

12-9-1970

Race Relations Reporter, 9 December 1970

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Race Relations REPORTER

A newsletter published by Race Relations
Information Center, Nashville, Tennessee

No. 21: Dec. 9, 1970

Few black state troopers

A special survey of state police forces found that "no more than 250 of the nation's 40,000 state policemen are black." Available figures suggest that another 500 state troopers are from other racial minorities. At least 10 states have no black troopers and only five states have as many as 10. RRIC Staff Writer John Egerton conducted the mail and telephone survey, getting responses from 46 of the 50 states. California has the highest number of non-white officers--80 blacks and 174 from other minorities. Four other states--Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania--have between 13 and 23 black patrolmen, Egerton reports. Oklahoma has 102 minority officers other than black and most of them are Indians. A full report and table on Egerton's findings are located inside this issue of the Reporter. * * *

Desegregation hurts black teachers

School desegregation is "decimating the ranks of black classroom teachers and threatening black principals with extinction," according to Robert W. Hooker, who conducted a special study of the problem in the 11 Southern states. Hooker found that statistics on the situation are virtually nonexistent. He contacted official and unofficial sources throughout the region and concluded that: (1) Hundreds of black teachers have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning; (2) New teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks; (3) Demotion of black principals and teachers is more prevalent than outright dismissal; (4) Displacement is more widespread in small towns and rural areas than in metropolitan centers. A more complete report on Hooker's findings is inside this issue. * * *

New directions at UNCF

Since taking over as president of the United Negro College Fund last spring, Vernon Jordan has set a fast pace and outlined new goals for

Inside This Issue

Racial conflict and a severe economic crisis threaten Cairo, Ill. (—Bernard Garnett) . . . Oklahoma Cherokees see economics as a key to their future (—Frye Gaillard) . . . And the Christmas industry sees Black (—Jack White)

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RACE RELATIONS REPORTER

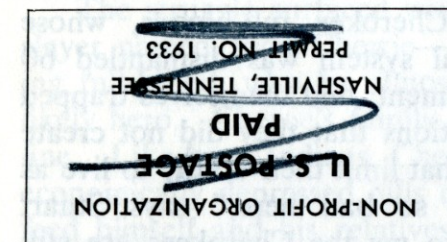
Herman Thompson, Shindana's director of marketing, said the firm was started in 1968 with help from Mattel. After two years of financial support from Mattel, the firm got a loan from the Chase Manhattan Bank and expects to show its first profits this year.

As with Merchant Prince, making money was not the sole consideration in starting the toy firm. The idea was to create jobs in the black community, and to use the profits, if any, for social projects. Thus, Shindana will use its profits not only to expand the non-profit firm but also to start day-care centers and schools for the children of its 60 black and Chicano factory workers.

Shindana is the only black-owned doll manufacturer in the nation and its competition comes from large white-owned firms. But it is selling its products in several national chains, such as Sears Roebuck. In future years, Thompson said, the firm will expand its line, but will never manufacture guns. "One of our board members has set up a policy that Shindana will never make war toys of any kind," Thompson said.

Another aspect of the booming black Christmas spirit is the addition of black Santas in major department stores. The *New York Times* recently reported that Macy's and Abraham & Straus in New York had "quietly integrated their Santa Claus corps." Not surprisingly, the A&S black Santa has been neglected, while the white Santa has been doing a booming business. Many people are apparently still reluctant to accept the image of Christmas as being anything other than white.

In any case, the market for black-oriented toys and cards can be expected to grow in coming years. As D. G. Thompson of the National Business League put it: "This is the best Christmas ever for black business men. But things have gotten better every Christmas since 1863."



pert; Donald Stone, a white man who owned a printing concern; and Chuck Williams, a black vice president of Schenley Liquors. The idea was to "find out how successful we could be if we put together an interracial owned firm," Kregos told RRIC. "There's no better way to get two races of people together—if that's what you want to do—than in the pursuit of profits."

The firm is now offering "the most complete line" of black-oriented cards in the nation and grosses \$450,000 per year, Kregos said. Some samples: A black man and woman singing "I'm dreaming of a Black Christmas, . . . just like the white ones I used to know." On another card a black Santa loaded down with packages says "May yours be nitty gritty and sweet." One of Merchant Prince's best-known gag cards depicts a black man holding a large package and saying "I baked a special cake for your birthday." Inside there's a cross-section of a watermelon with candles on top. Merchant Prince's designs come from free-lance artists and gag writers and the printing is done by Stone's firm. Kregos said that a large percentage of the cards are bought by whites.

