expense. Furthermore, a 1969 California study conducted by Dr. Reed M. Powell (*The Social Milieu as a Force in Executive Promotion*), showed that corporate executives feel that their own advancement opportunities are enhanced by private club memberships. Of those surveyed, 67 percent believed such associations improved their positions with their companies and 41 percent said they had been promoted due to the aid of friends made within private clubs. For these reasons, pointed questions are increasingly being raised about the propriety of private clubs denying membership on the basis of sex, race, creed or national origin.

"Minorities," says Vilma Martinez, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund president and general

counsel, "are excluded from social clubs and as a by-product are denied an opportunity to participate in the informal decision making process that occurs in these social settings. These practices are a carry over from the days when women and minorities did not serve in decision-making leadership capacities. The perpetuation of such clubs signals that equal access in the business and commerce of this country has still not been achieved."

Christopher Jencks, in *Who Gets Ahead? The Determinants of Economic Success in America*, put it succinctly: "The impact of social class on life chances is all pervasive."

Individual examples of private club discrimination have been common knowledge for years in many communities, but documented cases are difficult to come by due to the exemption of private clubs from civil rights legislation. However, reports of discrimination by private clubs are beginning to surface, in large part due to the protests of angered victims. A private club in Ohio, for example, honored a Black athlete at a luncheon and then denied him use of its gym. A Long Island country club cancelled the new membership of a man who tried to change club rules in order to admit Blacks, Jews, and other minorities. And Native Americans have complained that the Improved Order of Red Men does not accept Indians.

Fraternal organizations, at least in part due to their community orientation, are more obvious targets for bias charges, especially from women. Such groups boast not only of their influence but also of their capacity to develop leadership capabilities. This appeals especially to women, who are relatively new to the power structure and determined to get ahead. For example, Ms. Schwartz was able to hone her management skills through the Jaycees to the point where she was able to obtain a \$27,500 a year, federal job.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce only began admitting women in 1975 as a pilot project in certain urban areas, and as many as 1,000 women joined in Massachusetts alone. Nevertheless, only three years later, the Jay-

cees' rural-dominated leadership reversed the policy and ordered its 150 chapters with women (of its 9,000 chapters) to expel them or face expulsion from the international association.

"The Jaycees has traditionally been behind the times," said Arthur Knapp, president of the Pittsburgh chapter. "It didn't admit blue collar workers until the 1940's and didn't admit Blacks until the 1960's."

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### **"Native Americans have complained that the Improved Order of Red Men does not accept Indians."**

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The Jaycees' is not the only community volunteer group that is all-male. The Kiwanis International last year rejected a resolution to admit women. And in 1978, a California Rotary Club was stripped of its international affiliation because it had allowed women to join. These groups, which pride themselves on their responsiveness to community needs, hardly reflect the fundamental national commitment to end discrimination.

Title II of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation, explicitly exempts private clubs. Even those who personally question the wisdom or justice of discriminatory admission policies uphold the legal right of clubs to discriminate on the grounds of freedom of association. What they seem to be saying is that people are entitled to socialize with whomever they choose. And *how* they choose is nobody's business. To deny this right, it is argued, is an invasion of privacy. In the words of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg in the case of *Bell v. Maryland*:

Prejudice and bigotry in any form are regrettable but it is the constitutional right of every person to close his home or club to any person or choose his social intimates and business partners solely on the basis of personal prejudices, including race.

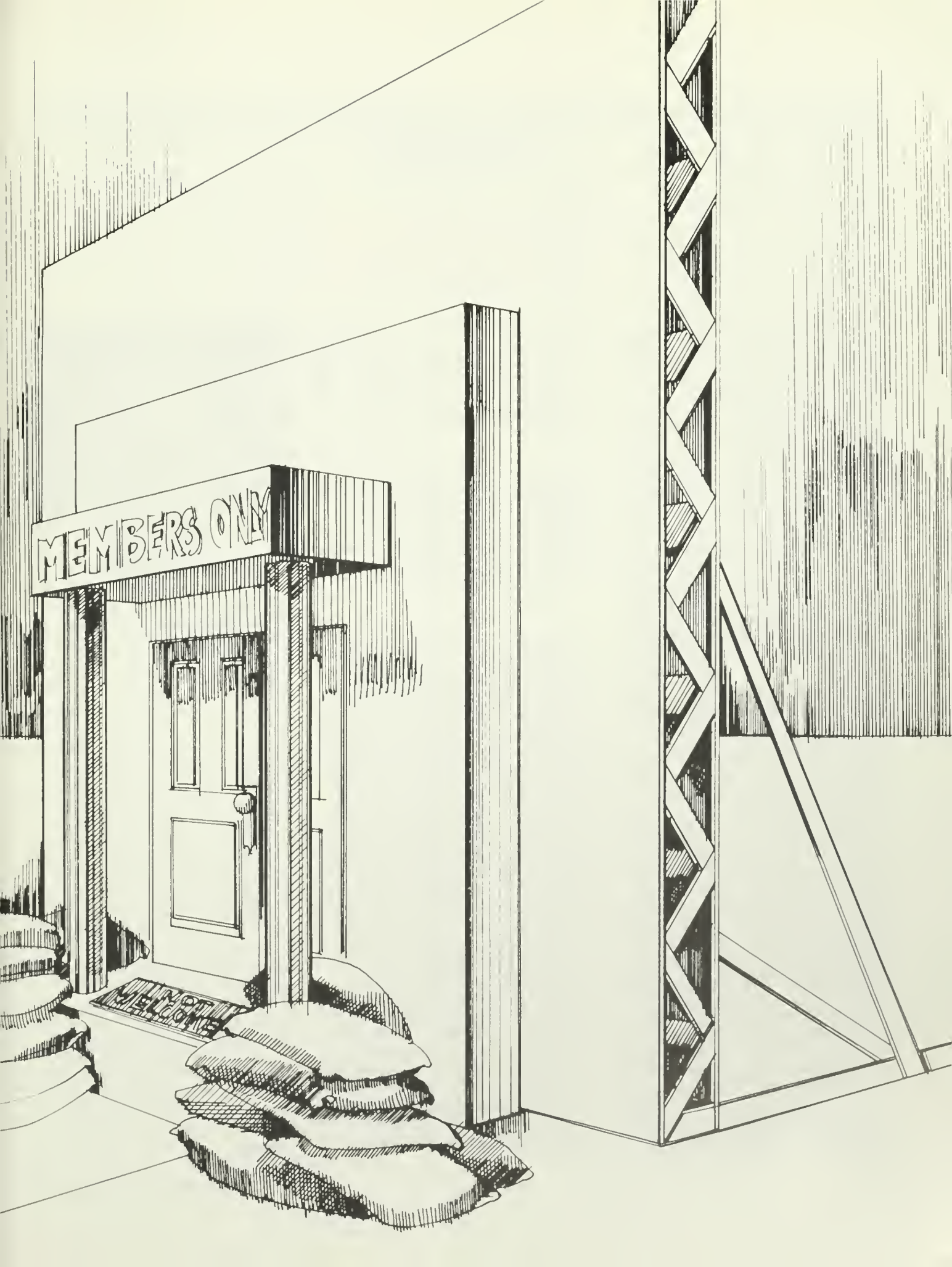
These and other rights pertaining to privacy and private association are themselves constitutionally protected liberties.

Goldberg's opinion notwithstanding, the legality of private club discrimination is now being questioned on at least two fronts. First, it is argued that many of these clubs are not actually private and therefore, should be subject to Title II restrictions. And second, citizens are beginning to question whether the government can, in effect, condone private club discrimination by granting liquor licenses, zoning variances and preferential tax treatment or tax deduction of dues as business expenses.

The Jaycees, for one, contend that they are a private organization, although they do confess to practicing discrimination. "Perhaps we do discriminate against women," said Barry Kennedy, former international president who reversed the Jaycees' 1975 decision to admit women. "But we also discriminate against men not in the age bracket covered by our bylaws (Jaycees must be 18 to 35). Just about every organization discriminates against something."

Former women members, however, argue that the Jaycees is not private, although the Supreme Court has held such groups to be private under federal law. It is, they say, a quasi-public organization, and as such should be legally prohibited from discriminating on the basis of sex. They note that, related to its community service, there are links between the Jaycees and federal, state and local programs. Before the 1978 order to evict women, says their attorney Danielle deBenedictis, the Jaycees was a conduit for federal funds on the local level. It used federal and state funds and Federal Aviation Administration instructors to run flying courses in Alaska. It also coordinates the annual Cherry Blossom Parade in Washington, D.C. The Jaycees have not accepted federal funds since mid-1978, but deBenedictis claims the public ties are still there.

