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THE AGONY OF THE INNER CITY, WHAT CAN CONTINUING EDUCATION DO.

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MARYLAND UNIV., COLLEGE PARK

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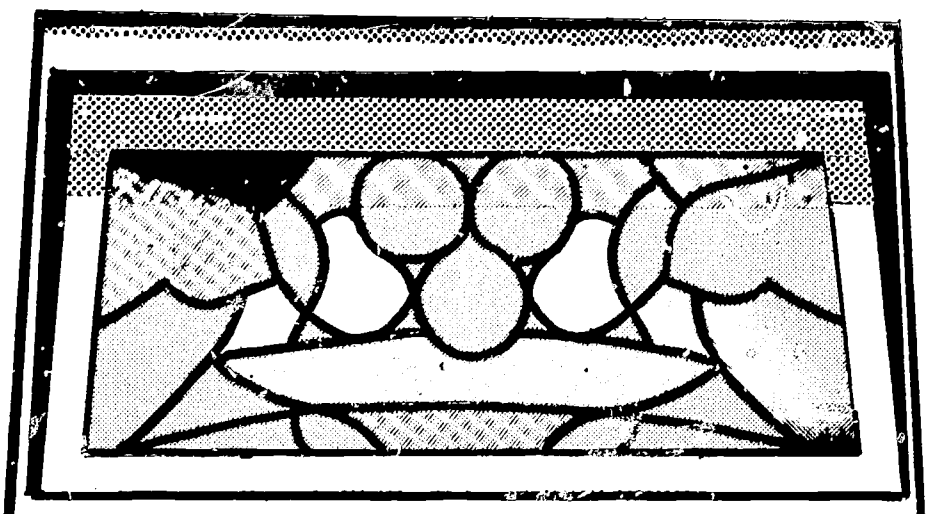
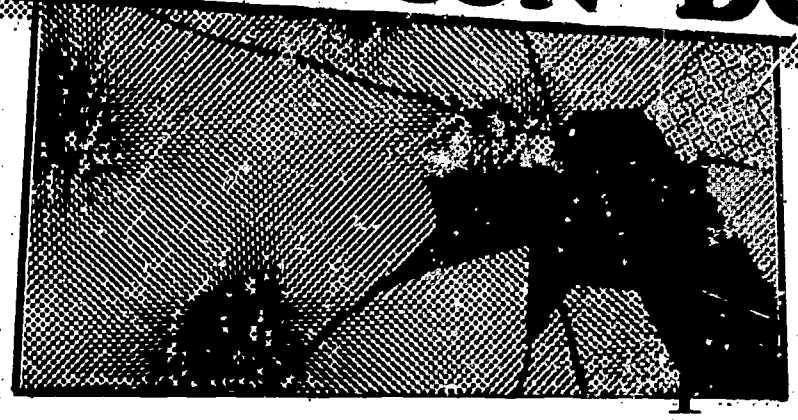
THE REPORT OF A PANEL PROGRAM BY THE COUNCIL ON EXTENSION AT THE EIGHTY-FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN NOVEMBER, 1967, FEATURED URBAN AND UNIVERSITY LEADERS REPRESENTING DETROIT, MILWAUKEE, NEWARK, AND WATTS. THE FIRST ADDRESS COMPARED THE PLIGHT OF AMERICAN INNER CITY NEGRO GHETTOS WITH THAT OF EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWRY. THE SECOND DESCRIBED UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN EXTENSION EFFORTS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT, BETTER HOUSING, CONSUMER EDUCATION, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND IMPROVED RACE RELATIONS AND HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE MILWAUKEE INNER CITY. THE THIRD, WHICH CITED RUTGERS UNIVERSITY EXTENSION PRC RAMS, URGED BROADER UNIVERSITY EXTENSION PROGRAMS OF TRAINING AND EDUCATION. THE LAST ADDRESS SURVEYED THE INADEQUATELY MET SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE WATTS AREA, AND RECENT UCLA INTERRACIAL DISCUSSION PROGRAMS AND SIMILAR EXTENSION EFFORTS AIMED AT MEETING THESE NEEDS. (THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES CHAPTER REFERENCES.) THIS DOCUMENT IS AVAILABLE FROM THE STATE AGENCY FOR TITLE I, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK 20742. (LY)



The Agony of the Inner City

WHAT CAN CONTINUING EDUCATION DO?



edited by Stanley J. Drazek

NASULGC

FOUNDED in 1887, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) is composed of 99 major state universities and land-grant institutions located in the 50 states and Puerto Rico.

Although the membership represents less than five per cent of the nation's institutions of higher education, it enrolls almost 30 per cent of all students and awards about 30 per cent of all four-year bachelor and first professional degrees, 40 per cent of all master degrees, and 60 per cent of all doctorates.

Today, the comprehensive state university, intimately concerned with every aspect of the society which supports it and with expanding educational opportunity, is regarded as one of America's great social inventions. Its impact has been felt throughout the world as a result of its long and rich history of dedication to *public service* as well as *teaching* and *research*.

More than half of the research conducted by universities in the United States is done by state and land-grant institutions. Nearly half of the nation's prominent leaders are alumni of NASULGC institutions—Nobel prize winners, members of the National Academy of Science, governors, senators, congressmen, top executives in the largest corporations, and outstanding labor leaders.

The Council on Extension of NASULGC is composed of chief administrative officers responsible on an institution-wide basis for making available to the community as a whole the resources and services of the university. The members constituting the Council on Extension of NASULGC provide the outreach function of their institution through programs of *public service*, *teaching* and *research*.

The Agony of the Inner City . . .

What Can Continuing Education Do?

Edited by

STANLEY J. DRAZEK

Maryland State Agency
Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

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Cover Design by James B. Will

Preface

Our nation has often been called the melting pot for diverse religions, cultures and races, but there have been many instances in our history when this pot has boiled over.

The Council on Extension of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges in developing its program for the Association's 81st national conference determined that the agony of the inner city constituted the nation's most crucial internal problem. Many of the Council's member institutions had already directed their resources to the complex problems of urban life, and others were giving these problems serious consideration. Thus it appeared not only appropriate but compelling that the Council focus its attention on the problems of the inner city when it met in November, 1967, in Columbus, Ohio, following the third and worst summer of riots, unrest and disorder.

In designing this panel program the Council felt that broad geographic representation would be highly desirable. A program of post-riot reconstruction has been in operation for almost two and one-half years following the Watts riots in the summer of 1965; therefore, a person intimately connected with Watts was considered essential for this panel. The cities of Milwaukee, Detroit and Newark were selected because they represented more recent areas of riot and unrest, were of varying sizes, and had other unique characteristics that might provide clues for continuing education.

This publication reproduces the presentations made by the participants on the Council on Extension panel who considered the theme entitled, "The Agony of the Inner City . . . What Can Continuing Education Do?" The divergent opinions of the panelists with respect to the inner city crises are their own and do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the cooperating institutions, the Association, or the Maryland State Agency, Title I.

The Council on Extension is indebted to the following persons and their institutions for their cooperative assistance in securing highly qualified speakers for this panel:

Dr. Hamilton Stillwell, Dean, Division of Urban Extension, Wayne State University, for *Detroit* and panelist *Dr. Hubert G. Locke.*

Dr. Donald R. McNeil, Chancellor of University Extension, University of Wisconsin, for *Milwaukee* and panelist *Dr. Glen C. Pulver.*

Dr. Ernest F. McMahon, Dean of University Extension, Rutgers—The State University, for *Newark* and panelist *Mr. Arthur J. Holland.*

Dr. Paul H. Sheats, Dean of University Extension, University of California, for *Watts* and panelist *Mrs. Mary J. Hewitt.*

The Council extends its appreciation to Russell I. Thackrey, Executive Director of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and to his staff for the excellent conference arrangements. The Council also wishes to express its appreciation to John T. Mount, Vice President for Educational Services and to the staff at the Ohio State University who taped the panel's presentation. Finally, the Council wishes to express its thanks to the Maryland State Agency for Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 which has financed this publication as part of its responsibility to disseminate information relevant to community problems and continuing education.

