

U.S. Congress

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

VOLUME 116—PART 27

OCTOBER 9, 1970, TO OCTOBER 14, 1970
(PAGES 35917 TO 37262)

plained. "They think together. There's less shaking off signs, not that that's so important."

"No, Mac does not request Etchebarren as his catcher," Weaver answered a question. "I just thought our line-up was best for us on this particular day. It seemed like we were going to get enough runs if we could just keep the club from scoring a lot of runs."

"Of course, you never go into a ball game thinking you're going to get as many runs as we did in this one."

The crystal ball of Baltimore's clairvoyant baseball boss apparently had overlooked the home-run bat of Dave McNally.

A VIEW ON ALASKA'S DEVELOPMENT

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the development of Alaska's vast resources has begun. Alaskans are determined to progress with this development using new techniques that will minimize any possible harm to our environment.

Alaska Governor Keith H. Miller recently appealed to those in the Lower 48 who would block this development to understand why our resources must be developed and to recognize that Alaskans, more than anyone else, are determined to preserve the natural beauty of our great land.

In a letter published in the September-October issue of *Paclines*, Dr. Lewis H. Johnson, president of Alaska Barge & Transportation Co., Inc., expressed to a great degree the Alaska viewpoint on this important issue.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Johnson's letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FROM L. H. J.

In an advertisement printed in the *Wall Street Journal* and elsewhere, the Governor of Alaska recently pleaded for understanding and sympathy from the Lower 48. He emphasized that Alaska's vast resources must be developed if its citizens are to achieve the standard of living enjoyed by most Americans. He promised stringent safeguards to insure that the "economic blessings" offered by its resources will be developed without despoiling the natural wonders of this great land.

With his statement, we can only concur. As a company working with Alaskans for more than a decade and counting many among its employees, we believe that its people deserve more than they have received. We can vouch for the harshness of life there which is intensified by seasonal unemployment, substandard housing, primitive roads, inadequate schools and other facilities that only community wealth can provide. To deny these pioneers the right to improve their lot because of our newly-found fastidiousness about our planet Earth appears to shift to them our guilt for what we have done in the Lower 48.

The delay in settling the native land claims and the concurrent deferral of the issuance of the permit for the pipeline has once again worked a hardship on Alaska. Who cannot sympathize with their bewilderment over what seems to be uninvited interference with their efforts to control their destiny. The time has come to give Alaskans an expectation that they will profit from our misdeeds in the Lower 48 and shame us for our want of faith in their collective wisdom and intent.

LEWIS H. JOHNSON,
President.

MOSCOW'S GOOD OFFICES FOR POW'S

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, for some of the Western Nations this apparently is one of those periods of detente with the Soviet Union. Various of the Western Nations, such as France and the West German Republic, have entered into agreements or negotiations with Moscow.

This would seem to be a proper time for our long-time allies to ask Moscow to use its good offices on behalf of the American prisoners of war held by Hanoi. Certainly, the Soviet Union, which supplies so much war material to North Vietnam, could also influence that country to comply with the basic requirements of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. This is little enough for us to ask of the U.S.S.R., whose very existence is owing to our intervention in a terrible war only one generation ago.

The simple act of providing a list of American prisoners held by Hanoi would be proof that the North Vietnamese Government has recognized some duty to carry out the terms of the convention which they signed.

It would also give enormous comfort to the wives, the children, the parents of these prisoners who have waited so long for such information.

SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION IN BERKELEY, CALIF.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, this fall, Berkeley, Calif., is entering its third year of successful elementary school integration. Berkeley is a city of 121,300 people. It has a black school enrollment of 43.7 percent and a minority group school student body of more than 50 percent; 8,600 of its more than 17,000 elementary school pupils are bused to achieve desegregation in all of Berkeley's elementary school classrooms.

But Berkeley is not simply "desegregated." It is an example of successful, stable integrated education. It is successful in terms of cognitive achievement. Reading test scores, for example, show accelerated performance by both advantaged and disadvantaged students as a result of integration. But more important it has been successful in human terms. Teachers' attitudes toward disadvantaged students and their methods of teaching have changed and improved. Black and white students accept and understand each other. As one teacher has said:

I think if we'd done this 10 or 15 years ago, many of our racial problems would be solved by now. The children are so accepting of each other with no racism that I can see.

Mr. President, I commend to Senators an article entitled "How School Busing Works in One Town," written by Gertrude Samuels, and published in the *New York Times Magazine* on September 27, 1970. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *New York Times Magazine*,
Sept. 27, 1970]

HOW SCHOOL BUSING WORKS IN ONE TOWN (By Gertrude Samuels)

BERKELEY, CALIF.—Every day of school, more than 17 million children, or more than one-third of the country's total enrollment, go to school by bus because that is the best and safest way for them to get there; the figure does not include the large number who also go to school by public transportation. Yet with the opening of the new school year, busing as a way of integrating school systems is a major source of controversy, disrupting communities all over the country.

In Charlotte, N.C., the program that will send white children from the suburbs to inner-city black schools this year has created tension and bitterness. In Mobile, Ala., confusion marked the opening of the academic year as white students stayed away from black schools, to which they had been assigned in an effort to achieve desegregation, while black students assigned to white schools showed up in force. "It's an asinine law, and it's theirs [the Federal authorities] and they can enforce it," said a city spokesman. The Mobile school district, along with Charlotte, N.C., and Clarke County in Georgia, filed appeals testing a broad range of school desegregation measures, including busing. The appeals have been scheduled to be heard on the opening day of the Supreme Court's new term, Oct. 12. Such incidents reflect the findings of a recent Gallup poll, which showed that 86 per cent of the American people opposes busing to achieve racially balanced schools, an attitude encouraged by President Nixon's strong opposition to busing "in the case of genuine de facto segregation."

I came to Berkeley not long ago because this multiracial city has maintained a successful busing program for two years. It is the first city of more than 100,000 people (population 121,300) and a sizable black school enrollment (43.7 per cent) to use busing to achieve total integration in all its classrooms.