Female former members have initiated suits against the Jaycees in Alaska, Massachusetts, Minnesota and



Washington, D.C. Civil rights commissions in Massachusetts and Minnesota have ordered the Jaycees to eliminate its membership bias. In Duarte, California, an expelled Rotary Club has sued its international headquarters on the grounds that the male-only restriction violates the state constitution. State purview of private clubs is also the issue in the Minnesota case, which is now before that state's highest court. "The Jaycees says it wants them (women) to be only associate members, without being allowed to vote or hold office," said deBenedictis. "That is a real 'back of the bus' argument!"

Whatever the outcome in court, pressure is mounting on private clubs via federal, state and local administrative-level actions. California Governor Jerry Brown signed a bill last fall to prohibit use of state funds to pay memberships in discriminatory clubs. South Carolina barred the use of state funds for official functions at such clubs in 1978. The New York Legislature is considering prohibiting bias by any group dependent upon business, trade or professional affiliation. And the New York City Council is now considering a bill that would prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, sex or religion by private clubs, "where a significant portion of the membership conducts or engages in business." Finally, New York Governor Hugh L. Carey recently prohibited state officials from conducting state business at private clubs that exclude women from full membership.

Private clubs are also vulnerable to attack in the area of membership dues paid by companies, primarily because these monies are often a vital source of income for these clubs. The U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) has postponed barring federal contractors from paying employee dues in discriminatory clubs if such membership gives them unfair advancement advantages. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has suggested that this ruling be absolute rather than conditional. And it is supported in this by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an umbrella organization for 157 civil rights groups.

The Leadership Conference goes a step further by pointing out that Executive Order 11246 prohibits discrimination "in rates of pay or other forms of compensation," and it maintains that membership dues in private clubs are obviously just another form of compensation.

Even the proposed conditional OFCCP rule, however, would strain many private clubs. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the elite Duquesne Club in Pittsburgh, which is heavily subsidized by companies that are Federal contractors, recently allowed women to join after 99 years of all-male membership. And other clubs may follow this example.

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### **"How would you like to be arguing a civil rights case in (a court where) the judge takes his lunch break at a segregated club?"**

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The claim of membership dues as tax deductions by businesses and individuals is increasingly being scrutinized by all levels of government. The New York City Council ordinance would prohibit discrimination by clubs that derive 20 percent or more of their dues from members who deduct them or are reimbursed for them. Private clubs that receive preferential tax treatment or exemptions can lose that status if they discriminate. Internal Revenue Service rules prohibit tax exemptions for groups that discriminate on the basis of race, but not sex. Maryland bars tax benefits to organizations that practice bias in race, sex, religion or national origin. And Maine, taking a somewhat different approach, prohibits clubs with liquor licenses from withholding membership because of race, religion or nationality. Proven religious and ethnic clubs are exempted.

Unfortunately, prominent Americans continue to hold memberships in discriminatory private clubs. At best, these individuals set a poor example for the rest of the country. But at worst, the administration of justice in

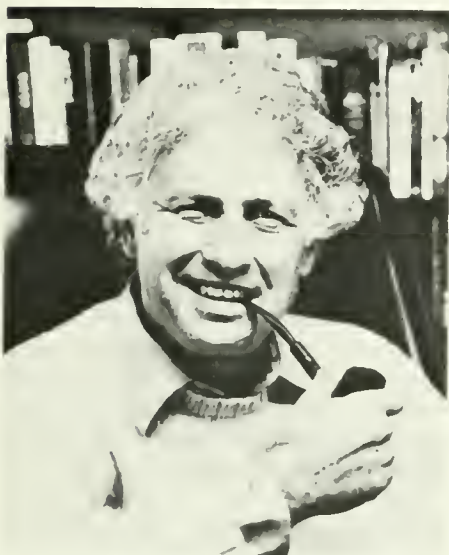
our society may be threatened. As National Urban League president Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. declared a year ago: "A large majority of federal judges in the South belong to whites-only clubs. And half of the federal judges in Los Angeles, Chicago, St. Louis and Baltimore are members. How would you like to be arguing a civil rights case in their courts, while the judge takes his lunch break at a segregated club?"

M.D. Taracido, president and general counsel of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, adds that "Judges who belong to organizations and clubs that discriminate violate the letter and spirit of (the law). It is clear that membership by judges in all-white clubs undermines the appearance of impartiality of the judiciary...persons who assert they have been discriminated against cannot help but believe the court favors those charged with that discrimination."

The American Jewish Committee and the NAACP have called on all local public officials to resign from discriminatory private clubs. "Public officials are expected to deliver equal justice for all in the exercise of their duties," said a joint statement. "For them to behave otherwise in their private lives casts doubt upon the depth of their commitment." Prompted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, federal nominees for judgeships and many sitting judges have resigned from all-white clubs. Prominent exceptions remain, however, such as U.S. Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. and Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., chief judge of the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, who retain membership in the Commonwealth Club in Richmond.

Whether the approach is legal, financial or unofficial and official social pressure, the goal is to open up private clubs and to make their benefits available to minorities and women. The attack continues on discrimination by private clubs because their members include doctors, lawyers, bankers and other community leaders who mold opinion and lend respectability to bias. When they unabashedly practice discrimination, there is likely to be a spill-over effect into other sectors of society.◆

### The Epiphany of Charlie Silberman



In late 1961, nearly four years before the explosion in Watts—that harbinger of what would befall Chicago, San Francisco, Newark, New York, Detroit and other northern cities—Charles E. Silberman had his epiphany. Only he didn't know it at the time.

He was starting work on an article scheduled for the March 1962 issue of *Fortune* Magazine. He was 37 years old, a senior editor specializing in economics. Des Moines-born and raised on Manhattan's liberal West Side (PS 166, DeWitt Clinton High, Columbia), he'd come to Time Inc. in 1953 from the Columbia economics faculty. Now in 1961, Silberman, a World War II veteran (20 months on a minesweeper in the Pacific), married and father of four boys, found himself grappling with an issue that soon would become an obsession. Namely, the failure of his own white society to fully understand, much less recognize, the scope and depth of pent-up Black rage.

Sixteen years later, that epiphany would result in one of the most important (and oft-quoted) books of the 1970's—*Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*. On publication, this book—in some respects a sequel to his earlier (1964) *Crisis In Black and White*—would shatter a number of comfortable myths about crime and punishment, most notably, race-related crime and punishment.

*Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* would take six years to research, and more than a half million dollars of funding by The Ford Foundation, which originally had figured it could be done in under three years. The book was conceived, he says, "to get Americans to change their attitudes about criminals, crime and the criminal justice system." One of the principal objections, he adds,

was "to change the way they think about race, ethnicity, poverty and social class."

To the white power structure, the book was particularly unsettling because it pointed out—with much documentation—that "all the arguments about 'liberal permissiveness' are rooted in ideological preference rather than empirical research." Wrote Silberman: "The uncomfortable fact is that the police simply don't know what to do to reduce crime, and the more knowledgeable officials even question if anything can be done by them." Silberman's empirical research, which would take him all over the U.S.—into courts, police stations and jails—demolished the prevailing attitude that the courts were too lenient and that recent judicial decisions protecting defendants' rights had made it easier for a criminal to go scot-free.

No one was left particularly happy with the tone of *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*. "There is no escaping the question of race and crime," he wrote. "It is impossible to talk honestly about the role of race in American life today without offending and angering both whites and Blacks—and Hispanic browns and Native American reds as well. The truth is too terrible on all sides. And we are all accustomed to the soothing euphemisms and inflammatory rhetoric with which the subject is cloaked...."

"Unless we comprehend the reasons why young Blacks commit so many acts of criminal violence, we're not likely to find effective remedies. But to excuse violence because Black offenders are victims of poverty and discrimination is racism of the most virulent sort.... As [Washington *Post*] columnist William Raspberry says, "There is no surer expression of superiority than to treat people as victims, nor no more crippling an

attitude than to think of yourself primarily as a victim.” (Silberman made the point earlier in *Crisis In Black and White*, in discussing the “two Negro Problems”—the white man’s, largely dealt with legislatively, and the Black man’s, which could not be as easily remedied. “After living for 350 years with the white man’s Negro Problem, the Black is convinced that ‘whitey-won’t-let-me-make it.’ It’s his affliction as well as his crutch....”)

Back in 1961, as Silberman set out on his odyssey, Time Inc. was hardly an equal opportunity employer. And *Fortune*, launched in the depth of the Great Depression, still saw itself as the voice of the poor, downtrodden WASP tycoon. Its editors had never made a secret of *Fortune’s* pro-capitalist bias or of its impatience with “social experimenters.” Yet, amazingly, early the next year, they ran Silberman’s bellwether “The City and the Negro.” That article predicted that when—not if, but *when*—America’s Northern cities blew, the cause would not be urban rot or political mismanagement but racial myopia. It would take another six years for Lyndon Johnson’s Kerner Commission to reach the same conclusion.

