

It's not often that you get a chance to hear the critique of previous speakers, ~~and~~ tailor ~~your~~ remarks and you know what to ~~avoid~~ and what ~~to~~ to AVOID, say. For example, ~~I know that after I give you, I have~~ a very impressive ~~list~~ ^{preparing} list

~~I~~ I sat up until 2 o'clock last night, of proposed ideas for curriculum changes you might consider; and ~~I've~~ been told ~~you~~ you probably won't do anything about ~~it~~, but I'm not easily discouraged. It's certainly a pleasure for

me to come here to discuss this topic with you. I had thought I was going to discuss one topic and ~~then~~ the program arrived in the mail ~~and~~ the topic ^{when} was different -- it was; that I was assigned was Challenges that must be met in making democracy work in an era marked by civil rights controversy. I have taken the liberty of changing that a little bit. ~~I'm going to aim my remarks somewhat along~~

~~these lines, and I've~~ sort of rearranged the word order ^{I HAVE} on these. Challenges that must be met in making education work in a democracy when that democracy faces controversies, such as civil rights. ^A slight change but I think after

I looked over the outline that I had written that it seemed to fit a little better. ~~and~~ because I interpret ^{me} that scope of your organization ~~as~~ dealing primarily with curriculum, ~~in spite of the warning I just received,~~ I will direct my ~~next~~ remarks, ~~after a ~~brief~~ few introductory outlines with~~

~~some background~~ ^{Primary} ~~in~~ civil rights, I will address my remarks primarily towards ~~some thoughts on ideas~~ that might be in your mind in developing curriculum

in the future. ~~I say this although I realize full well that you probably~~ can't look at curriculum ~~as an~~ ^{as an} item from ~~the~~ the rest of the whole school administrative program. Certainly you ~~can't go out and~~ talk about

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new curriculum ideas unless you have an idea where you're going to get the people who will be able to teach them, or the facilities if need be, such as language laboratories ~~or something which~~ you're going to undertake a ~~large~~ concentrated language instructional program. You can't do these in a vacuum without thinking of personnel, equipment and all other aspects of school administration, but with that warning, I will aim my remarks primarily at curriculum.

CIVIL RIGHTS BACKGROUND

Now it seems to me that before I get down to ~~this, the subheadings~~ ^{curriculum} of the topics assigned to me suggested that it would be useful if I did go into some general background of the human rights and civil rights in the United States and perhaps say a few words about the new federal civil rights law, ~~which is the most current issue that we all talk about, give reference~~ ¹ to in the press and on television, etc. Let me then talk for a few

OFFER

moments along the line of a quick historical survey, if I may. For ease of discussion I would like to divide ^{THE HISTORY OF} the American race relations into three periods, and like any attempt to classify human experience ^{USAT} under ¹ categories

this has a lot of shortcomings. The various periods that I talk about ^{each other} overlap themselves in different geographical areas of the country and they ^{each other} overlap themselves certainly in different areas of concern. We may be in

different stages of development in integration in the schools in one state, ^{STAGE IN} and another ¹ state housing, and in another state ^{another stage} in employment, etc., but

with that additional warning let me venture forth on a quick outline. The FIRST STAGE: OVERT OPPRESSION

first stage in the development ~~of~~ race relations in the United States that

HISTORY OF THE OF

I would like to talk about I call the stage of overt oppression or overt segregation. Now, of course, this starts out with the slavery ~~era~~ era - a

DURING WHICH

time ~~of~~ one man ~~being~~ ^{IS} owned as a chattel by another. This was supposedly

brought to a close at the end of the Civil War with the adoption into the United States Constitution of the 13th, 14th and 15 amendments. The framers