Since September, 1968, the Berkeley Unified School District has been transporting nearly half of its elementary pupils (8,600 this year) to and from school by bus. Prior to 1968 its junior and senior highs had long been desegregated; now the lower grades are also integrated. The youngest black pupils, kindergarten through third grade, are bused to the better "hill" schools, formerly middle-class and predominantly white; while the older white children, fourth through sixth grades, are bused down to the "flats" section, where the schools were once predominantly black.¹ In the city's elementary schools integrated teaching staffs are headed by eight white, four black and two Oriental principals.

For both races the last two school years have been a time of discovery. In ending "genuine de facto segregation," educationally if not residentially, the people had stopped fleeing from reality and begun to change it. As one black administrator put it: "We haven't reached the ultimate yet—but we're showing that black and white children can study and work together, that diversity of achievement levels can be recognized by the teacher and worked with."

Berkeley's impressive undertaking, which has changed the character of the lower schools and to some extent their teaching techniques and teachers' attitudes, is dramatized daily as the yellow school buses make their rounds.

¹ The 1940 Census showed Berkeley's population to be 93.8 per cent Caucasian, 4 per cent Negro, 2.2 per cent "other" (Mexican or Chicano, Oriental). In 1966, the population was 25 per cent Negro, 5 per cent "other." Today the black-pupil enrollment is 43.7 per cent.

At 8 o'clock in the morning sunshine on the corner of Cedar and Scenic Streets in the hill area, a score of white boys and girls, 9 to 11 years old, are waiting in a double line chatting with friends as they unleash their yo-yos. The huge yellow vehicle with "School Bus" lettered in black across the front, pulls up and the children pile in, greeting the driver: "Hi, Mrs. Gorla . . . morning, Mrs. Gorla." Mrs. Barbara Gorla is an attractive young mother in plaid trouser suit, who has a daughter in college and two children in the Berkeley schools. Like all the drivers, she has qualified in special driving and first-aid tests.

She returns the greetings, urging the children along ("Let's fill up the back seats first, kids!") to leave room for passengers to come. The bus, which holds 80, is one of 26 used by the Berkeley Unified School District. As it proceeds from one pleasant, wooded neighborhood to another, it makes five stops in the space of a little less than a mile, picking up 50 more white and two black pupils. These are the "hill" children who once attended the more prestigious schools near their homes. They are well-behaved, talking in low tones, studying their books, staring out of the wide windows as they are driven down the hill through the commercial area to the flats. The destination is Longfellow School, once predominantly black. Now it is more than 50 per cent white.

"I'm glad I go to Longfellow," 12-year-old Mike replies to a question. "Like you meet new people—black, Chinese. They're different from what you used to know. The whole Whittier gang is right here," he adds with a laugh, and others nearby join in. (Whittier School was predominantly Caucasian.)

The flats section is the more deprived part of town, although it is hardly a ghetto in the traditional sense except that the population is almost wholly black. The neighborhood is neat and clean, with two-story frame and stucco houses and trim lawns. At 8:20 the bus pulls up at Longfellow (for fourth to sixth graders), a low mass of buildings that resembles a barracks. A palm tree rises above the playground. Mrs. Gorla deposits her busload—"Don't forget your books! Have a nice day!" Then she turns the bus and starts out on her second route, still in the flats.

At Sacramento and Ward Streets, black children are waiting, younger than the Longfellow group, neatly dressed, plaits beribboned, shoes shined. After several such pickups, the bus heads back to the best part of town in the hills. As it travels up the steep streets, the children gaze out at the beautiful, landscaped homes, with their magnolia trees, palms and ivied lawns. It takes skill and nerve to maneuver the big bus on the steepest grades, and the noise from these younger children is so deafening that Mrs. Gorla finally has to remonstrate: "Let's all quiet down, please. . . . I don't want anyone standing up!"

The busload is more outgoing, noisier, gayer than the previous passengers. Six-year-old Phyllis, in yellow sweater and an Afro cut, likes the bus ride "because I can read." Karen, in plaid coat and carrying a rolled-up umbrella, says: "Hillside's cool! I like painting." But Royal, 9, in Karen's class, shrugs: "Well, I'd rather be in Longfellow, because it's in my neighborhood."

Some kids chant a song:

"My mother gave me a nickel
My father gave me a dime,
My sister gave me a boyfriend
Who kissed me all the time."

On a hilltop overlooking San Francisco Bay, we reach Hillside School—kindergarten to third grade. Its gracious two-story Tudor-style main building, modeled after an English estate, stands behind thick shrubbery. The large playground is well-equipped.

"Bye Marie . . . Karen," Mrs. Gorla says, helping the children off. They chorus affec-

tionate good-bys. To Mrs. Gorla these are "my children." "Have a nice day," she calls.

The city that has adopted this elaborate busing schedule is one of the loveliest in the country. Berkeley has a temperate climate and splendid vistas of green hills, exotic gardens and the Golden Gate. It has no dreary core ghetto like those in New York, Chicago and Washington; yet the southwest section of town, while no slum, is certainly segregated. Berkeley voted against a fair-housing ordinance so as to maintain residential segregation; Negro unemployment sometimes rises to 20 per cent compared with a white-unemployment rate of 5 per cent.

Berkeley's best-known asset is the University of California, grandfather of the student and teacher protest movements and biggest employer in town, providing jobs for about one-third of the 50,000 working residents—from professors, scientists and administrators to guards, clerks, tradesmen, etc. The city is a community of contradictions: old-timers, retired persons and Birch Society types contrast with Nobel Prize winners and educators with liberal and radical views; with the long-haired, scruffy young adults of Telegraph Avenue, and the Black Panthers whose national headquarters are now here.

Busing and the integrated school program it implements didn't happen in Berkeley overnight. They would never have come about without the persistent, aggressive initiative of leaders in the black community, and a courageous, liberalized Board of Education. Liberalization began in 1961 when black and white groups favoring a new educational approach managed to elect three representatives to the board, among them its first black member. Initial recommendations for fully integrated classes, starting in the elementary grades, stirred a bitter dispute culminating in 1964 in an unsuccessful attempt by a parents' association supported by the local newspaper, *The Berkeley Gazette*, to impeach the board.

In the years that followed, civic forces under the guidance of Dr. Neil V. Sullivan,² a powerful innovator who became superintendent of schools in 1964, assembled data on how integration could be achieved. Through the media and malls, school officials also invited education specialists and the public to submit plans for desegregating the schools.