For Silberman, the piece had immediate results. David Brumbaugh, then executive vice president of Time Inc., circulated galley proofs of the piece to every Time Inc. department head and demanded to know how many Blacks each employed. Compliance with the principles that would later be incorporated into EEOC guidelines on Black employment began as early as 1963.

Today, in the autumn of 1980, the 55-year old author ruminates about the latest “urban unrest”—in Miami, Orlando and Chattanooga—and recalls what happened next. “The trouble with a magazine piece is that not enough people see

it. So that’s when The Ford Foundation came up with \$25,000 to have me expand it into a full-length book.” After a two-year leave of absence from *Fortune*, Silberman produced *Crisis In Black and White*—one of the first thorough looks at the seething cauldron of Black anger about to boil over. He was applauded by Black nationalists, condemned by Black intellectuals and white liberals alike. For example, *The Nation* accused him of spreading false fire alarms. “That issue of *The Nation* hit the newsstand two days after Harlem went up in smoke,” he remembers.

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### “For whites, Watts was a watershed event, as it would also be for Blacks.”

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And so, the following year, just after Watts, Silberman weighed in with a sequel to his 1962 article, this one titled “Beware The Day They Change Their Minds”—which might well have been subtitled, “See, We Told You So.” The title came from a 1943 Langston Hughes poem written just after a Georgia mob had nearly lynched the great Black tenor, Roland Hayes:

Negroes,  
Sweet and docile,  
Meek, humble and kind  
Beware the day  
They change their mind  
Wind  
in the cotton fields,  
Gentle breeze:  
Beware the hour  
It uproots trees!

For whites, Watts was a watershed event, as it would also be for Blacks.

The phrase that began appearing with alarming frequency in the news media was “Negro Revolution.” On the other side of town, says Silberman, Blacks discovered fear could be a two-way street. “After more than 300 years of bowing and scraping, of ‘smilin’ whitey to death,’ of enduring unspeakable insult, humiliation and embarrassment without regard to individual merit; of being forced to take servile jobs and having to be servile, of being patronized and denied recognition as human beings, they discovered ‘Black Power.’ Now it was whitey’s turn to step off the curb when he saw Blacks heading his way, three abreast....”

He adds, “Even today, light years later, it’s hard to overestimate what an extraordinarily liberating force this recognition turned out to be.” But it would be costly, not just to the nation’s pocketbook but to its psyche as well. “Instead of being cathartic, the expression of anger turned cumulative. Instead of being dissipated, it began feeding on itself. The more anger came out, the more there was to come out.”

For the next few years, the “race thing” was put on Silberman’s back burner. On returning to *Fortune* from his book-writing sabbatical, he was detached by Time Inc. to draft a long-range planning document on the future of American education—an assignment that led, in July 1966, to his being “borrowed” for four years by The Carnegie Corporation to “study the education of America’s educators.” Out of this assignment emerged Silberman’s second “crisis” book—*Crisis in the Classroom*. Some of his findings made front-page news all over the country. The book also ushered in “a deluge of tempting offers” to head up schools, universities and foundations, none of which he accepted.



"I am a writer, not an administrator," he said at the time and he returned to *Fortune*. But not for long.

At a dinner party in early 1971, he got to talking with his namesake (but no relation) James Silberman, then editor-in-chief of Random House, and publisher Robert Bernstein. The latter, deeply committed to human and civil rights, was particularly concerned about the shibboleths of law-and-order then coming out of Richard Nixon's Justice Department. "One thing led to another," the two Silbermans\* signed a contract, and once again, The Ford Foundation was willing to become involved. It set up The Study of Law & Justice project, named Charles Silberman its head, and began funneling what would eventually exceed \$500,000 into the project over the next six years.

Having explored the pent-up Black anger in the first *Crisis* book, Silberman now made the crucial connection to the so-called "Negro Crime Wave." To do so, he had to delve deeply into a part of the Black past that no white writer had ever explored: Negro folklore. "Sure, I'd probed beneath the classic Negro 'mask of civility,' but not until I cut through the Black rhetoric was I able to confront the *rationale*. I knew that I certainly wasn't going to learn much more from rapping with Blacks on street-corners. I had to start 'thinking Black.'" On the advice of such friends as Ralph (*Invisible Man*) Ellison, Prof. Hylan Lewis of Brooklyn College, Dr. Pauli Murray of the Virginia Theological Seminary and others, Silber-

man began reading "and experiencing" what was there all the time—Black written history, literature, drama, folklore, blues. "It was a matter of developing a new perspective on an age-old problem, the Black's 'Negro Problem'."

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**"Had the Blacks not had the guts to withstand the daily diet of institutionalized abuse, the United States would have gone up in smoke long ago."**

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He defends the misconceptions of Daniel P. Moynihan's and Nathan Glazer's *Beyond The Melting Pot*, which for so many years blinded the white society to what really infuriated the Negro. "People nowadays come down hard on Pat for having declared 'the Negro is only an American and nothing else,' that 'he has no values and culture to protect.' Theirs was the prevailing scholarly wisdom and flourished because, in order to survive all these years, the Negro had artfully kept throttled and hidden from white folks the fact that Blacks had their own culture, their own vocabulary, values and folklore, ethos and lifestyle. How else to explain the tremendous public outpouring after TV aired Alex Haley's *Roots*?"

Writing the most controversial chapter of *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* took Silberman a total of almost eight months: "I knew what I had to work with. The difficulty was to write it in such a way that I would not offend Black sensibilities. It was *very* slow going."

In his early writings, James Baldwin declared that "to be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is

to be in a rage almost all the time." Silberman stretched that observation by defining the ability to control that rage "a non-suicidal form of courage in the ninth degree. There's just no other way of describing it. Had the Blacks not had the guts to withstand this daily diet of institutionalized abuse, the United States would have gone up in smoke long ago." The way they did so was to dip into their own folklore, to indulge in *dreams* of revenge but not to exercise them, to toy with the white stereotype of the 'bad nigger' but never to let the genie out of the bottle."

Ultimately, the cork blew, just as Silberman knew it would. "One didn't have to be a genius. All one had to do was read between the lines."

These days, Silberman's prophecies have long since become staples in the nation's news diet. Still, the May, 1980 uprising in Miami's Liberty City shocked even him. "I think it's possibly the first time in the history of American 'race riots' that Blacks lusted after whites with murder in their hearts. That this should happen in the South is especially significant. This business of assaulting and mutilating white teenagers driving through the ghetto, of running over and over drivers yanked out of their cars, is something altogether new and chilling. It should warn us about the new sense of hopelessness and desperation pervading the Black community, especially among Black youth.

"Up to now, in most other uprisings, the casualties have been mainly Black—rioters and bystanders—and only occasionally, white cops. In Watts, for example, of the 34 killed, only one was a white cop. A white fireman was killed when a wall collapsed. Most of the fatalities were Blacks, shot by the National Guard.

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\* James Silberman left Random House in 1977 to establish his own Summit Books imprint at Simon & Schuster; Charles Silberman followed in 1979 and his forthcoming look at the changing position of Jews in American society will be published in 1982.

"The New York City uprising during the 1977 power blackout barely touched whites. Whatever spillover took place outside of the ghetto was incidental. When looters tore apart a Black haberdashery on Manhattan's West Side that had catered to the Black middle class, the owner confronted one of the rioters. 'Why us, man?' 'Because,' he was told, 'your bourgie customers drive up in their Mercedes and think we're s--- because we ain't got nothin.' Well, we're gettin' somethin'."

Miami was different also in other respects. "They didn't riot for the old reasons, to get attention, to effect social change. The kids know better. They know reconstruction financing doesn't create jobs that last. And they know the Cubans are there to stay."

That, of course, is a new element: "The fact that just when the Blacks feel it's their turn, along comes a new minority the white folks are more eager to serve. Down, down goes the Black, back to square one."

"Statistics show that the arrest and imprisonment rates for Blacks are three to four times higher than those for Hispanics in New York City, San Antonio, San Diego and other cities where the two minorities co-exist in large numbers. Why? Well, one reason is quite obvious. To be poor and Black is different from being poor and Puerto Rican, or poor and Cuban, or poor and Vietnamese, or poor and a member of any other ethnic group."