STANLEY J. DRAZEK, *Chairman*
Council on Extension, NASULGC
December 5, 1967

The mistakes and omissions of previous generations must be corrected by those that follow.

Introduction

Stanley J. Drazek

Today's panel is directing its attention to one of the most crucial problems, perhaps **the** most crucial internal problem that this nation faces—the agony of the inner city. It is indeed appropriate for the Council on Extension of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC) to focus its attention on this high-priority public concern. The Association and its member institutions have a long history of teaching, research and service. Its philosophy on meeting society's needs is reflected in these words in its recent booklet, *Recommendations for National Action Affecting Higher Education,* and I quote:

> . . . The universities and colleges of the United States are currently being called upon to expand their traditional educational programs in unprecedented dimensions and to enter new areas of service. Not only is the demand for higher education growing rapidly, but also the need for continuing education in a period of rapid change, technological and otherwise, is greater than ever before. Not to meet these challenges would be to prejudice the future of the present generation.
>
> The Congress has recognized the great need for Federal aid to make available beyond the confines of the campus the resources of our colleges and universities in the solution of problems of national . . . concern through the enactment of . . . Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. . . . Through the implementation of programs of continuing education and extension . . . Congress enables universities to bring their unique resources to bear on the needs of individuals and communities for assistance in solving the multiple problems associated with rapid urbanization, technological change, social change, . . .[1]

Stanley J. Drazek, Chairman of the Council on Extension of NASULGC, was panel moderator. Mr. Drazek is Associate Dean, University College, University of Maryland.

We must maintain a sense of perspective in viewing the social revolution known as the Civil Rights Movement. We must seek an understanding of the problems of the inner city: the feeling of utter hopelessness and helplessness on the part of a large segment of our disadvantaged population—an explosive segment, as we know, who live in abject poverty but in a land of great affluence. It is impossible to place ourselves in their boots or hovels, but we cannot assume a head-in-the-sand posture. Much as some may wish, the problems of today are not likely to disappear. Perhaps Hughes Mearns' little poem may be appropriate to quote:

As I was going up the stair,
I saw a man who wasn't there.
He wasn't there again today,
I wish, I wish he'd go away.

The agony of our society during periods of revolutionary change has many historical antecedents. A brief review of the past may provide some clues for the future and perhaps a better understanding of our current conditions.

The great historical tragedy of slavery, the aftermath of which all people of the United States suffer today—certainly some much more than others—constitutes a blot that cannot be obliterated or ignored. Allan Nevins, the noted historian, provided a sense of perspective in responding to the problems of Watts and other cities when he said, and I quote:

> . . . we should remember that this is by no means the first time that racial violence has convulsed major parts of the United States. But in the past most of the violence and intimidation has been directed by ethnic majorities against one or another of the subordinate peoples: Negro, Chinese, Mexican, Indian, or Japanese.[2]

In August, 1831 an effective slave insurrection occurred in this country. The Nat Turner rebellion has been described by William Styron in his recent book, *Power and Eloquence.* In three days and nights, about 75 slaves killed some 55 white men, women and children and injured many others. Nat Turner believed that he was called by special revelation to slay the white people of Southhampton County in Virginia. He carried out his mission with frightening dedication until his followers were dispersed and he was captured, tried, hung and was not buried; his body was skinned; the flesh was boiled down for grease.

Between 1881 and 1900 there were about 23,000 labor strikes in the United States which involved more than six and one-half million workers. Labor felt it was entitled to a larger share of the wealth it helped to create and it felt that it should have a voice in determining its working conditions. Frequently both sides resorted to violence.

> . . . The "Molly Maguires," a secret society of coal miners which flourished in the Pennsylvania coal fields during the early '70's . . . not only destroyed mine property but injured or murdered mine owners and others who opposed them.[3]

In 1877, a railroad strike paralyzed most of the lines east of the Mississippi. It later spread to the Far West, and involved 100,000 men in fourteen states.

> . . . In large railroad terminal cities, clashes occurred between strikers and the state militia. Workers were killed or wounded. . . . The strikers retaliated by destroying millions of dollars of property. At Pittsburgh alone, the loss was estimated at $10,000,000.[4]

In 1932 as the depression became more acute, World War I veterans demanded bonus payments and marched on Washington. Approximately two billion dollars were involved, and they felt that the money, when made available to them and put in circulation, would stimulate the economy. Over 10,000 veterans from all over the country descended upon Washington to collect what they believed to be an honest debt and they demanded passage of the bonus legislation. Federal troops using tanks and gas bombs drove the "bonus expeditionary force" from Washington in August of 1932.

June 20, 1943. On a hot sultry Sunday thousands of Detroiters, both white and colored, sought a cool breeze in Belle Isle.

> . . . [A] Negro . . . shouted that a Negro woman and child had been thrown into the river by white men. No Negro investigated the lie. . . . They wanted to get even with the whites for trying to keep them from moving into the Sojourner Truth Housing project built by the Federal Government for them, for the strike staged by 25,000 whites because three Negroes had been upgraded by the Packard Motor Company, and for one hundred other things . . .[5]

When the fires of hatred subsided in Detroit, 34 persons were dead, nine whites and 25 Negroes. Five hundred more were in the hospitals and over one million dollars worth of property was destroyed. This took place in 1943, 24 years before the Detroit riot of Summer 1967, which Dr. Hubert Locke will analyze shortly in his remarks.

Watts, California. Summer 1965. These riots are vivid in the memories of all present, and the problems leading to them as well as the aftermath will be discussed in detail by Mrs. Mary J. Hewitt of UCLA.

Each of the six cases I have cited has certain elements in common but also contains many dissimilarities. Undoubtedly injustice, real or imagined, frustration, and social and economic imbalances form the common thread. Martin Luther King, Jr., while incarcerated in the Birmingham jail in 1963 wrote a letter which was reproduced in booklet form by the American Friends Service Committee. Several quotes from his letter have bearing on this discussion.

> . . . Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . . History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. . . . We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. . . . Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come. This is what has happened to the American Negro. . . .

> If his repressed emotions do not come out in these non violent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions of violence. . . .[6]

As we know, Martin Luther King advocates non-violence. In retrospect, his words written in 1963 carry a prophetic ring: "If his repressed emotions do not come out in these nonviolent ways, they will come out in ominous expressions. . . ."[7] We have witnessed the full impact in Watts and three other areas in 1965, 29 areas in 1966 and 81 in 1967.[8]

Our nation has often been called the melting pot for diverse religions, cultures and races, but there have been many instances in our history when this pot has boiled over. Generally, these have occurred during periods of strife, such as war or economic or social imbalances.

Many rational explanations might be advanced regarding the riots in Watts. But why the riots in New Haven, Connecticut, home of Yale University, a city that has enjoyed a national reputation for years as a model city

> which . . . received more Federal aid (on a per capita basis) than any other city . . . , a city that has undergone a major face-lifting through urban renewals. . . . Moreover, it enjoyed Mayor Richard C. Lee, who had a national reputation as a 'model mayor,' an individual who earned wide acclaim.[9]

Parenthetically, I should add that Mayor Lee was re-elected last Tuesday. Why the riots in New Haven?

Why the riots in Waterloo, Iowa last summer? The schools were fully integrated; the unemployment rates were not significantly different between the Negro and white workers.

Why the riots in Winston-Salem, North Carolina two weeks ago where conditions seem to parallel those in New Haven and Waterloo? All of these seem to make little sense. Why — Why . . ?