Of 50 such plans submitted, five were finally chosen for closer study by the administration, faculty groups and civic leaders. Discussions were held in P.-T.-A. groups, churches, community centers, private homes. Questions were raised: Why not close all the black schools, as the city of Sacramento had done, and bus the black children to the white schools? Could white teachers work with black children? Would absorption of blacks in a Caucasian culture preserve the proud identity of the blacks? There were pleas from some to "stop the whole thing."

In late 1967 a staff advisory council on integration voted unanimously for what has come to be known as the K-3, 4-6 plan. No school would be closed or sold. There would be no more busing of black children to white schools in some condescending spirit of paternalism. There would be a rezoning of the existing system as well as marked changes within the classroom.

Experimentally, all elementary school teachers now entered a "teacher exchange program," black teachers going into the hill schools and white teachers to the flats for a brief period; and in a "dry run," more than 200 black children were bused to white schools. In January, 1968, the plan was adopted by the school board at a public

² Now Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts. His book, "Now Is The Time" (Indiana University Press), with a foreword by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., recalls the history of integration in the Berkeley schools.

meeting. The changeover now belongs to history. The buses began to roll the following September.

Berkeley's K-3, 4-6 program reorganized the entire elementary school system by dividing the city into four attendance zones, each containing one large 4-6 (fourth through sixth grade) school and several K-3 (kindergarten through third grade) schools. The busing pattern was developed by computers. First, a card for each school child was prepared containing information on age, race, address and school was fed into computers at the municipal Data Processing Center. The results of this study guided the school district's Office of Transportation in working out "ride zones" for 3,500 children. (These zones covered routes and stopping points where buses could pick up and deliver children safely at designated times.) "Walk zones" were similarly devised for 5,100 children who lived within walking distance of their classes. Before the busing plan went into effect, each parent received a card explaining about routes and schedules. Parents were even taken on dry runs on the buses to ease any fears concerning the safety of their children.

Along with the new busing plan, Berkeley undertook another innovation, an approach to classroom teaching embodying the concept of heterogeneity. For Berkeley, in fact, the cornerstone of its busing-to-integrate program is the heterogeneous classroom with its basic proposition that, in a pluralistic society, mutual benefits accrue to all races when they are brought together for learning purposes.

Before integration, the hill teachers had worked with homogeneous classes of white children representing basically the same socio-economic background and middle-class values and grouped according to ability and performance within the classroom. Down in the flats, teachers, both black and white, had similarly worked with their predominantly black children, many of whom, however, were behind the white children in terms of the basic skills—reading, language, mathematics. Under the ability-grouping program, sometimes called "tracking," children of the elementary schools eventually entered the more rigid "tracking" systems of the junior and senior high schools. This practice could, and often did, label a child for his entire school life ("He's a No. 3" or "he's a No. 7, the 'dumb' track.")

According to Mrs. Harriett G. Wood, a black administrator who taught here for a dozen years and is now director of elementary education: "The basic problem was that black kids had been getting an inferior education before integration. In their old schools, there was a sort of overriding, debilitating, low self-image that becomes a kind of vicious, self-fulfilling prophecy. Kids should see themselves in the whole society."

As worked out here, heterogeneity, considered the ideal integration, deliberately created racially balanced classes. These were not merely composites of all races but also contained a broad range of intellectual ability, all the way from mentally gifted children to the slower learners in the "normal" range. This approach was adopted partly because of the black community's demand that its children receive education of the same quality that the whites enjoyed (tests had shown that black children in black schools simply did not do as well as whites). It also recognizes the fact that in real, everyday life people have to deal with many racial types and many kinds of mental ability. Berkeley wanted all of its children to function adequately in that real society.

The 1968 changeover meant that educators had to find effective ways of teaching in a class composed of children of different socio-economic backgrounds, different achievement levels and different life styles. The former ability groupings were dropped, for it was recognized that, without breaking up

the old "tracking" system which separated quick learners from slower ones, busing would still mean segregated classes and would perpetuate the old superiority and inferiority feelings.

"Tracking" was replaced to some extent by "performance groups," but these were so flexible that, as children improved in reading, math and science, they could move freely from one grouping to another within the same class. As Theodore F. Blitz, principal of Hillside, put it: "The old homogeneous class tended to take away any educational stimulation and opportunity from those who were designated for the lower track. Our goal now is to help children to function academically in the heterogeneous class, whether at a study assignment, a work assignment, a reading assignment, or independently.

"This is a vast improvement. We're finding that our able students are going just as far, and making just the same kind of progress, moreover, as they did in the basic skills before integration. There's been no sacrifice, because able learners go ahead in spite of what any school is doing. They have the ability to learn and to create a class atmosphere in which they—and others—can learn."

As an example of the new, flexible, heterogeneous class in action, seven children in a second-grade reading group, a unit ranging from slow to very fast learners, were analyzing a main idea in a paragraph and learning vowel sounds. Later a group in the same class, all accelerated readers, worked on some stories about horses, sharing their information together. These advanced readers were going at their own pace, too.

I visited many classes in Berkeley, focusing mainly on two schools—Hillside (K-3), a prestigious hill school once considered racially impregnable, and Longfellow (4-6) in the flats, because it is the largest intermediate school, to which Hillside eventually sends its youngsters.

Hillside has 375 children, 44 per cent of whom are black, and 21 teachers, including four part-time specialist aides for remedial reading. The white pupils are mainly from hill or mid-Berkeley families where often both parents have university degrees. The blacks are mainly from poor, working-class families.

The emphasis at Hillside, as at other elementary schools, is on reading, for many of the black children are limited in their use of language, a serious handicap. Reading and the language skills are, of course, essential in coping with other subjects like math, social studies, science. When you can't understand what is going on in the classroom, it becomes too painful to be there; the youngsters begin to slide and the result is often avoidance, anger, escape, truancy or worse.

Under one technique adopted at Hillside, teachers employ a "language-experience approach"—the child's own vocabulary becomes his reading vocabulary. A first-grader, for example, may be fascinated by racing cars and have words relating to them in his vocabulary. Instead of being compelled to study words familiar to boys and girls who live in the suburbs but which he can't grasp or "see," the youngster is invited to tell a story in his own words about racing cars. The teacher types out his story and then helps him to read it, identifying the words and learning the sounds that the letters represent.