~~and passers~~ of these amendments certainly thought that they were ending once

and for all this stage of overt oppression and overt segregation. Needless to

say, they were wrong, and in many areas of our country this stage of overt

oppression and overt segregation continues literally right up to the present

day. ~~It~~ Certainly in all parts of the country and in all aspects of our

national life ~~it~~ ^{was} very much a part of the 70 or 80 years directly after

the Civil War. The institutions of our society, both public and private,

were organized in the most parts of the country and in most areas of concern

toward the direct segregation and oppression of our Negro citizens. The

policeman in many of our southern cities still has as one of his unwritten

duties the job of keeping the Negro citizens in line, keeping them in their

place. ~~But you don't have to get to that overt or that hostile a situation~~

~~to find a pattern in which the organs of, both the public organs, the organs~~

~~of government and private institutions such as employment, public~~

~~accommodations, etc., has in the years right after the Civil War and as I~~

~~say right up until the present in many areas continued along the line of~~

~~overt segregation and overt oppression.~~ Now, of course, in the area of

schools, you know that the first Supreme Court decision, Plessy v.

FERGUSON, that it didn't deal with schools specifically but it laid

down a doctrine that was applied to schools and that was that we could have

facilities which were separate but equal. Well, this wasn't overt oppression

in a sense, but it was simply overt segregation and ~~you had~~, based on the

doctrines outlined in that decision, you had a period in which all aspects

Overt Segregation in Missouri

of American life were segregated. The Commission for which I work made a survey in 1958, sent out a 27 page questionnaire with ~~117 questions~~, to each of the counties of the state and the two major cities, St. Louis and Kansas City, seeking information on the extent of discrimination in the State of Missouri. I and it was the conclusion of that study that discrimination was

widespread in all areas of state concern and in all political areas of the state. Among the recommendations which were made in that study was the passage of the state fair employment practices act and state equal access to public accommodations law. The equal employment law passed, but the public accommodations law has not yet passed. Well, this brings us - talking about

→ SECOND STAGE: PASSIVE NON-DISCRIMINATION
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this kind of law - brings us into the second stage. The first stage I said was overt oppression, the second stage I would call the stage of passive nondiscrimination. This is a stage which, of course, was marked by the Supreme Court decision saying that separate schools were inherently unequal and making it unconstitutional for a school board to maintain segregated schools on the basis of race. And it was marked in the legislative end of things by the passage of laws in a number of states making it illegal to discriminate because of race, religion, national origin and ancestry. In some states they

threw in discrimination because of age. here Laws ~~which~~ made it illegal to discriminate on these grounds and ~~which~~ set up an administrative remedy for individuals who felt that they had suffered discrimination of prohibited

type. Now I call this the stage of passive nondiscrimination because it is the state in which two things are NOTICED ~~notable~~. One, the vindication of the right of an individual ~~whose~~ who is discriminated against depends pretty much on his willingness to come forth and file a complaint and make the claim that he

has been discriminated against and go through the trouble of having his claim filed with a government agency. It is also ~~a time~~ a stage in which

one institution

the employer, the school and ~~what have you~~, take a very passive role. For

example, this is the stage in which if you are lucky you can persuade an

employer to say, "All right, send me a qualified Negro and I'll hire him."

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Well, I won't get sidetracked into discussing this term "qualified Negro".

I am beginning to think it has gained the status of a single word such as

"damm Yankee". We never hear anybody talk about a qualified white man. I

go through life with the awesome thought that I was born with my

BUT SPEAKING OF "QUALIFICATIONS,"

qualifications embedded in my skin pigment. We investigated two cases

one week ~~that came in right close to each other - cases~~ alleging

discrimination in employment. Excuse me if I get sidetracked, but this is

one of the more amusing stories I have run into in administering the fair

employment practices act. ~~It was~~ *The complaints were* against two banks. In one case we had a

girl just out of high school who filed a complaint alleging discrimination

and, of course, we got a long song and dance; that they wanted qualified people

with experience of different types and so on. They showed us in fact that they

were hiring people of this type. Three days later we got a complaint

against another bank and the ~~lady~~ *APPLICANT* there, she was a school teacher; she had

a college degree; she had half fulfilled her requirements for her master's

degree; she had specialized at mathematics at one stage, and seemed to me to

be the perfect person for work in a bank. I went to talk to the bank about

her. Oh, they said naturally we ~~didn't~~ didn't hire her. We want to get people

just out of school and train them ourselves. Unfortunately it wasn't different

people ~~in the same~~ *APPLYING TO THE SAME* bank, which would have pointed up the contradiction.