We can stretch these whys from hell to breakfast and probably find no satisfactory answers. Undoubtedly, some of the reasons lie in the fact that—

- 75% of our people live on less than 1% of our land. Under the impact of the technological revolution in agriculture, employment in farming has dropped—it fell 3.2 million between 1950 and 1966. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, farm workers and their families —several million people—have been leaving the rural areas in search of jobs and homes in the cities.
- Between 1940 and 1967, about 4 million Negroes moved from the South—primarily rural areas—to the cities of the North and West. In 1960, between 40 to 50 percent of the Negro population of 10 major northern and western cities were born in the South.
- The problems resulting from the flight of our middle classes from the inner city to the suburbs and the resultant problems for the city are evident. These reflect not only "racial and social inequity . . . [but] also fiscal inequity."[10]
- The unemployment rate is higher in the inner city than elsewhere. Nationally it is more than twice as high for nonwhite (7.6) than for

white (3.2).[11] In 1966, a significantly higher unemployment rate prevailed for 16-19 year old non-white youth (27.5) than for the white youth (12.1).[12]

- Since World War II the spread of automation has reduced drastically the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that require little or no education or training.
- Many persons who live in poverty hear and read about affluence or the new cult of Barriatrics and Barriatricians—fat-fighting doctors. Hungry people have little in common with the corpulent rich and others in the land of plenty.
- But probably the most important factor is the spirit of question and rebellion that permeates our nation. Students plan demonstrations and sit-ins and flaunt authority. They rebel against our involvement in Southeast Asia. Many young people seek psychedelic solutions. Teachers boycott schools in defiance of court orders and practice mass resignation. Catholic University of America experienced a strike last Spring; priests and ministers question church authority. Many groups that formerly accepted rules and regulations do not hesitate to rock the boat. Perhaps this spirit of protest has a contagious effect upon our society.

These and other conditions have provided fuel for the conflagrations that have enveloped many of our cities. Black Racism and other movements have forced some moderate Negro leaders to abandon their positions. Many whites have retired from the scene as a result of confusion or fear. Norman Cousins, in a *Saturday Review* editorial suggests:

> . . . there is much to be done. . . . Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Edward Brooke need far more support from the white community than they are now receiving.[13]

Kenneth E. Clark, prominent Negro sociologist and principal speaker at the recent National Conference of Negro Elected Officials, presented some interesting observations:

> . . . rioting in cities has achieved fewer advances for Negroes than the nonviolent civil rights movement achieved. . . . The Black Power advocate . . . 'does wield a curious type of emotional power in Negro communities. He strikes a responsive chord . . . particularly among the Negro youth.'
> But (Kenneth Clark) also said that some leaders of the Black Power and black nationalist movement 'give every evidence of being racial racketeers and can be bought off. They sell themselves to the highest bidder and they are not bound by ideals, ideological or racial loyalties.'[14]

These chilling observations should provide both comfort and concern to Negro and white alike. All steps possible should be taken to avoid further polarization of positions.

In the history of mankind, our period may be identified as the age of nuclear energy, space exploration, the cybernetic revolution, or the throw-away-glass civilization. Or it may be labeled as the period of the City

Ghetto, human misery, despair, rebellion and anarchy. The problems of today will be solved not by charity, welfare or other palliatives. Rather, "The federal government can provide resources but the initiative, the drive and the creative management . . . will have to come from the communities themselves. . . . How do we re-arouse the desire to care, to hope, to act?" These were questions Vice President Humphrey asked when he addressed the National Conference of Catholic Charities on October 10, 1967 in San Francisco.

Are these not questions that merit the attention of educators? Should not Continuing Education provide some of the answers to the Agony of Our Inner Cities? Was it not Walt Whitman who said,

> I would rather be taxed for the education of the boy than for the ignorance of the man. I will be taxed for one or the other. . . .

Has not the time arrived to extend these programs not only for the boy but also for the man? Our distinguished panel will help us find some answers to this crucial subject "The Agony of the Inner City . . . What Can Continuing Education Do?"

[1] *Recommendations for National Action Affecting Higher Education*, A Joint Statement, ASCU, NASULGC, January 1967, pp. 8, 25 and 26.

[2] Allan Nevins, Dateline Watts: "From the Ashes, a Solution," *Saturday Review*, September 23, 1967, p. 79.

[3] Leon Canfield and Howard B. Wilder, *The Making of Modern America*, 1952, p. 393.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 394.

[5] A. Clayton Powell, Sr., *Riots and Ruins*. 1945, pp. 36-37.

[6] Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," American Friends Service Committee, 1963, *passim.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[8] *Facts on File* for 1965, 1966, and 1967.

[9] Karmin, Monroe W., "Post Riots Election in 'Model City'." *The Wall Street Journal*, November 3, 1967, p. 12.

[10] Harold Howe, II, "The Strength of a Sparrow," address delivered before the National School Boards Association, September 22, 1967, Washington, D.C.

[11] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *New Definitions for Employment and Unemployment*, Table 4, p. 15.

[12] National Urban League, *The Racial Gap, 1955-65: 1965-67*, p. 13.

[13] "Black Racism," *Saturday Review*, September 30, 1967, p. 34.

[14] Robert C. Maynard quoting Kenneth E. Clark, "Containment of New Violence Forecast," *The Washington Post*, Sunday, October 1, 1967, p. A3.

Detroit

Hubert G. Locke

The agony of the inner cities in America is not new. What is astonishing is that the explosions which have erupted in urban ghettos across the nation during the past four years should evoke such surprise and alarm among the American people. Every perceptive observer of the racial problem in America for the last decade has given clear warnings of impending and widespread social chaos—from James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* to Martin Luther King and his continual plea that America respond to the non-violent pleadings of an angry, impatient minority or else face the alternative that violence would become a kind of last, desperate resort. That alternative no longer exists and we face in the urban centers of this nation that very cataclysmic confrontation which King and many like him hoped so desperately to avoid. It is as though a new force has arisen within the urban ghetto which, in effect, is saying "White America didn't listen when King tried to catch their ear; now we'll make white America watch and look while we burn its cities to the ground."

I.

Part of our difficulty in understanding this phenomenon, not to mention finding effective ways of coping with it, stems from our inability to adequately ask the right questions about it—to define precisely what it is we have in mind when we speak about the inner city. The very terms themselves—"inner city," "core city," "urban ghetto"—in a sense have become so romanticised in American literature that they mask the foul reality which is slum housing, poverty, an incredibly high infant mortality rate, unemployment, crime and violence, and a dozen other visible signs of urban decay. Even the academic community with its passion for objectivity has contributed to this romanticizing process by consecrating this inhumane exis-

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tence as a "sub-culture," a designation which permits us to conduct continual academic post-mortems—usually with the generous assistance of public and private research grants—without having to make or feel any personal identification with the problem.

Out of this nostalgic process comes much of the post-riot rhetoric to which we are subjected in the aftermath of each explosion—rhetoric, I might add, which in many instances simply does not fit the facts. The first and most critical need therefore is for American society to accurately and meaningfully grasp just what these urban ghettos are that are exploding with such increasing frequency and intensity. I submit that only after we have discussed the way in which to ask the right questions about this phenomenon will we be either ready or able to discover adequate and effective answers for its ills.

It has already been suggested in a recent study by Stanley Elkins that if we would psychologically understand the impact of American slavery upon the Negro personality, we should examine with some care the barbaric experiences of Jewish victims of the concentration camps during the Third Reich. Elkins proceeds to do this with extremely painful but pertinent results. What I want to suggest is that aspects of this historical-psychological parallel can be extended with even greater relevance to the experiences of poor people—mainly but not exclusively Negroes—who are trapped or confined by barriers no less real, even if not so visible, in the urban ghettos of our nation.

II.