In the language-arts class of Mrs. Patsy Tanabe, a Chinese-American, the desks of the children, black and white, boys and girls—are pushed close together. Nine-year-old Lyanne reads her story to the class: "I went on a hike. We were crossing a river when Dennis spotted a burned-out tree and went the long way thinking it was a jungle. . . ." A black boy, listening intently, breaks in with questions about the jungle. Lyanne explains she invented that part.

"There had been a tendency," Mrs. Tanabe told me later, "for the more verbal white kids to speak more often—they've got more to say. The black kids tended to listen and not participate as actively." So Mrs. Tanabe devised her own incentives to encourage the black pupils (and some shy whites) to be less inhibited. One was a "Speech Certificate" bearing an impressive gold seal. Children could earn this by bringing in original stories about some happening and reading their stories to the class. Now many more black children, working for a certificate, are volunteering to speak out and share their ideas.

"I'm getting the ones who have never spoken even one word in class," Mrs. Tanabe said with pride, "and they're good talkers now."

In the room of Mrs. Margaret Jukes, a large, vibrant woman, whose husband and three children are all teachers, books by the score are piled helter-skelter on chairs, crates, window ledges, desks and shelves. Mrs. Jukes teaches second and third grades together in tandem. With the changeover of the heterogeneous class, such multi-age groupings, combining two or more grades, are not uncommon. Mrs. Jukes has found them "very exciting, very challenging."

Among her 26 children are 11 "high potentials," including second-graders doing third-grade work, and two so-called E.H. (emotionally handicapped) black children.

"The beginning of this year worried me," she said. "There were some children so educationally deprived they couldn't read C-A-T. Now they're doing beautifully, and that's what matters to me, the growth of the children. Many of them don't have books in their homes. So, as you can see, I make books and materials available to them. When they come to me, they're coming to books."

June Long, a young, mini-skirted black teacher with a red Afro cut, now on leave to work on her law degree at the University of Santa Clara, chaired the advisory committee that created what is considered Berkeley's most important tool for orienting teachers in the new methods: an in-service training program in minority history and culture designed to help teachers, white and black, who may have hangups about racially mixed classes.

"As a black person in this culture," she told me in her soft, slightly cynical tones, "I am not interested in helping develop cultural mulattos out of black children. I am interested in the positives of a school environment—in the honest exchange and sharing of life styles and beliefs and values. I'm concerned that children learn to *think*—and I don't mean think what I think or what I tell you to think, but to use the basic tools to think independently."

Hillside typically has about 40 children (10 per cent) with severe reading problems requiring a specialist's attention. Of these, 30 are black. In a small, quiet room, for hourly periods each week, these pupils cluster around Mrs. Brenda Starbird, who works with them on basic sounds. "TH" is printed on the blackboard and the youngsters make words as they follow the teacher's lips: "THimble . . . THink . . ." They are 8- and 9-year olds doing first-grade work.

Not all of the teachers experience the same problems in the heterogeneous classroom. Mrs. Jeanette B. Russell, a kindergarten teacher at Hillside, says firmly: "I didn't want to change my teaching techniques as the black children came—to 'teach down' to them. I simply wanted to maintain my high learning expectations for all the children. On the whole I've not been disappointed. I'd had children with reading difficulties before, and actually the newcomers didn't present that many problems. What I did change was one teaching approach—more individualized instruction than ever before. And in changing, maybe becoming a better teacher in the process."

Like all of Berkeley's certificated person-

nel, Mrs. Russell had been in the "teacher exchange program" prior to integration when for a week or more, black and white teachers had traded classes and taken orientation courses. While this apparently did not affect her approach to teaching, it had changed one attitude: "I find that I've become more physical—showing more affection and praise than ever before," she said. "These little ones are much more responsive than the white children, more loving in some ways. I suppose I began responding to what I was getting from them. Do you want my honest opinion now? I think if we'd done this 10 or 15 years ago, many of our racial problems would be solved by now. The children are so accepting of each other, with no racism that I can see."

Longfellow (4-6) School is known as a University of California laboratory school, attracting large numbers of teachers in training. Corridor walls proclaim in dozens of signs and posters that learning is "In": "Reading is cool, man!" "Brain Power is a Swingin' Thing!" The school is so large that its 37 teachers and 1,050 pupils have been divided into two sections to bring pupils, teachers and parents into closer contact in smaller administrative units.

The teachers work in teams, each teacher on a team taking responsibility for developing materials in his field. This system, as one official put it, recognizes that a teacher is human and can't always relate to every child in the class; if one teacher can't, another on the team probably can—and the child, instead of being stuck with an "I-hate-teacher" attitude, can communicate with some adult instead of feeling rebuffed. The approach makes for a "built-in compassion" for both teacher and child.

The curriculum provides black studies for all students, black and white. In one black-studies classroom, Mrs. Bayonne Holmes, a handsome young black teacher in dashiki and high Afro cut, guides her racially mixed class of 10- and 11-year-olds through a discussion of the black man in America, using a film strip entitled "The Fight For Our Rights—The Right To Vote."

"We're all made of the same stuff—and we all feel the same way, well, most of us," one white boy blurts out.

Not all teachers at Longfellow have multi-graded classes, but the trend is certainly in that direction; in fact, some schools have gone over completely to multiple-grade teaching. Miss Jo Ann Cheeseman, a white teacher, middle-aged and motherly, who taught in predominantly white schools before, has fourth, fifth and sixth grades among the 29 children in her class. I asked if it was difficult to teach three grades in one classroom.

"Difficult? Yes. This is a fantastic range," she said, "with some sixth grade children who don't know the difference between a sentence and a question, all the way up to children doing compound sentences and brilliantly creative reports."

"But I've learned, too," she went on suddenly.

"Like what?"

"Like kids are kids! I had fears of how I was going to handle this diversity. I had impressions—what to beware of, the emphasis on the needs of the blacks. And it turned out," she went on quietly, "they were . . . kids. The main difference I found out about them was that they were poor."

"Now I guess it's me trying to meet the needs of these very divergent children."