He reminds us that of all the immigrant groups that make up the U.S. population, only the Blacks came here in chains. "Every other group came here voluntarily, often illegally. Only the Blacks had to be beaten into submission before they made the crossing, and they've never forgotten it. Violence has

thus been an intrinsic part of the 'Black American Experience.' Black," he adds, "may be beautiful, but it's also painful as hell."

In its wake, the Miami riots left 16 dead, 350 wounded and more than \$100 million in property damage. It was, says Silberman, "more like Sampson shaking the temple and bringing it crashing down. The fact that Blacks violated the age-old Southern taboo against killing whites left no doubt that this time they were seeking vengeance as well as self-destruction. A death-wish, if you will."

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## Several big city police departments are "aberrations, atypical instances of where the police leadership has countenanced racial brutality."

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He adds, "This time the Miami cops obliged them by becoming as lawless as they," raising anew in his mind the thematic question of *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*: "Are we asking more of the criminal justice system than it is able to deliver?"

A rhetorical question, Silberman admits. "The institutions of criminal justice can't bear the entire burden of social control. The ultimate source of order isn't coercion, isn't punishment, but voluntary, automatic and often-unconscious compliance." In other words, community control.

According to Silberman, one of the elements leading to the erosion of community control was when the Black middle class grew fearful of the young street-lords and decamped to integrate other parts of the town and the suburbs.

As it left, no new countervailing forces came in to provide cohesion and hope. Now, of course, it's up to those who are left to exert leadership. Silberman believes "they will not accept outside controls, and will resent even the attempt to 'do right' by the Blacks. This is a new breed. They may not be able to express it, but they see outside interference as perpetuating their sense of impotence and powerlessness that are both the cause and effect of poverty. It's awfully hard being independent when you're the perennial recipient and the other fellow, especially if he's white, the magnanimous donor.

"So when the President tells the Miami Blacks—and the rest of the Blacks—"look at the way we responded to your cries," citing making groceries available at 30 percent less than supermarket prices, or sending in the Attorney General to shut the barn door after the horse has gotten out, he's perceived as being as powerless as they."

Which brings us back to the police. Silberman declines to issue a blanket condemnation. "All that Miami proved, again, was that when deadly force comes into play, it's usually the result of individual brutality and not an institutional response." Actually, he is surprised that on a nationwide basis there is as little police violence as has been reported, "so few instances of what James Q. Wilson has labeled 'curbstone justice.'"

The police departments in several major metropolitan areas, he insists, are "aberrations, atypical instances of where the police leadership has countenanced racial brutality. In one, deadly force is a para-military, professional byproduct of a departmental spit-and-polish mentality, of law enforcement 'by the book' without fear or favor. We found, in our research,

that Black cops in that city are often more brutal with their own than white cops. In heavily-Black Oakland and in New York City, which in my mind have the best police departments in the country, whatever incidents are reported are clearly those involving cops and not a department out of control."

He adds, "This business of crying 'racism' tends to get overblown at times and simply doesn't hold up in light of the documented evidence."

In fact, Silberman admires the "extraordinary artistry" in police work. "A good cop has got to have tremendous verbal ability, a sense of bullshit if you insist, to be able to talk people into dropping their guns while, at the same time, not hesitating to shoot to kill."

If there is a problem in law enforcement that hasn't been fully aired, he goes on, "it's in the public perception of the cop as centurion. Because they deal with the 'underclass,' and do all of the dirty work that is part and parcel of policing, police are perceived by much of the public as being part of that world. As Rodney Dangerfield says, 'they get no respect,' and they don't expect it so they demand more money. Salary to them becomes a matter of 'respect.'"

"Rookie cops learn fast. They don't have to be taught that nowadays, when they're approached by the public, they're apt to have to give something in return. They know the public—decent people otherwise—will lie to them. So the cops tend to see things in stark black-and-white terms, a world made up of good and bad people, mostly bad. Educated people don't want to become cops. They don't want to do this kind of 'dirty work', not because it's beneath their dignity but because educated people abhor the use of deadly force. So who's left to play cop?"

Silberman is equally outspoken about prosecutors. "To begin with, most prosecutors tend to be recent law school graduates, out to make a reputation for themselves as dragon slayers. They patronize cops, view them as 'noble savages' rather than what they are, members of the middle class trying to do a job. They make little attempt to understand the police perspective, and the cops resent it. They know they'll be there to lay down their lives long after the young prosecutors have cashed in their public service experience for lucrative law partnerships."

He admits, "Of course, it's always easier to single out the renegade cop than to fault the system that puts them in the untenable position of having to make those split-second decisions, in which quite often—too often, I'm afraid—the wrong decision can be fatal to them or to innocent bystanders."

"Forget 'better policing,' 'more efficient courts,' 'improved correctional procedures,'" concludes Silberman. "The development of more effective *social* controls in poor communities *by the people who live there* can, if given a chance, provide a far larger pay-off in reduced crime and improved social order."

The operative phrase is "if given a chance." Such programs, working as they are right now in such diverse communities as the South Bronx, East St. Louis, Palo Alto and San Juan, may not sell as many newspapers as banner headlines of "RACE RIOT," but, as he says, "at least it's a start..." ♦

F.P.M.



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# Holy Day by Nat Hentoff Graduation<sup>or</sup> Day In Fairfax County

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Until the spring of 1980, Susan and Lynn Stein were not what might be called public figures. Seniors at the W.T. Woodson High School in Fairfax County, Virginia, they were bright (straight A average), shy, and religious. Lynn and Susan are Jews who hold, as they put it, Orthodox views. That is, their practices are more traditional, including the use of certain rituals, than those of Conservative and Reform Jews. On the other hand, there are Orthodox Jews who would consider the Stein sisters somewhat wanting in piety because they attend a public rather than a religious school.

In any case, the young women take their faith very seriously—including the sanctity of the Sabbath which, for Jews, is Saturday. On that day, Isaiah emphasized to Biblical Jews: "Go not your ways or look to your affairs." Saturday is to be spent in the synagogue and at home. Or, as Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel explained in this century: "It is a day when we are called upon to share in what is eternal in time, to turn away from the results of creation to the mystery of creation; from the world of creation to the creation of the world."

Toward the end of 1979, the Stein sisters discovered that their class would be graduating on June 7, 1980—a Saturday. For them to attend would be to desecrate the Sabbath. And so they petitioned for a change in date.

The principal of the high school turned them down. So did the Superintendent of Schools for Fairfax County. And finally, on February 22, the county school board also declared that the commencement date was immovable. The reason: "administrative convenience." Until 1978, graduation exercises had taken place on Sunday night; but the change to Saturday morning, the school authorities explained, had been necessary because the large number of school employees who helped with commencement didn't want to break their weekend Sunday afternoon in order to prepare for graduation that night.

There was another, unofficial reason. In the past, some of the seniors had tended to start celebrating early, and by the

Sunday night ceremonies, they were rowdily inebriated. So, the official theory went, there was a far better chance the young scholars would be sober at ten o'clock on a Saturday morning. But why not hold the exercises at ten o'clock on *Sunday* morning? Ah, that was impossible. There had been never been a public school commencement in Fairfax County on a Sunday because such secular exercises would interfere with the religious observances of the vast majority of the students and their parents. *Christian* religious observances.

Anyway, said the then chairman of the school board, Rodney F. Page, it would make no sense to change the date for just "an ordinary [Jewish] Sabbath." Mr. Page, ignorant of the Jewish faith, obviously did not know that no Jewish Sabbath is "ordinary." So holy is that period from sunset on Friday to nightfall on Saturday that theologian Rabbi Morris Kertzer has pointed out that "Jewish spiritual history" has been "virtually a series of weekdays spent in preparation for the Sabbath."

At this point, the Stein sisters felt their only recourse was to bring the school board to court. It was then that Lynn and Susan became highly controversial public figures—first in Fairfax County and the Washington, D.C. area, and then around the country. A good many non-Jews felt that these young women were being arrogantly contemptuous of the will and desires of the majority. As a fellow student put it in the high school newspaper: "Two Orthodox Jews have decided they want to change the plans, schedule and costs of the graduation ceremony for thousands of Fairfax County high school seniors by imposing their personal religious beliefs on the public school system."

Susan and Lynn, however, were more knowledgeable about the Bill of Rights than their critics. James Madison, principal architect of the first and foremost of the amendments that make up the Bill of Rights, had stressed that in this new nation, the greatest danger to liberty is to be found "in the body of the people, *Operating by the majority against the minority.*" (Emphasis added). That's why certain basic liberties were not to be subject to the will of the majority, either by vote or in any other way. One of them was religious freedom.