Since the 12th century and the Crusades, the ghetto has been one of the more effective ways in which Western society has dealt with the "Jewish problem." In a sense, it was a rather short step from the ghetto as an answer to the Jewish problem to the concentration and extermination camps of Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, and Treblinka as an effective way to accomplish the final solution of the Jewish problem. This process does not basically concern us here except to note that it did take place in another affluent, intellectual, technologically proficient nation, and that those black militants who foresee this possibility arising in America as a solution to the Negro problem at least have a recent and frightfully relevant historical parallel upon which to draw.

What I wish to focus our attention upon is one step removed from the "final solution," i.e. the ghettos of Eastern Europe into which Jewish people were on the one hand forced, and on the other, driven by their own intense desire for survival. These ghettos indelibly shaped and stamped their attitudes, customs and outlooks. It is clear for example that the Jewish ghettos of Eastern Europe were not only looked upon with considerable favor by the non-Jewish populations of this area—as a way of geographically separating a "troublesome" segment from the rest of the populace—they were also accepted with some relief by the Jewish people themselves. With a long history of being the victims of discrimination by a majority society, the ghetto gave the Jews some faint sense of security from hostile, outside forces and an opportunity to develop their own cultural traditions.

The Jewish ghetto was primarily a place of residence. Jews who worked

in German, Polish, or Ukrainian businesses were allowed to move to and from the ghetto with relative freedom. At the same time, however, a vast business and professional system developed within the ghetto itself, giving it an almost autonomous existence.

Not all Jews of course accepted the ghetto system—a fact which not only gave rise to ghetto resistance movements but also one which highlights two dominant attitudes or perspectives that the Jewish people developed toward the ghetto. By far the larger group was composed of those who took the path of least resistance and sought to adjust or accommodate themselves to ghetto life, either philosophically as being the will of God or practically as the easiest way of survival. The motivation for the resistance movement was also clear. It was, to quote a pertinent passage from the novel *Treblinka:* "born of despair, of the feeling that there is nothing left, that life has lost its meaning . . . it is no longer a revolt for the sake of something, some ideal or other, but a revolt against nothingness."

There was also a third mood in the ghetto, reflected in those who despaired about the future and who lived only for what the present would bring. This mood gave rise to a degree of a social, criminal behavior in the ghetto that was a radical departure from the degree to which this phenomenon exists in normal Jewish society.

These moods gave rise to or were reflected in a discernible class structure in the ghetto and, later, an even greater social class organization in the concentration-extermination camps. This class structure reflected either the philosophy of accommodation or the posture of revolt. But in either case, the social structure gave rise to intense, internal class conflict within the ghetto which apparently was overcome only in the face of severe external threats to the ghetto community.

Finally, the motif or thread which ran through this entire situation, which characterized its existence and made the ghetto ultimately what it was, was the common experience of humiliation which all ghetto inhabitants suffered. This loss of a sense of dignity and worth, the human degradation which was deeply felt and bitterly resented even if one learned to live with it, appears to have been that one, common experience which all Jews of the ghetto carried with them.

III.

It is precisely these moods and motifs and structures which I would suggest are the dominant features of urban American ghettos today. We must understand these features if we are to grasp the significance of what is occurring in urban America as well as to find effective ways to cope with its problems. The agony of the ghetto is not only the agony of those who live in the physical slums of American cities. It is also to a great extent the psychological bitterness, hostility, frustration and especially the sense of humiliation which black Americans feel who are confined to an emotional ghetto created by white society by its television, billboard and mass media commercials, by its profound tensions over such peripheral issues as open occupancy, by the double standards of morality and justice which white America practices in stark contrast to its preachments, and by a hundred other visible and invisible, insidious and ofttimes even unconscious ways in

which it makes clear that there is little desire on the part of most white Americans for permitting black Americans to enter American society on an equal footing.

There are, of course, important exceptions to this assertion. The fact that I am willing to acknowledge them sets me apart in principle and perspective from that dogmatic, totalitarian view of history and American race relations which marks the stance of black militants. But it is the mood of these black militants which is of primary importance that we understand today, for again drawing on the historical parallel of the East European ghettos and the Nazi concentration camps, when the revolts came, whether it was that of the Warsaw ghetto uprising or the famed revolt at the extermination camp at Treblinka, it was the Jewish aristocracy, the Hofjuden, who led the rebellion, just as in Detroit and around the nation today, it is basically middle-class Negroes, the black bourgeoisie, who articulate most clearly the corruptiveness of the "system" and who call for armed revolt as a valid and necessary strategy.

IV.

If it is correct to suggest that the ghetto in America is just as much a state of mind, an outlook, a feeling tone as it is discernible, geographic areas—perhaps even more the former than the latter—then our task is made infinitely more difficult. That the physical ghettos of an affluent America must be eliminated is obvious; the nation has been saying this for decades but doing little about it. But even if we could accomplish this herculean task, it may well not resolve the problem of racial tensions or of urban violence. This is why those who see the solution as exclusively that of eliminating the ghettos see only a part of the problem and present a partial solution.

Dealing with the other half of this problem will tax the imagination, resources and energies of every segment of this nation. It is one for which I do not presume to have any answers, except to suggest briefly that it will be the task of Negroes in American society to give legitimacy to the concept of black power and of white Americans to give validity to the concept of integration. Of this however, I am certain, and I want to state it in the most stark, candid, blunt terms that I can: if the white populace in America who are in decision-making positions in business, government, education, politics, military, religious and civic affairs can validly be compared with those in similar positions in Germany during the Third Reich, then the possibility of an experience for America's Negroes similar to that of Germany's Jews who fell victim to an extremist, lunatic fringe while the mass of the German intellectuals sat in stunned silence, becomes appallingly real. There are those Negroes who, while recognizing this sickening possibility—that it did happen once in our lifetime and I repeat in one of the most educated, affluent, technologically proficient nations in the 20th century, and that it can happen again—yet refuse viscerally to believe that this is the destiny of America. Like Jewish leaders of the European ghettos, we harbour the fear that we may be wrong, but we work and pray desperately that we are right, although there is a preponderance of evidence against us.

Milwaukee

Glen C. Pulver

Crime and violence; filth and disease; inadequate housing and poverty; no jobs and high prices; junk cars and poor schools are realities in the lives of most inner city residents today. Mountains of statistics are piled in front of us to prove the point. Pages and pages are written to tell the story: *The Other America, Slums and Suburbs, Another Country, Man Child in the Promised Land,* to mention only a few. One need spend only a few moments listening to the people who live there to know that the statistics are true. The reality of daily life in the inner city is most painful.

Yet these statistics, these books, these observations are apt to cloud the source of the pain—the real agony of the inner city. If one takes the time to listen carefully a deeper hurt is revealed . . . a feeling that you don't count; that the "man" won't listen and doesn't care; a conviction that all you'll get is frustration if you try; a fear that you'd better go along or get "stomped;" and an immense alienation toward authority of all kinds. Poverty does not cause riots. It permits them.

In the midst of the masses, the inner city resident has been isolated. Isolated from city government, school administrators, employers, police officials, and other authorities as effectively as if he were alone in the midst of a desert. His sense of personal identity is destroyed. Unfortunately, his desert is filled with dope pushers, thugs, stopped-up plumbing, broken street lights, rats, crowded schools, and unethical shopkeepers.

The inner city resident is not the only one suffering from the growing gap in communication between the people and those in positions of power. People throughout the country have less and less direct ties to the decision-makers or power structure. The problem may be a consequence of our growing urbanization. Even the small towns are beginning to feel the pain.

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Almost 20 years ago in most small towns the school teacher visited the homes and knew the parents as well as the children. Everyone knew the town chairman and the school board. Potential employers knew all the people around. A spirit of involvement, real or imagined, permeated the community. Today, the teachers live somewhere else and know only the children in their classes. Few people in the community know more than one member of the school board. Seldom, if ever, does one converse with a member of the county council. Employment may be 40 miles away. In short, even the small town and country residents are increasingly separated from voices of authority. They, too, are feeling a loss of identity and consequent alienation. This frustration is compounded in the massive inner city and doubly so if your skin is black or your language different.