"I can do it. I'm seeing results. I have one boy, 10 years old and black, he was a frightened child, a grade level below the class. He'll never set the world on fire. He had great difficulty in listening and then translating anything into action. He made a lot of growth this year. He needs polish, but I can't keep him busy enough. I give him five days to do a report, and he brings it in within three. Before busing he would have seen only black

kids, poor work habits, poor school models, like himself. It wasn't the 'in' thing to learn as it is now."

A large black girl of 10 came up to listen. She hung on Miss Cheeseman, then shook her up with: "My cousin, he's 17, and he's in jail. Someone put a gun at his stomach and him and my cousin are in jail for disturbing the peace." She said it routinely, as though relating a simple fact of life in the flats.

Heading the staff and a symbol of the new order is 31-year-old Richard Hunter, youngest principal in the district. A tall, dynamic black man with a high Afro, he is a well-known figure in classes and on the playground in his brightly-colored shirts and blazers. He taught in the Berkeley and neighboring Richmond schools and is currently working on his doctorate at the University of California.

"I'm aiming for the sort of experience here," he said, "that really turns kids on, provides them with the tools they need to be successful in living and later in working. Too often in school, teachers turn students off. Putting black and white children side by side in a classroom is only a first step. The significant thing is to get them to relate to each other, speak to each other, care about each other. That is our role as educators. When these human relationships become real, then we're moving on our basic objective, which is integration. This will cut across the whole district then, and not just the classrooms."

At Longfellow, as in many other schools I visited, adult volunteers have been helping as instructional aides, some for pay (three days a week), some "on their own" for the pure fun of tutoring. The district's School Resource Volunteers—parents, university students, other residents—increased from 600 in 1968 to nearly 800 this year.

Mrs. Eileen Gilbert, who teaches fourth, fifth and sixth grades, in tandem at Columbus School in the poorest section of the flats, depends heavily on her aide as a bridge between school and community. "So many families think if you just send a child through the door, he'll learn," she said. "But every teacher knows that what a child can learn depends on his experiences inside and outside the school." There are several black teacher-aides at Columbus, young mothers from the neighborhoods, who had in-service training to help tutor slower children. "This gives the child a model whom they can easily identify with, and also helps to ease my way with the child."

Another of Mrs. Gilbert's innovations is the "learning team." Periodically the class is divided, (by placing the desks in circles) into six teams with the aptest students acting as leaders. In this way, as the teams study a math or science concept, the fast learners stimulate the slow ones, helping them to think through an idea. Mrs. Gilbert finds that such new teaching tools also give her insights as a teacher into the needs of individual pupils that she must meet.

It is sometimes argued that Berkeley is atypical because of its unique assets, physical and intellectual. Yet for a city of its size with its ethnic and housing patterns, it does reflect the problems in interracial communities everywhere.

Before Berkeley undertook its busing program, five major objections were raised: (1) it would mean too much moving around for the children; (2) busing would be too complicated and inefficient; (3) it would provoke a white exodus; (4) disciplinary problems with strong racial overtones would develop; (5) the new sociological emphasis would dilute the quality of education.

In fact, recent studies show: (1) less than half of the elementary children are actually using buses; (2) routings were worked out so carefully that no bus takes more than half an hour for pickup and delivery of passengers. (The actual cost of busing is negligible—less than 1 per cent of the school

budget, which works out to 45 cents a day per pupil.)

(3) Some people did move because of busing (they moved because of taxes, too,) but as shown in the schools' racial census, the shift was under 2 per cent. (4) There have been disciplinary problems, mostly during the first year, but nothing of a significantly racial nature.

(5) It is the issue of academic achievement that has generated the most heat among educators and parents. It is, of course, too early for conclusive studies of the ultimate effect that Berkeley's new style of schooling will have on quality education. But local foes of integration, and some liberals, using a set of figures distributed six months after busing started, argue that academic excellence is being sacrificed. School board officials and other experts, using more current data, say there is no proof that this is happening.

The critics have attacked the school board for "the academic failure of the Berkeley schools," basing their charge chiefly on the results of the standard Stanford Achievement Test (S.A.T.) administered in the spring of 1969. According to those S.A.T. scores, the highest achievers in the sixth grade, for example, had fallen below their potential: they should have been doing better than 93 out of 100 students, it was argued, while actually they were only doing better than 67 out of 100.

But the school administrators hold that such traditional data are not true indicators of achievement or potential, especially among minority populations, being based arbitrarily on reading skill. By last fall, even the state government—no supporter of busing—had itself switched from the old S.A.T. method of scoring students to the new C.T.B.S., or Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. According to school administrators, test figures for last spring, using the C.T.B.S., showed no significant difference between performance of pre- and post-integration classes of the first six grades.

As for reading itself, school spokesmen point out, reading test figures are actually beginning to show a significant difference between performance of pre- and post-integration classes of the first six grades, whether the children are high or low achievers. Before integration, low-achieving students grew from 4 to 7 months in one year's time. The post-integration rate, based on last spring's figures, shows a growth of 6 to 11 months for this group. The high achievers, before integration, made from 10 to 12 months' growth during the school year; post-integration figures show 13 to 15 months' growth.

"For the future," asks Dr. Arthur Dumbacher, coordinator of evaluation for the Berkeley schools, "why shouldn't we hope for tests to assess growth in behavior and attitudes? These domains involving feelings, values, responses are harder to measure."

Now as court-ordered busing to desegregate schools continues to disrupt other communities, the fears and opposition here in Berkeley have declined. A survey conducted before busing indicated that 52 per cent of Berkeley's parents opposed the idea (70 per cent of the Negro parents were in favor of it). Recent estimates show only about 30 per cent opposed.

Dr. Richard Foster, successor to Dr. Sullivan as superintendent of schools, told me: "I've been here over a year and never get a question on busing. Berkeley in my judgment is past the stage of discussing that. Busing as an argument," the heavy-set man with bushy, white sideburns went on in a hard tone, "is an acceptable escape for racism. People can't say they're really afraid of having their children exposed to the black race, so they use busing as their excuse for opposing integration. Yet in a pluralistic society, it's through the early association that you learn loving—pluralistic loving—isn't it?"