Other firms dealing in the black card market are Empathy Graphics of New York, Afro-American Greeting Cards of Detroit and the Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights organization seeking funds for special projects through the sale of cards. CORE's cards, designed by artist Joseph McGarry, are especially noteworthy of excellence of design.

On the black toy front, Shindana is the biggest show in town. A division of Operation Bootstrap, a black self-help organization founded in Watts after the "instant urban renewal of 1965," Shindana manufactures naturalistic—and natural hairstyled—dolls, including Tamu, Baby DeeBee and Malaika—the Swahili name for "Angel."

RACE RELATIONS REPORTER is published twice a month by Race Relations Information Center, Box 6156, Nashville, Tenn. 37212, Robert F. Campbell, executive director; Jim Leeson, editor; Mrs. Pat Braden, editorial associate. RRIC, the successor to Southern Education Reporting Service, reports on race relations in the United States. Other publications and the broadcast media are welcome to use any or all of this newsletter, with or without attribution. Telephone: 615 327-1361.

the agency. Jordan maintains a tight schedule of speechmaking and fund raising around the country. The UNCF increased its fund-raising goal to \$10 million for 1970. And in September, Jordan brought in Dr. T. E. McKinney to develop new approaches in academic affairs.

Previously, the Fund focused on fund raising and distributing the money to the 36 black institutions for use in their basic operating expenses. McKinney, former vice president for academic affairs at Howard, was named to the new post of director of institutional services to create new programs that assist the colleges in the areas of technical assistance, educational services, research and publications, counseling, informational services, and academics and instruction. These funds for the new programs will be raised separate from the regular support UNCF solicits for the colleges' operating expenses. For example, IBM contributes to the general operating expenses and also funds a faculty fellowship program, which will help provide more well-trained professors for the member colleges.

UNCF's national campaign chairman, Joseph Taylor, reports that about \$6 million has been raised toward the \$10 million goal. Taylor noted that last year, the Fund raised \$6.9 million toward its goal of \$7.5 million, with about \$2.5 million coming in during the last month of the year. He expects a similar surge this December. Stock market conditions and questions about new tax requirements "have held back some of the gifts we had at this time last year," Taylor said. However, increased corporate gifts this year plus the successful use of direct-mail solicitations for the first time are expected to boost collections much higher before the Dec. 31 deadline. * * *

Black Merit Academy formed

The director of the Afro-American studies program at Indiana University has formed the Black Merit Academy to recognize outstanding achievements in that field. Prof. Henry E. Simmons, founder and acting president of the academy, said recognition would be given to achievement in three areas: academic excellence in courses related to the black experience, contributions to black students in teaching and administration, and efforts on behalf of the international black community by persons not necessarily affiliated with the academic community. Simmons has appointed an interim steering committee of black scholars from several universities and the first annual meeting of the academy is scheduled for next summer. Plans call for publication of a newsletter, beginning in January, and a journal, starting next fall. * * *

Minorities in the legal profession

"Only about one per cent of the lawyers in the United States are black, Puerto Rican, Chicano or members of other generally recognized minority groups," according to the Committee on Minority Groups for the Association of American Law Schools. After the AALS secured the ending of formal racial bars in the admission policies of all its member schools in 1964,

the organization worked on the problem of the small number of minority group students applying, admitted and graduating at law schools. For the 1967-68 academic year, the AALS reported minority group enrollment in American law schools was: Negro, 1,254; American Indian, 32; Puerto Rican, 69; Mexican American, 180; and Other Latin Americans, 81. By the 1969-70 academic year, the numbers had nearly doubled: Black American, 2,154; American Indian, 71; Chicano, 414; Puerto Rican, 61; Other Hispano-American, 75; and Others, 263. The AALS Committee on Minority Groups also found that "law firms have an equally unimpressive record as employers of white collar workers from minority groups." (AALS 1970 Annual Meeting, Proceedings, Part One, Section, II, "Association of American Law Schools, One Dupont Circle, N. W., Washington 20036) * * *