It was on the First Amendment that lawyers for the sisters focused in their arguments. It contains two clauses concerning religion. First, there shall be "no law respecting an

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establishment of religion." The state cannot support or, in any manner, show partiality to any particular religion. Or, as Thomas Jefferson put it, there must be "a wall of separation between Church and State." The Stein sisters' lawyers largely bypassed this "establishment clause." Unwisely, in my view, because a case could be made that the school board, as an agent of the state, was discriminating against the Stein sisters and was aiding Christianity by refusing to ever hold public school graduation exercises on a Sunday.

It was on the second clause, however, that the law suit was based. It forbids any law "prohibiting the free exercise of religion." And historically, it was in Virginia itself, more than in any of the other original states, that this freedom to worship—or not to worship—without any interference by the state was most intensely fought for. Indeed, the Virginia state constitution, in a section written by Madison and Jefferson, proclaims that no one "shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions and belief."

Yet here, in Virginia, were two young women clearly suffering because in adhering to their religious beliefs they were being penalized by a school board which had scheduled graduation exercises on their sabbath.

There is a considerable body of case law based on the "free exercise" clause. Court decisions, for example, on employment discrimination against Orthodox Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh Day Adventists, as well as legal conflicts over whether unemployment compensation should be denied to these and other Saturday keepers of the Sabbath who refuse to work on that day. Sometimes these Sabbatarians have won, and sometimes they have lost. (See Leo Pfeffer's "Sabbatarians and the Courts," *Civil Rights Digest*, Volume II, Number 3, Spring, 1979. Also, *Religious Discrimination: A Neglected Issue / A Consultation Sponsored by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Washington D.C., April 9-10, 1979.*)

But the case brought by Lynn and Susan Stein was one of "first impression." Nobody before had claimed that the constitutionally guaranteed "free exercise" of religion extended to forcing a change in graduation exercises so as not to conflict with the holiest of Jewish holy days. The sisters, through their lawyers, emphasized that this was a most substantial conflict. Commencement after all, is a once-in-a-lifetime event, "sponsored and offered by the state as a privilege and significant benefit" to public school graduates.

To be sure, attendance is voluntary, but these ceremonies "are an integral part of the educational process," constituting "the culmination of four years' work and study" and marking "the commencement of a new phase in their lives."

On April 24, Judge Thomas Middleton of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County expressed considerable sympathy with these arguments. And he made clear that if there were indeed a conflict between the First Amendment and what school officials claimed to be "administrative convenience" when they shifted the date to Saturday morning, "administrative convenience" would have to yield.

But, the judge continued, this is *not* a First Amendment case because to prove a violation of the right freely to exer-

cise one's religious beliefs, you have to show some sort of state *compulsion*. That is, if the state had ordered the Stein sisters to attend graduation, or else forfeit their diplomas, they would have cause for relief. In this case, Judge Middleton pointed out, there had been no state compulsion. There is no penalty at all for not attending commencement. The sisters would forfeit that once-in-a-lifetime experience, but that would be their choice. No one forced them, under official penalty to make that choice.

The sisters' lawyers went on to ask the Supreme Court of Virginia to review the case. With undiminished fervor, they argued that even if there were no compulsion by way of a particular state law, "free exercise" of religion can be violated if the pressures brought by agents of the state are so severe as to be equivalent in impact to statutory compulsion. Is it not coercion, even without a statute, the lawyers said, to force these young women to choose between desecrating their Sabbath and attending the only high school graduation they will have in their lives?

The Supreme Court of Virginia refused to review the case.

Meanwhile, the Steins' battle to have both their holy day and graduation too had been receiving increasing coverage in newspapers, on radio and on television. Majority opinion was against them. Lynn and Susan wanted to "inconvenience" too many people. Nor were all Jews on the side of the Steins. Said a lawyer I interviewed in New York: "You got to bend. After all, they let us into their Christian country. I mean there may have been different sects, but they were all Christian from the beginning. Believe me, I know what it's like to bend. I grew up in one of the three Jewish families in a small town in the Midwest. I learned. So should the Stein sisters. Either go to the graduation, or don't go. But shut up about it."

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**"We cannot be ashamed for being different and for asking that our differences be accommodated when reasonably practicable."**

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The Stein sisters refused to bend. On May 19, speaking to the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, they recalled that on the Jewish Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur, "We ask forgiveness for wronging our neighbor, for denying and lying, and for other transgressions against other persons and God. But this year, we feel that something new should be added—forgiveness for being ashamed, ashamed of who and what we are.

"Because there are so many different kinds of people in our diverse society, it is even more important that each individual retain his own identity and speak out when it is being offended....We cannot be ashamed for being different and for asking that our differences be accommodated when reasonably practicable. Next Yom Kippur then, we [all of us] should ask ourselves: Have we been ashamed? Ashamed of being different? Ashamed of being an individual?"

Ashamed of going against conformity? Ashamed of standing up for what we believe? Ashamed of who and what we are? Ashamed of being a Jew?

"These are things to be proud of. The *only* thing to be ashamed of—is being ashamed."

There were those, meanwhile, who admired the courage of the Stein sisters but thought them wrong-headed in terms of the Constitution. Ira Glasser, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out that if the young women were to win a court order prohibiting graduation exercises on a Saturday, they would be violating the "establishment" clause because thereby, Judaism would have been aided by the state. But, Glasser was told, the state now favors Christianity in Virginia by not having public school commencements, on Sundays. Ah, Glasser answered, but two wrongs do not make a Constitutional right.

The main lawyer for the sisters resolved the problem in a way that also satisfied Glasser. "We are not asking for that kind of court order," said Michael Hausfeld. "We say that graduation is part of the curriculum and the school curriculum operates from Monday to Friday. The ceremonies can be scheduled within that period of time, with no religion being encouraged over another."

There was more involved, however, than constitutional law. The stiff-necked attitude of the school officials disturbed some observers. R. Bruce Poynter, chaplain at American University in Washington, asked the Fairfax Superintendent of Schools: "What do we teach our children by refusing to grant the petition of these students?...When we demonstrate this kind of insensitivity, we not only cause real injury and offense to the persons immediately concerned, but further state to the entire community that such insensitivity is not an important matter to us."

Some of the students at W.T. Woodson High School got that very message. There were more than intimations of anti-Semitism, particularly directed against the sisters' ninth-grade brother. ("When they see him in the library," Lynn Stein told me, "some of them make a loud point of looking up 'Jew' in the dictionary and adding some choice definitions").

"Another sad thing," said Susan, "is that some of the people I really respected—students I thought were so smart—were so ignorant about what we were fighting for. They said such silly things, as if they had never learned that even a minority of one has certain basic rights. They didn't even know that people our age have a right to go to court on something like this. And even after we went to court, because there was nowhere else to go, they still didn't think we had a right to. Some were quite angry that we did such a thing."

Having been so poorly educated in the fundamental liberties they themselves share with all Americans, the students at the W.T. Woodson High School were given no opportunity to get remedial help from this ongoing, intensely controversial case. Silence about the Steins was the mandated rule in the classrooms—rather than student research on the history of religious freedom, and vigorous courtroom-like debates. So the students, including the seniors, ended up as

illiterate concerning the First Amendment as they had been at the beginning of the furor.

After the Supreme Court of Virginia had ruled against the sisters, their lawyers had one long-shot chance to get the graduation date changed before June 7. Pending a decision by the United States Supreme Court as a whole, as to whether it would review the case, it might have been possible to try to get one of the Justices to stay the graduation ceremonies on the basis that were the Steins eventually to win, the victory would be hollow if they had already missed their graduation.

The lawyers finally decided not to try that route because there had been repeated threats of violence from some of the students if the date were indeed changed. Furthermore, it had been learned that there would surely be jeering and booing of the sisters when they appeared on the new date—if there was one. All in all, the climate had become so ugly that no petition was addressed to a Supreme Court Justice, and the graduation did indeed take place on Saturday, June 7 without Lynn and Susan.

Yet, the issue did not die. Debate continued in the press and in the homes of Fairfax County. The sisters' lonely fight had intrigued many people, and their loss of that once-in-a-lifetime graduation experience was troubling. Also troubling, indeed embarrassing, was the resolute ungraciousness—to the very end—of school authorities.

It being obvious that the Stein sisters would not be present on June 7, several of their friends asked that two empty seats be set aside for Lynn and Susan at the ceremonies. This was harshly denied. "We do not intend to have any thing political at the Woodson graduation," said an administrator. (Which takes care of the perennially political First Amendment). Then, other students asked that they be permitted to accept the sisters' diplomas in their name. The principal turned down that request forthwith. The Stein sisters were to be non-persons at the commencement exercises.

Yet, though sad at not going to her graduation, Susan told me a few days before, "You know, it's not over yet."