It will take some years to make a reliable assessment of how the innovators—the civic leaders and the educators—feel about their system, but some reports are noteworthy. Superintendent Foster has noted among the "positives" "the enthusiastic and dedicated spirit of the teachers, aides . . . lay citizens and volunteers, all working cooperatively to make our program succeed." Among the "negatives": "The feeling of some parents that bright children were not having a fair share of teacher attention because of time spent on discipline problems; some teachers' unrecognized biases toward both black and white children.

One principal on the other hand, has commented: "My most singular 'positive' is the growth I have seen in my total staff as teachers and human beings. Some have grown more than others; some had farther to go; some may never 'make it.' But for the most part, teachers are working harder, learning more, teaching more, and growing more than I had ever anticipated. The kids are beautiful. Some of them won't make it either, but most will."

Mrs. Wood, director of elementary education, puts it this way: "When you desegregate every school, then every classroom is going to have proportionate black kids and white kids. So there was no need for any teacher to rush toward these former white or former black schools. That was one of the beauties of the two-way busing that we achieved here. I think teachers have learned from the integration experience and that parents have profited from it, too.

"I would assume that the public schools, even these at Berkeley, have not been immunized against all of the things of our society that inculcate racism in us. There is latent racism in teachers throughout the nation, though I feel we have fewer of them here. Good teachers are adjusting to children on the basis of what they actually need to learn, not on color. In poor teachers it shows up in such things as low expectation of blacks, a sort of rationalization that 'the poor things can't do this,' say with a math assignment, and accepting a half-done paper from a black, while insisting that the Caucasian student perform as directed."

"Some may change during their in-service training," adds Bernard Flanagan, director of certificated personnel, who also heads the teacher recruitment program, "or for all we know some may not want to change, and get out for themselves. The usual reason is the offer of employment elsewhere, never 'racism.'"

Among the 1,000 teachers working in the Berkeley schools, there is today a 10 percent turnover (leaves of absence, retirement, resignation)—the same turnover rate as before busing. Although last spring there were only 24 openings on the teaching staff, the district received more than 8,000 applications.

Among those still firmly opposed to Berkeley's program of integration by busing is Dr. Arthur R. Jensen, the U. of C.'s controversial educational psychologist, who maintains that genetic differences between blacks and whites result in lower I.Q. scores among blacks taking intelligence tests.

"I think that the schools by themselves are not going to build an integrated society," Dr. Jensen says. "But greater equality of occupational opportunities, enforcement of open housing laws—those things will bring natural integration in the schools. In some places it could take hundreds of years. In others it shouldn't take long. I support the views of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew on this matter of preserving the neighborhood schools. Neighborhoods happen to be socio-economic, and because of this, racial in aspect."

Also unreconciled to the new program is Michael Culbert, executive editor of the Gazette. "We certainly questioned busing, and we still do," he says. "It was new and

innovative, and it still is. The school district has had a descending spiral of academic achievement for several years. I personally attribute it to the changes in educational priorities in which social change—meaning integration of the races—becomes a first priority, and hard-core, basic skills—meaning reading, writing and math—come in second."

Would he like to see Berkeley give up busing?

"No. But so far we doubt that the district is delivering on its promise of quality education."

On balance, one finds that the new type of schooling has been breaking down clichés while not living up to all the fears or all the expectations. What Berkeley has certainly done is give a new dimension to school integration: the learning and working together of all races in the heterogeneous classroom, in meaningful numbers in a meaningful way.

And with busing so widely accepted here, many people are now worrying more about the drug problem involving the older youth, and the hippies, who hang around the campus but are not students. Dr. Alan Wilson, professor of education at U.C., father of four and a strong advocate of the Berkeley program "because it's morally right," declares: "I feel that the parents I know are more concerned with the young people's alienation, the dropouts of society, the use of drugs in this community. No one is a real expert of the subterranean movements among youth today; but there certainly is a fairly widespread delegitimization of the Establishment, which applies to the university as well as the national Government."

More than 100 years after the end of the Civil War, and more than 15 years since the 1954 Supreme Court decision to desegregate the schools, there are black schools and there are white schools all over the country. Is the Berkeley plan worth imitation by other communities? Most people here seem to be saying yes, for there is no move to drop busing to integrate, and the opposition to it has been declining.

In her small frame house in the flats section, Mrs. Mary Johnson, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose 8-year-old grandson, Michael Dulaney, is in grade school, reflected on the years of preparation in Berkeley before busing, and the controversy over busing now raging throughout the country.

"Our children will be something to watch," she said. "The Berkeley children are recognizing that their likes and dislikes are identical and there's nothing racial about them, contrary to what they may have learned at home through myths and prejudice. It's my hope that 10 years from now, these kids—black and white—will be the nucleus of a new and a better society for having had this experience. And had it in their earliest, formative years."

DENVER, WITH ONLY MINOR VIOLENCE, BEGINS ITS SECOND YEAR OF FORCED INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS

(By Anthony Ripley)

DENVER, September 26.—One of the largest cities outside the Deep South to have had racial balance and forced busing ordered by a Federal Court, Denver is moving cautiously into its second year of expanding public school integration.

The task has not been simple. It is clouded by legal action, confused by school boundary changes, opposed by a conservative school board and disrupted by occasional violence.

This week, name-calling between two girls—one black and one white—exploded into a lunchtime melee in the halls of George Washington High School. It left several persons slightly injured and touched off two days of interracial fighting. The insult-

ing remarks were made at a meeting to discuss racial problems.

The high school received an extra 225 black students when it opened Sept. 9, doubling the number of blacks at the 3,000-student schools, situated in a white Denver neighborhood.

The sporadic fighting has been ammunition for opponents of integration. But racial conflict has been minimal in the 119 schools of this capital city of 512,000 population on the high Colorado plains east of the Rockies.

LITTLE TENSION REMAINS

School officials are learning that the tensions of a newly integrated school seem to diminish over a 12-month span. Schools first integrated a year ago reopened this fall with little of the tension of last year, a school spokesman said, and a high rate of vandalism by students on buses has fallen off sharply from last year.

Such signs have made those black leaders who support integration more confident of the future. While publicly cynical about the actions of the school board and school administrators, they are optimistic in private conversations.