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But I don't want to get sidetracked into this, but just tell you that the qualified Negro is sometimes very abused. This is the stage in which the employer says "send me ~~the~~ qualified Negro and I will hire him". Now I could go into long details of lots of things that have been done in this so called passive nondiscrimination stage, but rather than do that I am going to make the assertion that this stage has been inadequate to solve the problems

which face us that we are now just beginning to realize that we have to move into a third stage. WHY A THIRD STAGE And this is the stage which we have come to call

affirmative action. I do not mean preferential treatment, and I will comment on the difference in a minute. The third stage is a stage that I call

affirmative action. Now I think I owe you some justification as to why I ~~can~~ claim the middle stage has been unsatisfactory, and I think we have to

move into this third stage, and then the next point will be to discuss some of the implications of this third stage ~~before~~ ^{for} our school system. Let

me bore you, if I may, for a second with a very few statistics to point out how inadequate the second stage has been. These statistics, incidentally,

are taken from a very reliable publication which came out this morning - published by the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. I ~~just got~~ ^{have} the first

copy off the press here. ~~During coffee break I will have a sign-up sheet for anybody who would like to be on our mailing list in general, and the~~

~~first item you will get is this document on Negroes in Missouri. The~~ It discusses population, it has a little map showing where the Negro population

is predominately located, it has graphs and tables on income, unemployment, housing and various aspects such as this. I would like to quote from it what

seems to me as the most impressive statistic, and I confess I was somewhat

about Progress.

particularly in the fact of a rise in the series of demonstrations and demands for our Negro citizens. We ~~as whites/folks~~ with white skins tend to say more and more as a part of this discussion "Gosh, look at the progress we have made", and certainly if you look back a hundred years ago we have made very impressive progress. If you go back even ten years ago in many situations and in many areas we have made impressive progress. ^{But} Let me give you ₁ a statistic which shows how little progress we have really made in terms of basic help to the masses of our Negro citizens. The economic disparity, the relative economic disparity between the whites and Negroes has increased rather than decreased in the last decade. The ~~medium~~ ^{median} income for Negroes in 1950 in the State of Missouri was 72.4 per cent of the ~~medium~~ ^{median} income for whites. The figures were \$1611 for Negroes and close to \$2224 for whites. The ~~medium~~ ^{median} income of the Negroes was 72 per cent ten years ago of the white man's. In 1960, after ten years of this progress, we have heard so much about, it was ⁶⁶ ~~72~~ per cent. That is a decline of about 8 per cent. Now the Negro's medium income rose from \$1600 to \$2500, so the Negro has made progress. But the point is that the white man has made significantly more progress. Our ~~medium~~ ^{median} income has risen from \$2200 to \$3800. Now I don't think you will remember all of those figures, but I think you should also bear in mind the basic concept and that is the relative position of the two has changed to the disfavor of the Negro so that rather than catching up, he is falling further and further behind. Now why - how do you break this down, why is the Negro earning less, what is his position in the economy.