She was quite right. On Wednesday, June 11, the W.T. Woodson High School PTA voted to set next year's graduation for a Tuesday afternoon.

And on July 24, the school administration for Fairfax County as a whole, announced the 1981 graduation dates for all the county's 23 high schools. Not one will fall on a Saturday. Somehow, "administrative inconvenience" had been overcome.

The specific Constitutional issue remains unresolved though it is highly likely that in some other county, sooner rather than later, a youngster will again raise the question of whether his right to freely exercise his religion has been violated when his public school graduation is scheduled for a day that he holds holy.

As for the Steins, even before they learned of the new graduation dates for next year the sisters said they had no regrets about the difficult course they had taken. And what pleased them most had been a note from a little boy in Fairfax County. It said: "Thank you for making me proud I'm Jewish." ♦

### On the Trail of Authentic Indian Women of Our Past

#### CREEK MARY'S BLOOD

Dee Brown

New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980, 416 pp., \$12.95

#### SHAMAN'S DAUGHTER

Nan F. Salerno and Rosamond M. Vanderburgh

Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980, 334 pp., \$12.50

by Rayna Green and Shirley Hill Witt

Dee Brown's new attempt at writing the American Indian epic—after *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee*—is *Creek Mary's Blood*. This is the year of the Indian woman in the publishing world (*Sacajawea, La Chingada*), and like the others, *Creek Mary's Blood* has been doing well in sales and reviews. The warm reception it has received is evidence that Brown has a good sense of what Americans want to read today; grand, fake guilt epics obviously provide a sure-shot winning formula.

While the problems in *Creek Mary's Blood* are similar to those in Ruth Beebe Hill's *Hanta Yo*, (in effect rather than intent), *Creek Mary's Blood* will not enrage native people with its over enthusiasm for Indian history in the way that *Hanta Yo's* warped historiography incensed them. Neither book was faithful to fact and history, to say nothing of culture, but *Creek Mary's Blood* is relatively free of the scholarly facade and hype that characterized *Hanta Yo*. Nonetheless, Brown can expect to be criticized for *Creek Mary's Blood*.

Brown's story is based on the life of

a real native woman, the Creek leader Mary Mathews Musgrove Bosomworth. Indeed, there is a real, powerful and fascinating story to tell about this extraordinary leader. Brown, however, neither tells that story nor acknowledges Creek Mary's historicity for his readers. In fact, not one reviewer thus far appears to know that there was a real Mary, and that alone says something about the need for books that restore to us these lost women. Mary Musgrove, leader of the Creeks during the Oglethorpe colonists' settlement of the Southeast in the 18th century, here becomes the archetypal Earth Mother, Mammy, Miss Ellen and Carrie Nation in Brown's hands, a message of confused cultural styles. She is also the stereotyped, historically venerable Indian Queen who once symbolized the New World in sixteenth century European visual representations. Like that Queen, Mary is large, imposing, sexual, potentially violent in the defense of her people, and vocal and eloquent in their defense.

The real Mary certainly must have been bold, brave and assertive, a patriot leader who struggled to keep the Creek Nation intact by brokering the ghastly effects of loss and change on her people. But Brown's Mary is a caricature, a white male fantasy of Indian female leadership. This Mary abandons her people, is captured by the Cherokee Long Warrior, shackles up with him and several others (white and Indian) in a long career of serial monogamy, and becomes less the patriot

than a mouthy manipulator for her own personal advantage. She is an overbearing anti-white (rather than pro-Indian) racist who tries to force her children to keep her bloodlines pure—something she herself couldn't manage to do.

Where is the Mary who was the Beloved Woman of her people? One fails to comprehend how she could have maintained her leadership status since Brown has her act out of hatred and self-interest rather than political conviction or philosophic revelation. Had Creek Mary actually been as Brown portrays her, the nature of her leadership would have led to her downfall, and would have put the Creek and Cherokee Nations into an early grave. The theme of *Creek Mary's Blood*—that is, the preservation of her pure bloodlines—shows that Brown does not understand Indian realities which accept and integrate "other" blood, while talking of "other" blood in a negative fashion. Creek Mary's racism hangs on her children like a curse and does not dignify the real leader we wish we knew better.

Nowhere in this book does Mary emerge as a believable character. Brown's exaggeration and overreach produce instead a near-grotesque caricature of the Indian leader. Just as he confuses female cultural styles, he also confuses his political convictions about the abuse of Indian people with historical fact. He takes Indian history in one grand sweep, lumping together into an ugly smorgasbord the different tribal tragedies, from the great removals and betrayals of the Southeastern people to the slaughters of the Plains battles. Mary's son Dane roams about Indian Country, participating in all the key events of Indian history in his life-

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Rayna Green (*Cherokee*) and Shirley Hill Witt (*Akwesasne Mohawk*) are both anthropologists who have written extensively on Indian women. Dr. Green is Director of the Native American Science Resource Center at Dartmouth College and Dr. Witt is Director of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.



time and ends up living on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, at which point in the narrative turgid hints of the modern battle over coal are scattered like buffalo droppings. Every major battle from Horseshoe Bend to Wounded Knee I, every presidential policy from Andy Jackson's to Teddy Roosevelt's, finds its way into Brown's narrative, giving the whole a coherence it did not have in reality.

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### Brown's exaggeration and overreach produce a near-grotesque caricature of Mary.

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Brown does, however, draw attention to those pieces of Indian history that have escaped media attention so far—the betrayal and removal of the Southeastern tribes and their internal relationships, for instance—and he should be thanked for providing the reading public with Indian history that does not involve feathered warriors (Sequoyah and the Cherokees preferred cloth turbans) and pinto ponies. Readers will be especially interested in the events from Southeastern micro-history which deal with a heretofore eclipsed group of Indian leaders. Brown apparently takes much material from little known sources such as Thurman Wilkens' *The History of the Ridge Family*. A bibliography of his sources would have been interesting and helpful, but none is included.

Still, it is a paint-by-number Indian history that Brown offers us, and the effect is to fuse all Indians and their histories together, thereby eradicating the uniqueness of their struggles.

Moreover, the contortions he goes through in order to get his characters into the important Indian events of the time prove rather irritating to the reader. For example, he converts the distinguished Omaha lecturer/physician Suzanne LaFlesche into Mary Amayi Dane, Mary's granddaughter, and casts her as the first Indian woman physician. But what is needed are LaFlesche and Mary, not imitations of them.

With respect to the native cultures themselves, an accurate description of genuine practices would have been more welcome, not a Hollywood grab-bag of customs and behavior bearing but vague resemblance to real practices. While one can be grateful, for example, for Brown's fascination with the role of women in Southeastern tribes, the female-centered decision-making process is imperfectly described (even though the hints of what Cherokees did before their males accepted white male-oriented political structures are well taken). What follows is, disappointingly, a conglomeration of lore on menstruation, child rearing, dancing, warring and taboo.

Brown is much better at describing the activities between the Cherokees and the Scots who inter-married heavily, and of whom it is said they were so alike that minimal adjustment was necessary. These scenes lend some understanding to the acculturative process, essentially the natural process of change. But our understanding of the cultural and political behavior of these people remains elusive, perhaps because the facts provided by his sources were misshapen by the demands of Brown's story line.

There is much here that will be new and interesting for readers, perhaps in-

spiring them to look beyond the great Plains wars and Pocahontas to other Indian realities. Hopefully, it will encourage them to look for the real Indian women heroines of the past and present: Nancy Ward, the last Beloved Woman of the Cherokees; Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, the twentieth century Sioux educator and leader; Molly Brant, a cultural broker for the Iroquois in the eighteenth century; or modern Native women who lead their tribes in struggles for land, water, minerals and self-determination. *Creek Mary's Blood* does not dignify or explain their leadership; it only signals that it has been there.

Perhaps because it is not about an historical figure, *Shaman's Daughter* is a more appreciated gift than *Creek Mary's Blood*. We are not bound to some automatic re-reading or invention of history in this book, though it rings as true as any good account of history. Here we participate in the ordinary life of an extraordinary woman, Supaya. The "heroine" of *Shaman's Daughter* is no princess, and Indian people will recognize her. The authors, an anthropologist and a journalist, have conceived a sober yet entertaining tale about a community of Ojibwa/Chippewa people in Canada during the crucial period of change between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This is a modest story of village life and village people, Ojibwa people with Ojibwa customs and habits, and with Ojibwa ways of seeing the world and behaving in it. Ethnographic data is placed in the context of everyday behavior as well as in the fictional context of the story. Yet this is not a hodge-podge of anthropological data, jammed in to demonstrate a facile ac-

### Under the Melting Pot, An Uncertain Flame

quaintance with cultural artifacts. The traditions described are offered with respect for and to the people and the situations found in the novel. And the actors in this drama, while utterly compelling and interesting, are people whose lives are explained in Ojibwa terms, human beings who act and react authentically in relation to one another and to the whites who disrupt their lives. There are Indian "bad guys" too, who disrupt lives, but the people are real in their multidimensionality rather than cardboard cutouts.