Only four schools—two in 1969 and two more this year—have been ordered to adjust racial balances so far. But the effect of the changes has spread through more than 30 schools in the district, which have also had to adjust.

An additional 15 schools have been ordered to follow suit in 1971 and 1972; undoubtedly bringing with them changes throughout the entire school system.

The current school population of 95,500 is about 65 percent white, 24 per cent Mexican-American, 15 per cent black and 1 per cent Asian and American Indian. The emphasis has been on black-white ratios. But the court orders also include the Mexican-Americans, who had been mostly bystanders in the integration fight.

A PRIVATE SUIT

The integration here was not brought about by action of the Justice Department as was the case in Pasadena, Calif.; Tulsa, Okla.; Indianapolis; Waterbury, Conn.; East St. Louis, Ill., and other cities.

Instead, it began as a private integration suit. Similar private actions have been taken in New Rochelle, N.Y.; Norwalk, Conn.; Cincinnati, and Muncie, Ind.

Denver's integration fight began more than two years ago when the school board, then dominated by liberals, ordered an integration plan on a resolution by its only black member, Mrs. Rachel B. Noel.

The board approved plans that eventually changed Barrett Elementary School from 97 percent black to 67 per cent white, and Smiley Junior High School from 67 per cent black to 61 per cent white. A second school board resolution was to bring dramatic racial shifts at East High School and Cole Junior High.

But Denver voters in May of 1969, voted to elect two conservatives and switch the board to a conservative majority. The resolutions were rescinded by the new board. The liberals and blacks promptly went to Federal District Court, where Judge William E. Doyle reversed the new school board.

Since then, in a series of decisions that have reached the Supreme Court, Judge Doyle's orders have stood. Another appeal, brought by the school board, is now being considered by the United States Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit in Denver.

In February, 23 empty school buses and three trucks were blown up in a dynamite explosion. The same month, bombs were thrown into the homes of leaders of both sides of the integration controversy.

William G. Berge, president of the Denver Board of Education, says the court-ordered moves have brought "pretty severe discipline problems" along with some instances of "discrimination in reverse." He said that many blacks were not willing to concede the basic

point in the integration suit brought by the liberals—that education is worse in an all-black school.

School administrators, struggling with the problems involving the next 15 schools to be integrated, say the situation is like trying to put together a jigsaw puzzle with pieces that keep changing size.

James F. Reynolds, director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, said that, so far, the moves had been "tokenism" and that administrators and the school board were doing as little as legally possible to implement the court decisions.

At school board meetings, Mrs. Noel, the black member, complains each time another lawyer's fee is paid for fighting Judge Doyle's decisions. Another board member, Frank K. Southworth, complains each time more money is spent on buses.

At East High, which changed this fall from 50 per cent white, students were shifted in a complex five-way move.

The East High principal Robert Colwell, said: "It's been a logistics mess. Emotionally, it's been a minimal problem. Most of the adjustment problem came because the kids wanted to stay in their old schools. It was a hesitation that had nothing to do with racial balance."

RESEGREGATION; A PROBLEM IN URBAN SOUTH (By Roy Reed)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., September 27.—This fall's reopening of schools has made it clear that resegregation by race is beginning to occur in many Southern cities.

As the process advances, some are taking on the appearance of Northern cities, with whites scattered around the edges of town and blacks huddling in the center.

One of the main causes appears to be the policy of gradualism that was almost universally adopted by Southern school districts and approved by the Federal courts and executive agencies during the nineteen fifties and sixties.

Instead of smoothing the way for desegregation, going slow has frequently encouraged whites to flee to all-white sanctuaries in the suburbs, secure in the knowledge that only those schools in the older, central parts of the cities would be integrated to any extent for many years to come.

The leaders of Southern cities like Little Rock believed firmly in the beginning that school desegregation could succeed only if it was carried out very slowly, a few children at a time.

The impact of gradualism, now in its second decade, is nowhere more evident than in Little Rock, where the schools opened for a new year earlier this month. It was here in 1957 that the United States Army had to be called in to enforce the city's first token desegregation. It appeared for a time that not even gradualism would be accepted by an angry white majority.

The anger subsided, gradualism became the official court-approved policy and the whites finally seemed to accommodate to it. With the Little Rock schools beginning their 14th year of official desegregation this fall, these results of a policy of going slow can be seen:

Not more than 25 per cent of the Little Rock School District's 8,661 black students are in schools that can be called integrated by any objective standard. The rest go to schools that are all-black or more than 75 per cent black.

Several schools in the older sections have been desegregated, then virtually resegregated. This process continues as the white and black populations shift.

Whites have fled to the suburbs by the thousands to escape desegregation and the city is building itself racial islands, black ones in the central city and white ones farther out.

A number of real estate operators who were already doing well because of the natural

growth of the city have become further enriched by the population shifts attributable to desegregation.

Class lines have hardened between whites and blacks and between poor and well-to-do whites. Many believe that the school policy has had much to do with that.

Large numbers of blacks are disillusioned with desegregation, and some are now fighting it.

LIKE A NORTHERN CITY

In short, Little Rock has, in some measure because of its court-sanctioned school policy, abandoned the old Southern system of racial paternalism and become a "Northern" city.

It now is segregated not by overt law, but by housing patterns. It has exchanged de jure segregation for de facto segregation, with all the problems of racial isolation and distrust that go with it.

The same thing is happening in other cities across the South. The process is well advanced in Atlanta. It is in the early stages in Jackson, Miss. Even little towns like Hammond, La., are starting to build white suburbs and black centers.

Some in Little Rock believe that resegregation and "ghettoization" can still be arrested and possibly reversed. As in so many times in the past, these people are pinning their hopes on the Supreme Court.

The Court is expected to rule in a few months on whether the law requires racial balance in the schools. A district judge in North Carolina has ruled that such a balance is required in the schools of Charlotte. Several thousand black and white children there are being bused to schools out of their neighborhoods to satisfy his ruling.

The Little Rock School District, meanwhile, is moving steadily toward becoming a black-majority district. During the fifties it was 25 per cent black. Black students now make up 35 per cent of the enrollment, and their proportion is growing at the rate of 3 or 4 per cent a year.