We point out in this study that there are several stages at which the Negro is on the shorter end of the stick in the economic picture. To point this out to you I will use a number of economic terms which I am sure you all are familiar with. One of the terms that is used in appraising the employment in a work force is to talk of individuals who are "in the work force". This means people who are actively out seeking work. Unemployment figures don't tell the whole story because a man who is not seeking work and doesn't have a job isn't considered unemployed, he is not even figured in that batting average. 69 per cent of the non-whites consider themselves in the work force and 75 per cent of the whites do. It is a slight percentage but it shows that more Negroes than whites view their chances of getting a job as so low or their qualifications are so low or what have you, that they are not considering themselves looking for work. Now of those who get into the work force, the Negro is much less apt to find a job. The unemployment rates of Negro men in some areas of this state are almost twice as high as the unemployment rates for whites. Now if he gets into the work force and he gets a job, he is of course more likely to get a low paying job. 21 per cent of our Negroes who are employed in the State of Missouri are employed as laborers. Only 5 per cent of whites. The ratio is four times larger for Negroes. So you have a three stage disadvantage (I am not sure that word is -----) to the disadvantage of the Negro which underlies this difference in median income because from economic change in our society which the Negro has. Now it would be easy to say that the whole explanation to this is education and qualification, but I think that statistics which we point out in here indicate that while this is true in part - while 37 per cent of

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median

of the Negroes, so this is certainly a part of it. There are also statistics which show that even with the same educational background the Negro comes out much more poorly. For example, 2/5 of Negroes with some college education were in professional and technical work. The ratio for whites is 3/5. Again another statistic. -----

But I think the cumulative effect of the figures does serve to show that we have not made quite the progress that we sometimes pride ourselves on having made. I outline these statistical facts, as I say, as somewhat of a justification for suggesting that we should move into a third stage, into a stage of affirmative action.

Now this is not a stage, I should say, which is required by statute.

I suggest that it is not a stage which is required by the constitution, it is not a Missouri state statute, it is not in the new federal civil rights bill. It seems to me that it is a stage that is required by common sense.

We are faced from one end of this nation to the other with what some people have called the revolution of rising expectations, some people have called it America's own colonial revolution, speaking of the Negroes as if they were a colony what had been within this country all of these years. There are all sorts of terms that are being used for it, some aren't very polite.

Needless to say, we know what we are facing. And I think that if we fail to take the kind of affirmative action that is necessary to make some real progress we haven't begun to see what kind of a revolution this can be.

Now if those are scare words, I apologize, but I sincerely believe that the depth of oppression which our minority group feels in this country and the depth of exclusion which they have suffered require perhaps that we be a little

our responsibility. I would like to give you an example of affirmative action by telling a very true story that occurred in the St. Louis area.

I am sure you are all familiar with the demonstrations which occurred over a six or eight month period at the Jefferson Bank. I know those of you who come from St. Louis will never forget them and I expect the publicity reached all over the state. These demonstrations began on a Friday, the 30th of August, last year. They were announced in the newspaper on Monday of that week. Monday, the 26th of August. Well, I was in the office in the state capitol, and the newspapers came in and the article was on the front page that CORE chapters demanded four Negro jobs from the bank, that they would demonstrate if this was not forthcoming. Well, I sort of felt that this was the handwriting on the wall and might be the first and really significant demonstration that we have had, and I felt that it was worthwhile to discourage it if we could. So I literally went right out of my office, went home and picked up my toothbrush, and drove into St. Louis, and I went to meet with the president of the local CORE chapter. He is a lawyer and I am a lawyer, and I said to him, what we have -- bear in mind as I am talking to him I am talking about this second stage, this stage of nondiscrimination.

I said, look, we now have on the books here in the State of Missouri a law prohibiting discrimination in employment. People are marching, picketing and getting squirted with fire hoses in the south just to get this kind of law on the book that we have got on the book here and you are not utilizing it. And they weren't up until that time. We had had very few complaints filed under that law. And I said, why don't you if you think this bank is discriminating