The tale revolves around the life and death of Supaya and around those who are important people in the traditional Ojibwa world—the shamans, healers, priests and herbalists, male and female, who set the tone for the physical, social and cultural world they "govern." Vanderburgh and Salerno let readers see the feared and negative qualities that make healers powerful, as well as the kinds of Indian behavior that Native people regard as bad—the abuse of power and relationship, the disregard of kinship and obligation. There are no grand tribal traitors here anymore than there are grand tribal events. The shamans and their powers are not those of the modern Indian horror story drama (a la *Nightwing* and *The Manitou*); rather, these are people who have learned to shape and control cultural realities and belief. Supaya becomes a woman of power, prestige and honor because she keeps the old ways (as an herbalist and basket-maker) and because she understands how change can be dealt with. She keeps what she can of the past and learns to cope with the present, minimizing the effects inasmuch as she can control what happens.

It is gratifying to see an Indian study which stresses the possibility of dignity, humor and change while avoiding the conventional Indian characters who represent these traits. (There is not one old, wise, wrinkled man in the book.) These native people strike us as verifiable, and their interactions with each other and with whites are interesting and credible. Especially gratifying are the decent, cliché-avoiding relationships between Supaya and the white women and Supaya and her white lover.

The authors reflect ethnographic good sense. They understand something of Indian behavioral traits (here no better or worse than those of whites, just different), and their sense of Native reserve, pacing, reticence, measured response and deliberateness (often translated by non-Indians as stubbornness, punitive silence and obstinancy) is keen. Verbal playfulness is well-portrayed, though there could have been a better treatment of joking and humor. There is a decent accounting of eye language among North Woods people, though some of the body language descriptions (lots of arm raising in greeting and pointing) are wrong. The value of words in moral persuasion in native communities is here recognized along with some native behavioral management techniques (silence, waiting, conversation shift, non-confrontation). The positive discussions of menstruation and menopause are well done and contrast markedly with the usual white abhorrence and taboo toward these elements of life. And there is sex, good and bad rather than strange, as some writers would have it.

No great sweeping epic can be found here. There are no great battles and

removals. There is no symbolic fall of America through the killing of the buffalo. There is poverty, alcoholism, stress, racial conflict, social struggle and cultural dissolution, but it is the small scale, day-to-day type of erosion that most Indian people have experienced. The book portrays the accretionary slippage of a world that changes every bit as much because of what teachers and store clerks do and say as because of how missionaries and soldiers behave.

*Shaman's Daughter* is no grand guilt opus that will make white Americans hang their heads in collective shame. But because it is a better book than is found among the grand guilt genre, it may make North Americans think seriously for more than a moment about the Indians who live among us.

### Under the Melting Pot, An Uncertain Flame

#### HAVE WE OVERCOME?

Michael V. Nomarota, Editor  
Jackson, Miss.: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1979, 232 pp. \$15.00

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE CRISIS OF LIBERALISM

John Frederick Martin  
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979, 301 pp. \$17.50

#### ONE NATION DIVISIBLE

Richard Polenberg  
New York: The Viking Press, 1980, 363 pp. \$12.95

by Paul Anthony

Recently I walked through Atlanta's new Post Office, above which there are a number of Federal offices. It was 8:30 a.m. and I could not help but be struck by the number of middle class Black persons going to work. At a bus

stop half a block away there were a few domestics waiting to go to work, and a large number of Black men, mostly young, who were waiting for no other reason than to wait.

Within those few hundred feet there was a dramatic illustration of how far a once rigidly segregated society had come and of how, tragically, so many have been left behind.

Thoughtful persons have to be concerned with this dichotomy and aware of how economics and discrimination helped create it and have buttressed the existence of separate societies, one Black and one white.

The books reviewed here all lend themselves to thoughtful consideration of these issues. President Harry Truman observed that if you knew history you could figure out the present and know the future. While he may have oversimplified, the essence of his argument is indisputable, and these histories of the civil rights movement over the past three decades help to illustrate his point.

Those of us who have shared in contemporary history in any measure nearly always have differences with and regret omissions from analyses of those times. But the timing of these books—with the recent tragedy in Miami, the NAACP convention and the shooting of Vernon Jordan last summer and the presidential election—merely serves to emphasize the importance of reflection just now.

*Have We Overcome?* consists of seven papers given in 1978 at the University of Mississippi. It should be remembered that during the 1960's, the

effort of one young Black man to register at "ole Miss" caused tragic riots, and that it took the full weight of the federal government to counter the defiance of state officials and to allow James Meredith to enter the school and to stay there. In light of this history, a debater could argue strongly that we have indeed overcome, although a smart opponent would immediately mention Miami, 1980. The astute listener might conclude that the truth is somewhere between those absolutes, but whether we have "overcome" or not, the very fact that this symposium took place in Oxford, Mississippi, is mind boggling to those of us who worked in the South during the 1960's.

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### C. Eric Lincoln's tone of scholarly bitterness could be heard but not fully comprehended by white Americans.

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Of the seven essays, several stand out. C. Eric Lincoln, for example, writes with scholarly bitterness, a tone that could be heard although it may not be fully comprehended by white America. Vincent Harding gives one of the most detailed accounts ever written of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and of the changes in Martin Luther King, Jr. during the 1960's. And William E. Leuchtenburg, in his essay "The White House and Black America: From Eisenhower to Carter," delivers some of the most

thoughtful comments of the symposium. All in all, *Have We Overcome?* is a volume that deserves to be read.

John Frederick Martin's *Civil Rights and the Crisis of Liberalism* is, as the subtitle implies, a recounting of "The Democratic Party 1945-1976." The segment entitled "Liberalism and American History" is particularly enlightening. Martin develops the hypothesis that the founding fathers—essentially liberal—were convinced that too much power was bad and therefore set out to create a relatively impotent central government. The originally weak Federal Government would, of course, be strengthened thereafter but liberals would be forever torn between conflicting feelings that even though power is bad, it is needed for reform.

Although basically sympathetic, Martin documents the limitations and failures of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Would-be social reformers will find this segment of the book especially valuable, for it constitutes a thoughtful appraisal of our past failures and near misses essential to those who would create a better society.

While much of this book is a history of the shortcomings of liberalism, the report which Martin gives is not entirely negative.

"We have dwelled on the failures", he says, "but its successes were many. And they endure. Thirty years ago Washington was a segregated city, the poor went unnoticed and the Blacks discriminated against, and there were few people, let alone laws, to challenge these conditions. Today the poor and the minorities command a place in the national mind, in the press and in the laws. For liberalism broke with precedent and established the fed-

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eral government as the guarantor of civil rights.”

Although it is regretful that Martin did not more carefully document the role of white Southern liberals, of white moderates such as those in the innumerable “save-our-school” groups which arose when public education was threatened, and of the many Black heroes outside of the obvious organizations, these are minor flaws when compared with the thought and scholarship evident in this work. It is especially important in this highly political year to have an analysis of the shattering of the traditional Democratic constituency—liberals, minorities, labor and the once-powerful big city machines—and Martin provides a very good analysis.

While all three of these books have merit, the one that truly stands out is *One Nation Divisible: Class, Race and Ethnicity in the U.S. since 1938*. The author, Richard Polenberg, shows a remarkable ability to look at the totality of class and minorities in America—no small feat. What is more, the book is well written and literate without being stodgy.

Polenberg does much to dispel the notion that the United States is a melting pot. To be sure, this nation has absorbed many of us—with the possible exception of Native Americans—but it has certainly not melted us together in one pot. (This, of course, may add to our richness as well as our despair.)

Especially harsh on the Roosevelt administration, the book states that F.D.R. had no interest in the welfare of Blacks and that he had other goals which precluded antagonizing Southern and other conservatives in the Congress. This history documents that,

in general, there was not much awareness of—or interest in—the welfare of Blacks in the 1930’s, and that this minority was simply one of many groups of nameless, faceless people who were overlooked as the Nation sought to overcome a depression and then to fight World War II.