Historically, Little Rock's residential growth has been mainly toward the wooded hills of the west because of natural and man-made barriers on the three other sides.

Most of the black population was scattered throughout the older eastern and central parts of the city. In the early fifties there was only one black concentration of any size. It was in the center of the old section, south and east of Central High School, and it was small enough that no one thought of calling it a "ghetto."

Other Negroes were fairly well scattered throughout the older sections. Many whites and blacks shared the same neighborhoods, in the old Southern small town pattern.

Then came integration. The city school board responded to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision in 1954 in the fashion that was typical of those times. The city had two high schools, one black and one white. The board promptly built two more—one in a woods on the far western edge of the city, to accommodate as many whites as would want to flee there, and the other in the heart of the old eastern section to draw Negroes in the other direction.

RACIAL SHIFTS DESCRIBED

It is easy to see now that the building of those two schools helped determine the racial shape of the city for years to come.

Central High, the old white school, was "integrated" with much turmoil in 1957, Dunbar, the former black high school nearby, was converted to a junior high and its high school students were shifted east to the new black high school, Horace Mann. The new white school on the west, Hall High, promptly filled with white students whose parents had moved away from the Central High area.

The woods around Hall High almost sud-

denly sprouted houses. Real estate men made millions on new subdivisions, and later they made more millions farther west, where eventually another white high school was built.

Back in the old part of town, they made additional money on the sales fees that resulted from the fast turnover of houses as whole lots switched from white to black—aided, in many cases, by blockbusting techniques and scare stories circulated by real estate salesmen.

After 1957, the small black concentration that lay south and east of Central High School began to swell in all directions. Whites who lived in the shrinking white section on the east side felt themselves cut off. Many of them were not as affluent as the whites who lived nearer Central High and they could not sell and move as readily. But the pressure was on, and those who could move generally did.

MANY WHITES TRIED TO STAY

Many whites tried to stay, in spite of the pressure. Besides those who could not afford to move, others simply did not want to leave the homes they loved.

Le Roy Duff, an insulator in the construction industry, and his wife, Georgia, lived on an old street on the far east side. They had five children. Mr. Duff had grown up in the neighborhood and they had strong ties to it.

When Kramer Elementary School enrolled its first black students during the mid-sixties, the Duffs refused to panic. They soon found that their children got along well in an integrated school and they were happy to have them go there, even when Kramer became half black two or three years ago.

The Duffs watched as nearby Rightsell Elementary School was officially changed from a white to a black school by the school board and most of its white patrons fled west.

Then Mitchell Elementary School, in another nearby neighborhood, was desegregated. A handful of Negro pupils grew to a majority and finally, by last year, only a few white children were left.

The same thing happened at Centennial Elementary and West Side Junior High School, both of which are near Central High.

East Side Junior High School, another white school in the old part of town, was desegregated and then closed, with the black students transferred to a new all-black school nearby and the whites sent many blocks away to the troubled West Side, from which most parents quickly plucked them to the sanctuary of the western subdivisions.

The Duffs and others who stuck with their homes began to feel the pressures of becoming a shrinking minority even though they accepted integration. Then, this summer, the Duffs gave up.

The school administration rezoned the east end schools and all five of their children were to be transferred this fall from formerly white schools that had been fully integrated to formerly black schools that had only tiny minorities of white students.

The Duffs sold their old house, with its long-established shrubs and flowers and its 14 years of memories, and moved out to a suburb. Their house payment went up \$100 a month.

Mrs. Duff resents the way the city's whites have been divided between those who have experienced integration—usually those with lower incomes—and those who have avoided it. She believes that integration so far has not succeeded in Little Rock.

"We don't have integration," she said. "We have all-white schools with a few blacks and all-black schools with a few whites. There are not enough at each school for the kids to learn about each other."

In the Central High area, a mile or so west of the Duffs' old house, there lived until last year a white woman who had been active in

every liberal cause in the city for the last 15 years. She had worked hard for integration of the schools.

Her children enjoyed the integrated schools at first, and the woman felt vindicated in her efforts.

But the school board's policy of gradualism began to trouble her during the early sixties. It became clear that the board, supported by the Federal courts, intended to really desegregate only the schools in transition neighborhoods. The white sanctuaries to the west were to remain either all-white or subject to the merest token integration.

The woman watched as her children and a few other white pupils became a minority in their schools. She was one of the few white parents to refuse to move when Mitchell Elementary School became more than 90 per cent black and West Side Junior High became 75 per cent black.

Then as the black majority in the schools increased, frightening things began to happen. Her children began to be attacked regularly on the streets by black children as they walked to and from school. Her junior high school daughter became afraid to go to the rest room without protection because she was harassed and threatened there so frequently.

One night at a basketball game, two black girl friends had to intervene to keep the white girl from being slashed with knives by other black girls.

Then one day last year a group of black boys cornered the girl and tried to rape her.

The woman sold her house and moved west. She is now thoroughly saddened and she is enraged at the school administration. She blames the school officials for putting her children in an unbearable situation.

This summer, Negro plaintiffs appealed a Federal District Court ruling that called for only a relatively small increase in desegregation this fall. The United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit refused an emergency hearing on the appeal, but did so on a vote of 3 to 3.

Meanwhile, several hundred black parents and students have organized to oppose District Judge J. Smith Henley's plan. The previously black high school, Mann, would be phased out under the plan and the students bused several miles to previously white high schools.

Black parents are complaining that they are tired of seeing their children bused to desegregated schools when no white children are bused.

A neighboring group of white parents whose children still go to Central High has organized this fall to try to keep Central integrated.

Central is about 35 per cent black. But this year's 10th grade class is 55 per cent black and that apparently means the school will have a black majority in two years or less. The white group is planning a legal fight to try to block that trend.

Little Rock's school board had a liberal majority for several years during the sixties. It tried twice to implement voluntary plans for complete or at least greatly increased desegregation.

Both plans depended on votes of the people, however, and both were turned down. The liberals who backed the plans were systematically voted off the board in 1967, 1968, and 1969.

DEVELOPMENT OF NONURBAN AREAS OF THE WEST

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, our national dialog on where and how we live is inevitably focused on the very real urban crisis. Unhappily this has caused us to ignore the quieter crisis in our rural and nonurban areas.