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have the people they are discriminating against file complaints. We will process it, investigate it, and if we find discrimination we will take the

action that the law requires. His answer to me was very frank and very straight-forward. All I ^{DO IS REPORT THIS TO YOU -- IT IS NOT MY DESIRE TO} ratify it or condone it in any way. I

think if we don't understand it we don't really realize where we are going in this field. He said, and he was perfectly frank, ^{HE WAS PERFECTLY FRANK, AND HE SAID: IDENTIFY} we don't have an

applicant who has been turned down. I don't know of anybody who has applied to the Jefferson Bank. All I know is I go in there and there are a hundred white faces. There is no Negro employed there. Now I don't have the resources ~~to~~ to run an employment agency. Let the Urban League, let the NAACP, let your agency, let someone else run an employment agency. All I know is that as an American I have great faith in the ability and the capacity of America's business leaders to take action when it is in their own selfish profit motive. If something needs to be achieved and they can be convinced that achieving it is going to help increase their profits or keep their profits from being decreased, ~~he said~~ they will do it and they will come up with a way to do it. And, ~~he said~~ my view of my role in this thing is that I am going to make them feel that it is in their own profit motives to get out and hire those poor Negroes just as quick as they can. Well,

he didn't file a complaint with us, they picketed, they ~~my~~ claimed it got out of hand and they didn't plan to develop from picketing to where everybody went in and laid down on the floor of the bank, but that is what did develop whether planned or not. A number were arrested and went to jail, and cases

are still in the courts although they are out on bond pending the appeal.

Well now, ^{The Newspapers reported that} in the 60 days which followed this demonstration on a Friday,

the banks in St. Louis, not including the Jefferson Bank, the other banks in

St. Louis in the 60 days following this demonstration hired more Negroes

than they had in the previous 60 years. Now I don't claim and I know that ^{They}

^{Were DISCRIMINATING} they don't admit that for those 60 years they have been discriminating. ^{They}

~~the fact is that when they felt it was in their interest,~~ ^{BUT} this young man,

like it or not, hit ~~it~~ it right on the head. When they felt it was in their

own selfish profit interest to go out and take some affirmative action they

were able to go out and recruit and find Negroes to fill those jobs. Now it

seems to me that against this kind of a background what rational men should

be doing is appraising what kind of affirmative action we can be taking on

our own because it is right, because it is good for the health of the society,

rather than waiting until somebody ^A comes and sticks a figurative gun at our

back or a picket sign at our ^{Front} door and then forces us to do it. There was

a cartoon in yesterday's Wall Street Journal, an architect for a large

company was talking to the boss and he had the plans stretched out on the table

and he said, ["] now here's a new thing we've worked into this. It's a shelter

outside the front gates for the pickets. Well, you laugh, but there are

almost no cities of over 100,000 population ^{which have avoided demonstrations} and many smaller have had some form

of picketing ~~is~~ and demonstration. Ironically, enough, it is the people

who have done the most in advancing equal rights who have had the pickets outside their door. The president of the St. Louis School Board, I am sure you will recall, had some visitors at his residence last year. The president of McDonnell Aircraft has, I don't know if they're still out there, but they were last week, had some visitors at his door. I think that among cities in the country, St. Louis has taken some very strong positions of leadership on some of these problems. McDonnell Aircraft was hiring Negroes 20 years ago during the war, before most of the firms in Missouri ever dreamed of hiring Negroes. But the underlying feeling of frustration which leads to this picketing sometimes isn't based on a $\frac{1}{2}$ rational appraisal of the specific situation. I think that insofar as it is based on an overf-all picture that they have pretty valid reasons for them being frustrated. Now what is the implication for affirmative action in the field of education. I am not going to get involved in the kind of affirmative action some people have talked about in terms of do you have a responsibility for affirmative action to the bus people from one area to another. This is a waste of time to discuss. I think that much more important than where we are educating people is how we are educating them. The quality of the education we are giving them. And I think that the implications of where we are, the stage we are at in the development of these problems suggests that we ought to do some serious reexamination of the extent to which our schools are playing a positive role in ~~tearing~~ tearing stereotypes and removing prejudices, and so on, and a

positive role in motivating in helping to increase the opportunities and the training of our minority group citizens. Now, as I get into some more statistics, I do so with some trepidation. Quite frankly I have not done a detailed study of what every school system in the State of Missouri is doing and I am sure that every point I will outline here is being done one place or another. For those of you who are already embarked on different programs of different types. I don't mean this as any criticism or any suggestion that we are lagging behind. I hope you will accept these ideas and points in

The Spirit of a mutual discussion of things that ought to be discussed.