Black law journal

Five black law students and two black law professors at the University of California at Los Angeles have joined to begin publishing the Black Law Journal. The first issue is scheduled for March, 1971, under the editorship of Barbara J. Williams. The publication's announcement declared, "Rhetoric alone will not guide us through the challenges of the '70's. The emphasis of the Black Law Journal will be on blueprints for action. The many unmet challenges of earlier times as well as legal issues anticipated will be discussed candidly from a black perspective." Costs are \$5 a year for students and \$10 for subscribing members. (Black Law Journal, Box One, UCLA Law School, Los Angeles 90024) * * *

Mondale rewrites Nixon

The chairman of the U. S. Senate's Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), is reported working on a revision of President Nixon's school desegregation bill. Nixon's bill has been reported out by the House Committee on Education and Labor but is now tied up in Rep. William Colmer's (D-Miss.) Rules Committee. Mondale's committee staff and the staff for the education subcommittee of Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R. I.) are said to have agreed on a version that "funds quality integrated schools." The Mondale committee expects to be continued in the new Congress and to spend the first six months of next year holding "extensive field hearings" across the nation . . . on the West Coast, in a number of large metropolitan areas (including the District of Columbia) and at least one district each in the Southeast and in the Southwest. The committee has available publications related to its hearings: Part 1A--Hearings in April, May; Part 1B--Appendix to 1A; Part 2--Hearings in May, June; Part 3A--Hearings in mid-June; Part 3B--Hearings in June, July; Part 3C--Hearings in July, August; and the report prepared on the D. C. schools by the Metropolitan Research Corporation headed by Kenneth Clark. (Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Old Senate Office Bldg., Room 312, Washington 20510) * * *

States Have 250 Black Troopers

BY JOHN EGERTON

When George Wallace was trying to win back the Alabama governorship from incumbent Albert Brewer last spring, a spot announcement heard on some radio stations in the state implored the voter to consider the prospect of his wife being stopped on the highway late at night by a state trooper who turned out to be black.

Wallace won the election, and the white voters presumably will not have to worry about seeing any black troopers. But then, they didn't have to worry anyway. There are no black state policemen in Alabama.

In fact, there are at least 10 states that have no black troopers, and only five states have as many as 10. A mail and telephone survey conducted by the Race Relations Information Center, drawing at least partial responses from 46 of the 50 states, indicates that blacks and other racial minorities make up only a minute fraction of the state police forces in almost every state.

The data collected by RRIC, while incomplete, seems detailed enough to support the conclusion that no more than 250 of the nation's 40,000 state policemen are black. Even if another 500 of the total belong to other racial minorities—and the available figures suggest that many—it would still be true that 98 or 99 of every 100 uniformed troopers are white men.

California, with 80 blacks and 174 other minority officers, leads the list. California's total force numbers 5,388. Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland are the only other states having more than 10 black patrolmen. The numbers in those states range between 13 and 23. Oklahoma has 102 officers (most of them Indians) who belong to a racial minority other than black. Texas (50) and Colorado (17) are the only other states reporting double-figure totals in that category.

Only four states—Arizona, Montana, New Hampshire and New Mexico—yielded no information for the survey. Three other states—Alaska, Maine and Nevada—replied to the mail inquiry but would give no figures. A few other states did not reply, but RRIC obtained the figures through other sources.

The states reporting no black troopers are not confined to the South. The 10 known to have none include Idaho, Iowa, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming, as well as Alabama. In addition, 10 states have only one black officer each: Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Minnesota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Eight states in addition to California have state police forces numbering in excess of 1,000. Four of the eight—Michigan, New York, Ohio and Texas—count fewer than 10 black troopers in their ranks.

And for all that whiteness, there are more black patrolmen now than there were two or three years ago.