The entire country is infected and is growing increasingly inflamed. Family disintegration, delinquency, illegitimacy, alcoholism, and bankruptcy are common in small towns and cities. Like a huge boil our society festers, then swells progressively and breaks out in great sores which—with seemingly little provocation—burst open, leaving scars for a lifetime. The infection is not cured by bandaging the sores or by applying patent solutions to the surface. The sickness will only go away when society deals directly with the source of the infection.

The inflammation is a consequence of the destruction of self-respect and personal identity which is caused by a breakdown in two-way communication between the people (the resident of the inner city, small town, or open country) and those in positions of authority (public officials, school authorities, teachers, welfare workers, employers). This may seem peculiar in this time of expanding mass media (radio, TV, newspapers, magazines). Unfortunately, most of the mass media devices communicate one way only. The absence of a chance to talk back is more frustrating than being restricted to only an occasional opportunity for open communication. If the agony of the inner city is to be relieved, some way must be found to open the doors to constructive communication (give and take).

Much can be done to address the problems of the inner city through programs in continuing education. Universities have become a major force in the development of new technology through research. They can also play a significant role in society through action experiments, demonstration programs, and other outreach efforts which bring the know-how of the university to bear on the problems of the inner city. It is precisely in the role of innovator that the university has the most to contribute.

University Extension of the University of Wisconsin has thrown itself into the inner-city struggles in Milwaukee. Examples of its efforts are:

Jobs: (a) Working with public agencies in the development of new careers and new career ladders; (b) Training people for jobs as homemaker aides, hospital aides, etc.; (c) Holding business management programs for Negro businessmen; and (d) Teaching courses aimed at helping people pass civil service exams.

Housing: (a) Informing citizens of public funds available for housing; (b) Assisting in the organization of the community to take advantage of

available resources in public housing; and (c) Teaching courses in home improvement in inner city centers.

Consumer Education: (a) Carrying on applied research regarding frequency of wage attachment by specific businesses; (b) Teaching courses directly to inner city residents on credit traps, wise buying, and food stamp programs; (c) Educating consumers about credit unions and buying clubs; and (d) Advising employers, federal housing authorities, banks and state agencies relative to consumer abuses so that they don't refuse employment or loans on the basis of a wage attachment record alone.

Health: (a) Reaching expectant mothers and new mothers with a special health education program; (b) Working with hospital and public health officials in the development of health clinics; and (c) Developing a rat control education program.

Education: (a) Organizing volunteer tutor programs; (b) Training Head Start teachers, etc.; (c) Establishing demonstration programs involving teacher aides; (d) Experimenting with high school equivalency training such as the Migrant Youth on Campus program as well as in the community itself; and (e) Cooperating with school officials in experiments with English as a second language and basic literacy for Spanish-speaking adults.

The list could go on. University Extension does all of these things and more. For the most part, these efforts are effective in reaching some of the sores of the inner city. In spite of this work, the gap in communications between the residents of the inner city and the voices of authority remains. The toughest challenge for institutions interested in continuing education is to work closely with the inner city residents and those whose daily decisions have a direct influence on what happens there, to seek common understanding, and to hammer out solution routes.

University Extension of the University of Wisconsin has tried several things aimed at improving understanding and communication: (a) Courses for officials of employment offices; (b) Courses for union members and officers on the problems of the inner city; (c) Training programs for staff members in Community Action Agencies; (d) Courses for welfare workers; (e) Conferences for the public at large; (f) Workshops for police officials; and (g) Conferences for Human Relations Councils. All of these programs have included Negro history, problems of the disadvantaged, and other forms of sensitivity training. There have been leadership development programs for inner city youths and efforts to encourage greater coordination among the many ghetto organizations which now exist. Once again, the results have been good, but these programs essentially provide one-way communication only. People are told what others are like, but the programs in themselves do not generate complete communication and understanding.

The most exciting and encouraging programs are those which have grown out of the work with University-paid Community Representatives. University Extension employs approximately 15 articulate individuals directly from the inner city neighborhoods in Milwaukee. These people are employed on a part-time basis and work out of centers throughout the inner city. They have varying educational backgrounds, but share a common

ability to bridge the communication gap between the people and the university. It is their job to talk with their neighbors and friends and to seek out their interests. They communicate this information to the regular University Extension faculty who, in turn, try to gather the resources to meet these needs (e.g. reading tutors for children, typing classes, preparation for civil service exams, exchanges with suburban churches).

The most powerful program to come out of this has been the school-community project in Milwaukee. This program came from the people to fruition through communication with public school officials and the university. It grew from street corner discussions about unconcerned schools, through a special reading program in the summer of 1965, to a demonstration program in the summer of 1966, and in the summer of 1967 a program involving about 90 teachers and 900 families in the inner city.

The problem addressed by this program is a common one in our cities. Classrooms are crowded; the teachers are mostly from middle-class backgrounds, and from small towns. The children and their parents have little common ground for understanding with the teachers. As a consequence, there is little feeling of connection or cooperation on either side. The program is supported by the public schools and the university. The teachers are employed in the summer. They take courses in Negro history and the problems of the disadvantaged. The remainder of their time is spent in getting acquainted with children from the school and their families. Each teacher works with 10 students. He visits with the family, takes them to the zoo, to museums, the park, etc. He is aided in his early contacts by the Community Representatives.

The person-to-person communication produces remarkable results. The teachers have a much greater understanding of the students' problems, contact the families during the school year, and help establish operating policies in the schools which deal with the problems specific to the children of the inner city. Parent and student alienation toward the school is greatly reduced. This is only a first step, but a giant one.

A similar effort has just been completed with two dozen personnel officers in Milwaukee industries. The Community Representatives were once again the keys to person-to-person contact in the homes. It is too early to measure the results of this experiment in closing the communication gap.

The efforts outlined have indicated some ways in which Continuing Education can play a direct education role in helping solve the problems of the inner city. In addition, the story of the inner city must be taken to the citizens of all the city, the suburbs, and the rest of the state. The hurt of isolation, frustration, fear and alienation must be understood by all. There is great need for increased financial support for inner city programs and changes in legislation as well. This will require widespread political support. If the story is properly told, the residents of even the smallest town will recognize the frustration of breakdowns in interpersonal communications. They will see the consequent problems. The inflammation which leads to the agony of the inner city will be evident and understood. Programs which offer hope of recognition, self-respect, personal identity and human dignity will be willingly supported. This is a task for Continuing Education.

Newark

Arthur J. Holland

First they were called simply the signs of trouble in our old, central cities—problems of the city. As urban ills increased, there was talk of blight and slums. Then municipal malaise developed to the point that everyone, it seemed, began to talk and write about "cities in crisis." Next, the plight of the cities was stated as being "desperate." And now, the next to last word is being used to describe the state of many of our cities.

I first saw the word used when I was invited to address this meeting on the "agony" of the inner city. It next appeared, for me, on the cover of the October issue of the magazine of the National League of Cities. "Beyond the Agony" introduced a symposium on what lies ahead after last summer's riots. Again, on the front page of the New York *Times* for October 29, it was contained in the headline, "St. John's to Remain Unfinished as a Sign of Anguish of Slums."

A graphic description of what has happened during these years of change in city conditions and functions is found in a talk given by Schuyler Lowe, then Director of General Administration for the District of Columbia, at Hot Springs, Virginia, on May 28 of last year. He tells of the population shifts which have made of the District a city of the young and the old, that have made of it a place where reside 65 per cent of area households with less than $4,000 income and where 84 per cent of the area's non-white population live though the District contains only 35 per cent of the total population of the metropolitan area. Industry, a relatively small part traditionally of the District's economic base, is becoming still smaller as it seeks larger sites in the suburbs. The crime rate continues to rise. And, while the overall population shows only a slight increase, the public school enrollment has skyrocketed.