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**“Polenberg does much to dispel the notion that the United States is a melting pot.”**

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While essentially balanced, this analysis is somewhat too emphatic in its statement of certain basic facts. Whether by the design of Roosevelt and his staff or by subterfuge, for example, a number of liberals concerned with racial justice did manage to infiltrate the administration, where they quietly attempted to sabotage the “trickle down” theory. One who comes to mind is Dr. Will Alexander, director in the 1930’s of the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who took an extended leave of absence to join the Farmers Home Administration specifically to assure that Washington gave aid to Black farmers. And while speaking of the Roosevelt administration, neither can one forget Eleanor Roosevelt. Although the relationship between President and Mrs. Roosevelt will be a subject of speculation for as long as histories are written, no one can dispute the fact that this First Lady brought to the White House both understanding of and sympathy for the less-fortunate.

In this highly literate contemporary history, Dr. Polenberg presents a keen analysis of the 1954 “Brown” decision

and the Nation’s reaction to it, and shows a solid grasp of the Southern civil rights movement. He gives appropriate attention to the rise of Black nationalism and indicates that he has a sound understanding of it as well.

To this reviewer, a so-called white Southern liberal, these three books raise more questions and evoke more memories than are possible to handle in a short review. On reflection, however, it seems that these books ask several fundamental questions that just won’t go away: Have we made progress in race relations? Do we have far to go to achieve Black-white equality? Are we a unified or separated society? And while these books address these questions at some length, they again demonstrate that there are no simple answers. In the rush of memories triggered by my reading of these books, those concerning Tuskegee, Alabama stand out—Tuskegee, that long-beleagured community in which there existed, for its size, the largest number of middle class Black people in the country, as well as a large group of poor Blacks. Painfully, with the help of the Supreme Court and the ballot, Blacks began to make themselves a part of the community. During the 1960’s I was there frequently, and the progress I saw was encouraging.

One morning I received a call from a dear friend, Dr. Charles Gomillion of the Tuskegee Institute. Would I come to address a mass meeting? There was an election coming up and there was division in the Black community. One group felt that as there had been an all white government when whites controlled the ballot, it should now be all Black. Another group felt an integrated government would be healthier.

My mission was to convince the

## Reviews in Brief

Black community to support an interracial government. It seemed foolish for a white person to accept such an assignment, but one did not refuse Charles Gomillion.

On a Sunday afternoon the speech was given, and a group of us from Atlanta continued on to Jackson, Mississippi. On Monday, schools in that State were to be desegregated and I had promised the "save-the-school" group that I would be there, if for no other reason than to hold hands. But late Monday evening there was good news: school desegregation in Mississippi had gone forward with no incidents and Tuskegee had voted in an interracial government.

Later, after the death of the *Atlanta Constitution* publisher Ralph McGill, I was asked to substitute for him as commencement speaker at Tuskegee High School. It is impossible to share the feelings I experienced that night in a hot school auditorium. Some thirty graduates – evenly divided, Black and white – were seated in front of the stage. The audience and the band in the balcony were equally intergrated. The valedictorian was Black, the saluatorian was white. That night, one might have concluded that the promised land was at hand.

A year later in Tuskegee, a white private academy flourished and the high school was all Black. The moral: while progress can come about dramatically, it can erode quietly but just as swiftly.

These three books do raise some thoughtful questions about American race relations. More important, however, they document that although we are not striding valiantly toward an entirely integrated society, we are clearly inching our way toward some-

thing better than we have.

The last words of *One Nation Divisible* sum it up well:

"The preacher's cry in Ecclesiastes—'There is no new thing under the sun'—should be taken not as witness to the immutability of class, racial, and ethnic patterns but as testament to their enduring influence."

### REVIEWS IN BRIEF

#### CIVILITIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom

William H. Chafe

New York, Oxford University Press, 1980, 436 pp., \$13.95.

by Frederick B. Routh

The late James McBride Dabbs—Southern poet and writer, owner of the Rip Raps Plantation in South Carolina and former president of the Southern Regional Council—once said, "The problem with the South is that we have been more concerned with manners than morals." James Baldwin wrote something similar to this in *Notes of a Native Son*: "I reacted by trying to be pleasant—it being a great part of the American Negro's education (long before he goes to school) that he must make people 'like him'."

Now along comes William H. Chafe, professor of history at Duke University and co-director of the Duke Oral History Program and its Center for the Study of Civil Rights, who validates Dabbs' and Baldwin's thesis by examining the civil rights challenge and response in Greensboro, N.C., between 1945 and 1975.

As students of the South know,

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Greensboro has had a long-time reputation as a "progressive" city—an exemplar for the "New South." Chafe's history, however, maintains that this progressivism was (and presumably still is) little more than a veneer of civility which cloaked a deep and abiding racism. According to Chafe, the progressive mystique was composed of three elements: "abhorrence of personal conflict, courtesy toward new ideas and a generosity toward those less fortunate than oneself." Translated, progressivism amounted to strong white paternalism and a tendency for Greensboro's whites to allow only token changes in response to Black protest. The aura of progressivism, Chafe asserts, allowed Greensboro's white leaders to maintain a rigid color line while at the same time appearing to go along, albeit gradually, with the demands of the city's Black population.

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### "We have been more concerned with manners than morals."

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In the area of school desegregation, for instance, the appearance of compliance with Black demands (and Federal law) masked a deep-seated and powerful opposition to the idea of integration. After the Supreme Court announced its 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Greensboro's school board rapidly committed itself to implementing the court's order. Foot-dragging began shortly thereafter, however, and the high hopes of the Black community turned to dismay

when Blacks began to realize that, once again, they had been taken in by white promises. The Greensboro school board did begin token desegregation in 1957, but made it quite clear to white parents that they were free to transfer their children to segregated schools if they so desired. As Chafe so puts it, "The promise of change obscured an agenda for continued control."

It is difficult to hold that any city is a microcosm of the South; as Howard Odum found in his monumental work, *Southern Regions*, there are many "Souths." Yet in many ways, the story of Greensboro is the story of Southern communities coming to face the realities of social change. Certainly the racism of Greensboro was no less ingrained than the racism of Birmingham or Selma. But the veneer of civility—the progressive mystique which enveloped Greensboro—obscured the prejudice and paternalism which lay beneath it.

Chafe does point out, however, that Greensboro figured importantly in the movement for social change in the South (and elsewhere) during this period. The 1960 sit-in at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, for example, began a wave of such student protest which eventually succeeded in desegregating similar facilities throughout the South. Chafe also details the growth of the Black Power movement in the late 1960's, which began in Greensboro after it became apparent that whites would not allow any real institutional change to take place.

One facet of the civil rights story in North Carolina which Chafe might have developed more fully is the role of state government in the struggle for school desegregation. It is known, for example, that in a number of commu-

nities—particularly in the Piedmont and mountain areas—it appeared that school desegregation could commence in the fall of 1956. The percentage of Black pupils was small, the cost of maintaining dual school systems was high. For economic reasons, if not for moral reasons, a number of school superintendents decided to quietly abide by the *Brown* decision, but the state Department of Education effectively prevented this. Furthermore, it was the state legislature that adopted the "Preasall Plan," which was intended to preserve school segregation voluntarily and to make more difficult the initiation voluntarily of any state-wide legal action to bring about the desegregation of the schools.

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**"The story of Greensboro is the story of Southern communities coming to face the reality of social change."**

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All in all, *Civilities and Civil Rights* is a book well worth reading. Blending traditional and oral history sources, Chafe skillfully identifies and analyzes pivotal events in the white and Black communities during those crucial years in which Greensboro attempted to come to grips with the movement for civil rights. The book's only fault is that it tends to romanticize some of the actors and some of the actions. But then, what story about the South hasn't?

**MORE THAN MERE SURVIVAL: Conversation with Women over 64**  
Janes Seskin  
New York: Newsweek Books, 1980, 269

pp., \$8.95

by Celeste Wiseblood

We live in a society that still accepts older men more readily than it does older women. Advertising barons and the media continue to extol only the under 30-year old women while rejecting the many real and important roles of older women. Fortunately, more books challenging the bottom line on which such assumptions are based are now appearing. This is one.

*More Than Mere Survival* provides an enlightening look at the quality of life being experienced and visions of the future held by twenty-two women over the age of 65. Their backgrounds range from an 82-year-old volunteer helping women who have had mastectomies, to a 68 year old jazz singer belting out tunes better than ever.

Most of these women are against mandatory retirement; concerned about higher costs; want better communication with younger people; seek to break down stereotypes against older women; and are content with their lifestyles. Their designs for achieving survival, inner happiness and self-fulfillment include having stimulating interests and challenges in their daily life and not giving in to occasional depressions or disappointments. Their collective views are encouraging for those of us who wish to age more gracefully, with dignity, independence and a sense of self-worth.

The book's main flaw is the concentration of interviews in New York. We surely have much to learn from the elderly in other major cities as well as rural areas of the nation. ♦

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