I went to one conference once - a two day conference - to make a talk in an area where I knew as little as I do in the area of curriculum, and the person who had spoken the night before, I could tell from his credentials knew a great deal more than I did and I was speaking in the afternoon. And as we sat around the luncheon table, somebody remarked to his neighbor, boy wasn't that an awful speech last night. He didn't say anything we hadn't read ten years ago. Well, I almost tore up my speech and went home. Maybe I should have done that here after the warning I have had on the critique of yesterday's sessions. Quite often people come home from curriculum conferences and don't make any changes in their curriculum. Certainly I am not an expert on curriculum. But I think there are items of persuasive evidence that our school systems are not and I say this without singling out any one system which may be doing it, that our school systems as a general rule are not doing/ what they should be doing to reduce stereotypes, to tear down prejudices and to increase the motivation of minority view. I think before I get into - I offer this as a sort of criticism - and certainly before

the ideal of the goal of the educational system in this context. I think that there should be two goals. I think first of all we should in a democracy - now I am talking in the framework of the topic I was assigned - in a democracy we should, of course, seek to educate our students and our children in certain basic democratic values. Now that is sort of a circular statement, but I think we cannot emphasize ~~but~~ or overemphasize it too much. We should talk at all times about the basic equality of people, teach our youngsters to appreciate the innate work of each individual realizing, of course, that basic gifts, that people have different talents, etc., but that there is persuasive reason to give each man a chance to develop his talent and that he will, if given that, quite often turn out that much more work than we thought if we had judged him on a stereotype. ~~ENE~~ We should certainly teach him that discrimination and prejudice are the antithesis of a democracy.

Secondly, we have a job I think with the minority group, a group which has come to be called the culturally deprived, somewhat larger than our Negro citizens, although certainly the largest segment I think in most areas of the culturally deprived would be Negroes, we have a job to make sure that we are encouraging him to make sure he is his potential to the greatest possible extent and to prepare himself to take advantage of the increasing opportunities which are being opened. We should make sure that the teaching materials we use and the things that we discuss in the classroom are not structured so that he is made to feel excluded from the society.

Now are we doing it - are we achieving these goals. I wanted to do part of

my preparation for coming up here, I wanted to do a brief examination of some of the textbooks that have been approved for use in the Missouri schools, and I didn't get the time to do it. I was ~~chattering~~ ^{chatting} with somebody about this about two days ago, and I discovered that a study of this type was under way at Lincoln University and I was privileged to see some of the rough notes on it ~~which~~ and I would like to share, if I may, just a few of the things that these rough notes, and bear in mind that they are rough = pointed out. Incidentally, I also had access to a study done by the Anti-Defamation League on the treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks and the format of the study done at Lincoln to some extent draws on some of the ideas in this study. It draws on them to the extent of some of the evaluated criteria that are used, and let me give you an idea of a few of those. There are seven listed here, and I won't list all of them, but one criteria is the criteria of inclusion. There is information about Negroes, ~~the~~ ~~of~~ Jews, of persecution by the Nazis, or information about immigrants in the United States, and this is included in relevant portions of different texts. The criteria such as balance~~d~~ or all aspects, positive and negative, of a subject given reasonable and balanced attention. Such things as realism ^{evils} are social/such as Nazi persecution of the Jews and restricted immigration laws here in the United States and many of our unsolved problems - are they given frank treatment ~~it~~ or are they defended, minimized and ignored. While this is just a few of the criteria, let me give you a few of the conclusions. None of these books attacked any minority group head on. Maybe in times past this might have happened, but this was not done, but the average textbook simply ignored the Negroes position in contemporary society.