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Agony cannot continue indefinitely; there is either death or recovery. That our cities, for so long centers of national strength, should die is such an incomprehensible and tragic thought, it is difficult to consider this alternative. Yet this can happen; it is possible for life to be considered worse than death, thus a rioter's decision to risk death rather than continue to accept an inner city existence.

How can the agony be overcome—the agony born of ignorance, idleness, ill-health, squalor and all the rest of what Michael Harrington called in *The Other America,* "The Culture of Poverty"—agony most visible in the convulsions of riots?

I have long been convinced that the only way in which the problems of our cities can be satisfactorily solved is by attacking their causes. The curative effect of any other problem-solving approach will be short-lived. And, since their causes are invariably rooted in a lack of knowledge, only through education can a lasting change for the better be achieved.

If the cycle of destitution and despair is to be broken, its most vulnerable point is at its beginning. It is difficult to reform the old; there is hope that new life can be led to overcome its obstacles.

Home is the key to either culture or lack of it for any child. If the parents are educated, the child will absorb their learning. If the parents are genteel, so will be the child. If the parents are industrious, their energetic attitude will become that of the child. If the parents are honest and respectful of the law, these characteristics will be found in the child. There are of course exceptions, but generally the axiom holds, "like father, like son."

The child in such a home is well prepared to enter school, is assisted with his homework, is encouraged when he needs support, is directed toward college, goes on to achieve his share of the American dream.

What is to happen to the child who does not live with his parents, may not even know who they are, or who lives with only one parent? And what if that parent may not have wanted the child to begin with? Or, loving it, is incapable of bestowing upon it the things necessary for normal development? This is the culturally deprived child for whom the American dream will almost surely be but a myth.

There are millions of such children. After the riots in Harlem, it was noted that half of the children living it that section of New York City were living in homes where there were no parents or only one parent.

Or, given both parents, parents who love him, but who cannot give culturally what they do not possess, how can society compensate? How can we enrich a culturally deprived child?

There must be a really early start. Present Head Start programs, it is being found, are not enough. Cognitive psychologists believe that the most rapid growth of intelligence takes place before the age of four. This is the crucial period; what a child learns then determines largely his future achievement.[1]

Cooperative Extension, I believe, can through its specialists, play as important a role in urban America as it has in the agricultural life of our country. Through increasing the parent's knowledge, the city agent will be helping indirectly the child as well. The proper preparation of meals, orderly housekeeping, and economical shopping methods can help achieve a normal home situation. The effect of such an extension program can be multiplied through the training of aides who can assist with the work of the extension staff.

Continuing education programs can assist teachers in the learning of new techniques designed to make the teaching of inner city children more effective.

One of the greatest opportunities for continuing education to help the inner city is through the conducting of human relations courses for police officers. This was done in Newark.

Another significant opportunity is that of bringing together welfare and war-on-poverty workers so that misunderstandings as to their respective roles can be cleared up and cooperative relationships established.

The manpower training field is critically related to inner-city conditions. Retraining programs are essential if those who have been automated out of their jobs are going again to be gainfully employed.

Working with city, county, state and federal governments, with the community action agency, and with community leaders, the university extension service, in all of these program areas, can be a key factor in keeping a community peaceful and in bringing equality of opportunity in all of its aspects to those who are caught in the throes of the agony of the inner city.

Community development seminars provide an excellent opportunity for continuing education to alleviate and to prevent inner city agony. Yesterday and the day before, the Bureau of Community Services of the University Extension Division of Rutgers brought together in cooperation with the Township of Teaneck government a cross section of the top leadership of that New Jersey community. This municipality is relatively well off. It has its problems but it also has the time needed to cope with them. Under the guidance of adult educators from the fields of social work, public administration and community development, this group of approximately 40 community leaders was brought up-to-date on the latest techniques for solving city problems and in the process of dialogue arrived at greater understanding of one another's viewpoints on community issues which had been creating tensions. Such seminars can mobilize the most influential and effective people of the community to bring their talents to the solution or the prevention of the problems which have led to the agony of the inner city.

Perhaps the most dramatic indication of the move of continuing education to meet today's needs is in its adapting one of its most traditional services from the agricultural to the urban scene. 4-H Clubs, under the sponsorship of Rutgers Cooperative Extension, are now functioning in New Jersey cities.

Cities need massive technical and financial assistance if the job is to be done in time to save them—especially in the form in which we wish to see them. If the process takes too long, we may have brought equality of opportunity to the poor and enabled them to obtain decent housing and jobs, but they will be living in almost all-Negro cities, blots of another kind upon our democracy and evidence to the world that America has its own brand of apartheid.

If, however, the benefits of education and their resultant employment opportunities can be made available to all of our people on an accelerated basis, the socio-economic improvement that comes with education and employment can gain for Negroes social acceptance by whites to the extent that they will be welcome or at least accepted as neighbors.

Our cities must survive. Continuing education can help put them on the road to recovery.

[1] Pines, Maya, "Slum Children Must Make Up for Lost Time," *New York Times Magazine* (October 15, 1967), p. 76.

Watts

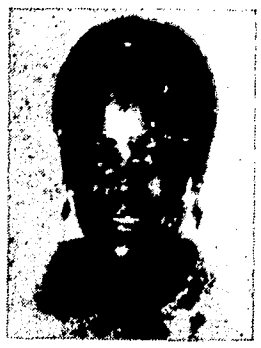
Mary J. Hewitt

WHERE AND WHAT IS WATTS?

Watts is actually a part of a larger geographical area—South Central Los Angeles. Since the rebellion started in Watts, and spread from there, the tendency to think of the rebellion as being restricted to that small area is great.

The Watts-Willowbrook-Avalon area, where the rebellion began, is a 20-square-mile district whose eastern portion holds about one-sixth of Los Angeles County's 523,000 Negroes. It is an area of low family income, substandard housing and substandard education. The Compton-Watts-Willowbrook-Avalon area has the lowest income in Los Angeles County except for the skid row district of downtown Los Angeles. Nearly 45 per cent of Watts families have incomes of less than $4,000 per year. Several large housing projects occupy much of the land. It remains a Negro ghetto with a steady migration from the Deep South, populated by people who are seeking escape from a system which denies them and their children even the barest of opportunity—people often unfamiliar with the complexities of living in a large and impersonal urban area. Add to this the fact that California voters, for the first time anywhere, repealed a state fair housing law by a two-to-one margin in a referendum (Proposition 14) held in 1964, and you understand the feeling of being trapped on the part of residents of south Los Angeles.

At least 13 of the elementary schools in south Los Angeles do not have cafeterias. Cafeterias in the city school system operate at cost and are closed down wherever students cannot support them. Thirteen hundred free lunches a day are provided by PTA funds throughout the entire system—but these are not available in those schools where there are no cafeterias, where the need is most desperate.



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Costly and inadequate transportation from within the southern area to other parts of Los Angeles handicaps residents in seeking and holding jobs, attending schools, shopping and in fulfilling other needs. It has had a major influence in creating a sense of isolation among the residents.

Consumer problems are rife in the area under discussion. Retailing practices most often subjected to criticism are pricing, credit, merchandise quality, and customer treatment. The price differential for food products is nearly three per cent between the curfew zone (south Los Angeles) and stores outside the area. Prices in some markets (small, owner-operated) were as much as seven to 10 per cent higher than comparable stores outside the area.