pictured the members of the Negro race as slaves or as bewildered freedmen after the war and perpetuated the stereotype of a child-like inferior group of people. There was a great lack of scientific data on the races of mankind. Textbook illustrations were very inadequate, a very limited number of illustrations dealing with Negroes and a high percentage of the illustrations which were in the book put Negroes in the primitive African setting or in slave settings, often of course in historical context, or in menial jobs. Very few of them in discussing the work done by the Negroes during the slave period commented upon the number of Negroes who actually did very skilled jobs for their masters - weaving, carpenters, spinners, blacksmiths, etc. Very slight mention of that sort of thing. Very little mention of the United States Supreme Court decision of 1954, which I have mentioned here, which was limited in its direct scope to holding that segregated schools were unconstitutional but whose implications have permeated all aspects of our society today. I would like to read just one quote that I jotted down that dealt with slavery in a book published in 1962. It was said the slaves of the good master had many happy times after their hard day's work was done. Sometimes they danced. The sweet summer air was filled with the sounds of the banjo, fiddle and mouth organ. The planter and his family often sat on the veranda of the big house. They liked to listen to the music - lively and colorful. They liked to hear the voices of the Negroes as they sang the songs of the plantation. Strangely enough, this author failed to mention in any way some of the abuses of slavery. While maybe I am expressing a historical point of view and maybe there are historians who would quarrel with me, I think that this is an inaccurate picture to present to our

kids of just what slavery is all about. There were arguments pro and con on slavery, and I mentioned that one of the criteria that this study suggested was appropriate was a criteria of balance. Certainly it would be appropriate to give the arguments in a historical study, the arguments that were used in favor of slavery. ~~A~~ If you left them out you would be guilty of a lack of balance, because to give only one side certainly makes a big mistake. Now I point out these brief notes not because I think that every school system in the state may be using these books. There were half a dozen books we discovered that were doing a very good job, and I have no idea, quite frankly, how this list of approved books works. It may be that every system in the state is actually using the books ~~these~~ that were found to be good, that were found to have an exceptionally high number of pictures of Negroes doing skilled jobs, that showed interracial situations, books that had good treatment in their text of slavery and its context with treatment of Negroes at the present day. But I throw out these comments to the end that we be thinking about them as we select a new textbook and reappraise the books that we have, we might be thinking of the question of whether they are really presenting the kind of picture that ought to be presented. Now the textbooks are important for both groups of students that I have

the textbooks from the point of view of how they affect the minority group member stereotype of himself, the minority group member, whether he feels included in the society and a part of it, if he is forced to read a textbook which has 87 pictures in it and not one picture of a Negro except in menial jobs, and I think we have to ask what effect are we having on the white student when we let him be confronted with these. Every time, prior to the passage of the federal bill, and often since it, many times when I have discussed the desirability of a state public accommodations law, I will get a reply from a person whom I presume is well meaning, gee, you're not going to solve these problems by law. They're going to be solved in the hearts of men. But then you go out and find the books that are being used to start to solve the problem in the hearts of men and you are a little bit discouraged sometimes. So I think that these are items that ought to be looked into. Now what are some of the other aspects of school life that are relevant to this problem. What are some of the other points you might want to consider. These I will go into somewhat less detail. Among the materials that I put on a table outside of the door - some of you came in before I put them out - is a Reader's Digest reprint discussing the work that Dr. Samuel Shepherd has done down in St. Louis with the culturally deprived

in a family environment which is very different from the family environment of a lot of us. It is a family environment that which you would assume that the person is going to drop out rather than what he is going to do when he finishes high school or even talking about where he is going to go to college, not if he is going to go to college, but where he is going to go to college. This is the framework within which you have to work. Now some of the things that Dr. Shepherd has done have been done elsewhere. I don't think he has a complete monopoly on this although he has gotten a fantastic amount of national credit and publicity on this, and I think we should be very proud of what he has done here in our state. Among the things that he has done is to institute an intensive program of motivation of the parents. Even so far as having the teachers make home visits. The written note or the written letter to the parent. In these areas he points out most written communications involve something of an unpleasant nature.