Most of the furniture and apparel stores are credit operations stressing low down payments and easy terms. Consumers are often ignorant of the concept of interest. Thus, the usual pattern in disadvantaged areas prevails—defaulting on installment obligations leads to loss of property through repossession, garnishment of wages, and lack of an adequate remedy when the consumer feels he has been unfairly treated. Public and private agencies exist to help the consumer in such a situation, but they are generally understaffed, underfinanced and overburdened. Often the consumer does not even know of the agency's existence.

Perhaps the most frequently cited complaint on the part of residents of the curfew area is one of police brutality. Whether the brutality takes the form of physical abuse or indignities, it is a state of mind in south Los Angeles. The words of a 21-year-old participant in the riot suggest that what is really burning the community is a *combination* of physical abuse and indignities. "I been kicked and called 'nigger' for the last time. They's lots worse things down here than dyin'."

Though brief, I believe this sketch reveals that Watts, or south Los Angeles, is not so terribly different from countless other impacted, economically and socially disadvantaged communities in the United States—communities which have exploded, as did Watts in August, 1965, because their residents felt there were "lots worse things . . . than dyin'."

THE AFTERMATH

Hearings, studies, and more studies characterized the aftermath of the riots in this previously ignored section of Los Angeles. An eight-member commission was appointed by the Governor on August 20, 1965, headed by John A. McCone, to study the south Los Angeles riots. Perhaps the most comprehensive of the many studies was that undertaken immediately following the rebellion by a group of social scientists at UCLA. It has just recently been completed.[1]

The McCone Report was transmitted to the Governor on December 2, 1965. Disappointment over the McCone Commission report's asserted failure to offer any *bold immediate* proposals was aired throughout the Negro community. The Reverend H. H. Brookins, United Civil Rights Committee Chairman, declared that the report "scarcely comes to grips at all with the incendiary issue that finally lit the fire in the streets of Watts—the widespread Negro allegations of police misbehavior," and "fails to recognize and

come to grips with racial discrimination as the root cause of the August explosions."[2]

Chairman of the UCLA Study Group, Dr. Nathan Cohen, states, "The McCone Commission Report recommendations represent a *maximum program* to most whites, including most white leaders, but only a minimum and largely symbolic program to Negro leadership and followership alike. The very nature of the political structure is producing barriers to the accomplishment of even these 'minimal' recommendations . . ."[3] Thus, nothing has really changed in Watts, or south Los Angeles, since August of 1965, as stated in the words of a young poet of the Frederick Douglass Writers' Workshop of Watts, entitled *BAD NEWS:*

No check
in mailbox
No food
filling icebox . . .
. . . Shattered glass
(slivers of the spirit)
shattered hands
(Longing to be loved)
shattered bones
(welcome to the blood knot) . . .

Dr. Cohen offers some profound observations as to why nothing has changed essentially:

> Much of the expansion of resources has come from the Federal government. There has been growing uncertainty as to the availability of funds and many programs are never sure about their survival. Summer programs tend to be funded at the beginning of the summer and even in mid-summer rather than a year in advance so that appropriate plans can be made. There is also evidence of a growing Congressional resistance to legislation dealing with the problems of the slum ghettos. Crucial programs such as model cities, rent supplements, aid to education, the community action program of O.E.O., and rat control have become political footballs. More basic programs such as a massive public works project, guaranteed jobs, encouragement of the private sector to participate in slum problems through tax incentives, and a guaranteed annual income have not reached the drawing board.[4]

This is not to say that there has been *no* activity in south Los Angeles. The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Los Angeles (a center of controversy since its creation) claims to have created 48,797 temporary and permanent jobs for poor people. Operation Head Start has helped approximately 25,000 poor children get a head start in education and socialization. The Neighborhood Youth Corps has assisted 45,000 youngsters. The Youth Training and Employment Program steered 10,000 dropouts between the ages of 16 and 21 into career development. There are four Skill Centers funded by the U.S. Department of Labor in south Los Angeles; plus one funded by the Ford Foundation. Operation Bootstrap is thriving in Watts without federal subsidy and has added Operation Bootstring, featuring African styles, to its operation.

But, in the words of a young Watts resident, "What whites call improvement is nothing but tokenism, like the patient is bleeding to death and all the Man can apply is a Band-aid." The ghetto resident looks upon "The Man's"[5] (white power) efforts to quiet the black folk as being grounded in cynicism. Career development for what—jobs which are rapidly becoming obsolescent in our highly technological society; on-the-job training in public agencies which have no budgetary provisions for absorbing these anti-poverty workers into their agencies on a permanent career basis; and supplementary educational programs which have no relation to the reality of the world in which its recipients live. Add to these social-political-economic complexities of our society the growing polarization within the black community, and one realizes what a difficult question has been put to this panel. What can continuing education do, given the agony of the inner city?

First, we as educators must understand as profoundly as we can the nature of the problems of the inner city, and one cannot gain that understanding by remaining on the campus. Nor can one gain it by ignoring the militant segment of the black community, by dismissing it as a vocal, but insignificant minority. For just as there was greater sympathy on the part of non-participants in the Los Angeles riots with the rioters than one realizes, there is greater sympathy for the militant position on the part of many members of the black community than one realizes.

A humorous story makes the rounds of Detroit today about the well-educated, well-dressed black man who felt no fear about moving around the black community during the riot because he had a pass from the Mayor. Can you imagine what would have happened to him had he reached inside his coat for the pass when confronted by a Detroit policeman or a National Guardsman? The "everlasting stain," as Kelly Miller[6] typified our pigmentation, forces a *rational* member of the black community to place less emphasis upon *individual* mobility than upon collective concern. And this collective concern is the focus of the militant philosophy. An integral part of that philosophy is not only, as many think, an anti-racist racism, but the strong feeling that the white community's responsibility rests with educating the *white* community, rather than its leading the black community . . . A more difficult task, I assure you. Thus, at last, we come to the question put to this panel.

WHAT CAN CONTINUING EDUCATION DO?

Given the present system of financing continuing education, we can do very little, considering the size and scope of the problem. For example, "Grantsmanship" is key to the survival of the department of University of California Extension, Los Angeles, which employs me—The Department of Urban Affairs, an extension created to bring the resources of the University to bear upon some of these complex urban problems. University Extension in California receives only 6.9 percent of its budget from State funds. The rest comes from fee income, grants and contracts. And who will pay high fees to learn more about the less advantaged of our society? Even when a program focuses upon the rich contributions Afro-Americans have made to American art and culture, the response is minimal.

Our particular clientele is more interested in the Yucatan, Land of the

Ancient Mayas, or Ancient Greece and Rome. These programs deal with cultures far enough removed in time and distance to be exotic and safe. However, the projected lecture series on Black Power may draw more of the white community out than did American Art and Culture: The Negro's Contribution. Since Black Power conferences held around the nation have excluded whites, curiosity may guide them to our series. We have a responsibility as adult educators to shed light on controversial and little understood facets of our society. And certainly the concept of Black Power is controversial and little understood in the majority community.

In spite of budgetary limitations and reluctance on the part of our citizenry to confront painful issues, however, University of California Extension has had some measure of success in shedding light upon the problems of the inner city and the minority populations trapped therein.

As long ago as 1961, the founder of a finance company in Los Angeles left a sum of money in his will to be utilized on behalf of minority group members of the community. Officials of the company sought the assistance of University Extension in meeting the conditions of the will. As a result, a conference for minority group community leaders was held at our Lake Arrowhead Conference Center to ascertain what University Extension could and should do by way of programming to attract more minority group participants to our programs. Although the need to enlarge our clientele to be more representative of the population was uppermost in the minds of many in our organization, this was the first time that funds became available to ascertain why we were not fulfilling that need.

Since that time we have developed lecture series on "The Negro in American Society," "The Mexican-American in Transition," "The Negro in American Culture" (a history course televised over the five owned and operated NBC stations throughout the country), "The Japanese Evacuation of 1942," "The Negro and the Arts," and "Beyond the McCone Report." Many of these programs which originated in the Los Angeles division of University of California Extension were rotated among several of the other University of California Extension divisions or adapted for local use. University Extension at Los Angeles offered a Negro history class long before the need for one was recognized by the History Department of the regular session at UCLA. A large percentage of the audiences for these programs is teachers who have been encouraged by State legislation to acquire knowledge about minority group contributions to American history.

Conversations after a statewide conference on "Race and Property" in December of 1963 led to the establishment of the Community Seminar Program in the Spring of 1964. It continues to be offered Fall and Spring of each year. This interracial discussion program with a mixed format is designed to facilitate communication among people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. It is an invitational program of discussion groups who meet together for an all-day opening conference, followed by weekly meetings in homes for six weeks, and concludes with a residential weekend conference. With the aid of a Ford Foundation grant, the program has been expanded to other University of California Extension divisions and an evaluation component has been built in. Holding the residential weekend conference at midpoint in the program is being experimented with this Fall

to determine whether greater or less communication is facilitated by so doing. Alumni of former groups are encouraged to participate in the residential weekend conference of ongoing groups, and many do. Additionally, two advanced Community Seminar groups, designed for alumni from former groups, are underway at the present time. The "Community Seminar Newsletter" relates news about activities of former groups which have continued to function on their own.

Another interracial discussion program developed at Los Angeles Extension is called the Neighbors-to-Neighbors program. It is designed to bring together residents from various neighborhoods in a given community. The subject is race and inter-group relations; the purpose is communication and understanding.

The most recent addition to our discussion programs is the Community Workshop, a program of small group discussions bringing community residents together with representatives of law enforcement, education and social welfare. The subject is race and poverty, and the goal is communication and understanding. The format follows that of the Community Seminar. The geographical regions in which the groups meet in the city of Los Angeles are located near the various Police Department Divisions. Eight Community Workshops are currently underway. Some of the groups are fortunate enough to have representatives from US (a black militant organization headquartered in Watts) participating.

A neighborhood seminar on the "Nature of Community Service in Watts" was held in Watts during the Spring of 1967 in cooperation with the South Central Los Angeles and Watts Chamber of Commerce and The Los Angeles Urban League. The purpose of the seminar, open to the general public, was to examine community services in terms of what they are, who runs them, who can use them, and can they, should they, be changed. During the same period, an all-day Saturday symposium on "Alternatives to Poverty" was conducted on the UCLA Campus bringing nationally recognized and local opinion leaders together to examine these alternatives.

"Community Action" and "Community Organization" were examined in two residential weekend conferences at our Lake Arrowhead Center. Both conferences had large representations of the poor and new careerists. Emphasis in both programs was on the anti-poverty program and the concept of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in community organization.

Title I of the Higher Education Act has enabled University Extension at Los Angeles to focus, and bring the resources of the University to bear, upon the problems of Compton, California, a community in transition located next door to Watts. This year-long community self-survey and planning activity is conducted in cooperation with the Compton City Council, and the Southeast Area Welfare Planning Council. It is assumed that this first attempt to work with a total community will provide learnings applicable to similar communities in the greater Los Angeles area.

Thus, our emphases at University of California Extension, Los Angeles, have been minority group problems, poverty problems, educational disadvantage, informational programs for the advancement of citizen enlighten-

ment and responsibility, and programs for professionals in education and those working in the general social service-urban problems field. How much or how little these efforts have relieved the agony of the inner city is easy to assess—*very little*. For as long as joblessness and isolation, poor housing and inadequate transportation, racial discrimination and police indignities, and an educational system which frustrates the disadvantaged child's ability to compete, prevail; as long as the bulk of our economic and human resources are directed toward a meaningless war abroad rather than toward the solution of these crucial problems at home; as long as State legislatures feel little or no responsibility for the continuing education of adults; efforts on the part of continuing education to relieve the agony of the inner city will. can only, be piecemeal—noble, but piecemeal.

[1] Nathan E. Cohen, Study Coordinator, *The Los Angeles Riot Study (LARS)* Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, August 1, 1967.

[2] "Rights Group Offers Own Riot Area Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1965.

[3] Cohen, *op, cit.*, 10-11.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Definition of terms: "The Man"=White Power. "Blood"=Blacks or Black Power (according to racial definitions established by the Bureau of the Classes) e.g., Walter White.

[6] Leading educator and civil rights leader of the 1920's who authored a book by that title.

Conclusion

S. J. Drazek

After the excellent presentations by our distinguished panel, a summary falls upon my shoulders. It is not only a difficult task; it is most probably an impossible task.

Based on our discussions it is evident the complexities of our urban problems are great and solutions may be far from clear. However, we must take an optimistic approach. This nation has had a history of serious problems, and once it recognized a given problem and harnessed its resources to finding solutions, solutions were found. This has been our history. Dare we do less now? Are we less able to attack crucial problems today?

Quite possibly if we solve the problems of the inner city, of urban life, the impact of the Cybernetic Revolution, unemployment and poverty, we may bring about a Golden Age in our country. Several persons have given serious attention to this possibility, and I would like to make reference to two distinguished leaders who have written or spoken on the prospects that we may be on the threshold of a Golden Age.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, formerly of the University of California, now Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, recently wrote:

> . . . Today in the United States, only a fraction of 1% of our productive power results from the physical energy of human beings or animals . . . computers amplify the collective intelligence of society . . .
>
> A civilization equipped and educated to live in an era of relative leisure can bring about a new Golden Age—one without a slave base, other than those mechanical and cybernetic slaves produced by the ingenuity of a higher level of man. . . . in a community free of want, where every human being has a sense of dignity not gained at the expense of others, we might not only walk free from fear but with a great feeling of exaltation.[1]

Certainly, Seaborg's outlook is optimistic. Dr. Harold R. W. Benjamin, the distinguished educator, has on several occasions discussed the very real prospects of a golden global age. He spoke on this subject at Purdue when the National University Extension Association celebrated its 50th anniversary.[2] He identified four elements or characteristics that all golden ages have in common. Permit me to paraphrase these:

1. A golden age is preceded by a period of troubled times; difficult and trying times that jar people from their accustomed lethargies. Certainly we have this element today!

2. The second common element or characteristic is in the form of new means of transportation or communications. Our satellites, our computers, our supersonic jet aircraft are concrete evidence. It is hardly necessary to elaborate on this element.

3. The third common element consists of a group of people who are dedicated to the achievement of a golden age—a *corps d'elite.* This element we may not have or it may not be identifiable. However, Dr. Benjamin believes that it "is most susceptible to higher education . . . the university can educate . . . leaders of a global golden age. . . ."[3]

Perhaps members of our panel or persons in this audience will form a nucleus for a *corps d'elite.*

The Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, lived and taught some five hundred years before the birth of Christ. It was his genius as a teacher and the genius of other teachers of his day which helped to usher in the golden age of Greece. He had a profound impression on the imagination of the Greeks through his teachings and sayings. In one of his lectures Pythagoras is said to have remarked, "Leave not the mark of the pot on the ashes." He seems to have said to wipe out the problems of the past and start each day new and fresh. Do we have a Pythagoras today? Might we have one or more in our midst here today?

4. The fourth ingredient is most difficult to identify or isolate, and the one we may be lacking. It might be described as a single burning or driving spirit which would weld together the other three elements.[4]

Do we have this driving spirit? I suspect the answer resides in all of us; in how we mount programs of Continuing Education to provide answers to the "Agony of the Inner City. . . ."

[1] Glenn T. Seaborg, "The Cybernetic Age: An Optimist's View." *Saturday Review*, July 15, 1967, pp. 21-23.

[2] Harold R. W. Benjamin, "Our Golden Global Age Would Better Begin Now," *Proceedings* of the 50th Annual Meeting of the NUEA, 1965, pp. 19-21.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*

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