MINORITIES ON STATE POLICE FORCES

| State | Number of Uniformed Officers | White | Black | Other ¹ | Top Ranked Black |
|--------|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Ala. | 657 | 657 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Alaska | 197 | * | * | * | * |
| Ariz. | * | * | * | * | * |
| Ark. | 389 | 385 | 4 | 0 | T |
| Calif. | 5,388 | 5,134 | 80 | 174 | * |
| Colo. | 455 | 434 | 4 | 17 | P |
| Conn. | 709 | 705 | 4 | 0 | T |
| Del. | 357 | 356 | 1 | 0 | T |
| Fla. | 952 | 951 | 1 | 0 | T |
| Ga. | 644 | 643 | 1 | 0 | T |
| Hawaii | | | Has no state police force | | |
| Idaho | 126 | 126 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ill. | 1,698 | 1,675 | 23 | 0 | Capt. |
| Ind. | 867 | 864 | 3 | 0 | T |
| Iowa | 410 | 410 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Kans. | 323 | 318 | 3 | 2 | T |
| Ky. | 563 | 561 | 2 | 0 | T |
| La. | 648 | 645 | 3 | 0 | T |
| Maine | * | * | * | * | * |
| Md. | 1,150 | 1,137 | 13 | 0 | S |
| Mass. | 812 | 812 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mich. | 1,704 | 1,698 | 6 ^a | 0 ^a | D |
| Minn. | 478 | 474 | 1 | 3 | P |
| Miss. | 375 | 375 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mo. | 733 | 731 | 2 | 0 | T |
| Mont. | * | * | * | * | * |
| Neb. | 305 | 302 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Nev. | * | * | * | * | * |
| N. H. | * | * | * | * | * |
| N. J. | 1,575 | 1,555 ^b | 20 ^b | * | * |
| N. M. | * | * | * | * | * |
| N. Y. | 3,275 | 3,261 | 8 | 6 | I |
| N. C. | 933 | 926 | 6 | 1 | T |
| N. D. | 80 | 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ohio | 1,077 | 1,071 | 6 | 0 | T |
| Okla. | 485 | 378 | 5 | 102 ^c | * |
| Ore. | 634 | 633 ^d | 1 | * ^d | P |
| Pa. | 3,506 | 3,483 | 23 | 0 | Cpl. |
| R. I. | 90 | 89 | 1 | 0 | T |
| S. C. | 616 | 614 | 2 | 0 | P |
| S. D. | 127 | 126 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Tenn. | 628 | 621 | 7 | 0 | T |
| Tex. | 2,114 | 2,059 | 5 | 50 | T |
| Utah | 300 | 295 | 1 | 4 | A |
| Vt. | 219 | 219 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Va. | 912 | 911 | 1 | 0 | T |
| Wash. | * | * | 4 | 7 | T |
| W. Va. | 360 | 359 | 1 | 0 | T |
| Wis. | 370 | 368 | 1 | 1 | Cpl. |
| Wyo. | 95 | 95 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

A—Agent
 Capt.—Captain
 Cpl.—Corporal
 D—Detective
 I—Investigator
 P—Patrolman
 S—Sergeant
 T—Trooper
¹—"Other" combines all minorities other than black
^a—Indicates no reply received, or questions not answered
^b—Michigan listed personnel as "white" and "non-white"
^c—N.J. known to have "no more than 20 black officers"
^d—Okla. lists 2 Chicanos and an estimated 100 Indians
^e—Oregon may have some other non-whites

Eleven of the states that now have blacks in their ranks volunteered the information that all their officers were white as recently as 1967. In fact, it seems likely from the reports of the states that no more than a dozen of them had any black troopers at all prior to 1965.

The questionnaire RRIC mailed to the states asked the total number of uniformed officers, their racial ratios (white, black, and other minority groups), and the highest rank held by a black officer. Most of the replies went no further than the answers to these questions. But several volunteered additional information, and from that data there is some indication that recruitment of minority officers is picking up, and the response to these overtures in the minority communities is more skeptical than enthusiastic.

For example, state police in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Pennsylvania described for RRIC the steps they are taking to recruit blacks: advertising in black-oriented newspapers and radio stations, publicity in the overseas *Stars and Stripes*, use of black public relations advice, personal canvassing in the military and in the ghettos, and so on. Yet these four states, with a combined force of almost 8,000 men, have a grand total of 55 black officers—and none at all from any other racial minority group.

In Illinois, where a black man is superintendent of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation and another is a captain in the (uniformed) State Police, a year-long recruitment program directed at minority groups "has not been as successful as we hoped," according to a department spokesman.

Michigan, which has just six non-white officers, had none at all three years ago. A representative of the Michigan Department of Civil Service, calling this a "very serious problem of racial imbalance," noted that in addition to recruiting, the state police have also sponsored pre-test training classes for applicants unable to pass the required civil service test. "None of these efforts have met with overwhelming success," he said.

"We're busting our tails to recruit," said a spokesman in Pennsylvania, "but we're not making much headway." Corp. Ron Sharpe, one of that state's 23 black officers, has been leading a recruiting drive in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. "The biggest hurdle we face is just getting the word out," he says. "People just aren't aware this opportunity exists." Sharpe said every returning serviceman in Pennsylvania gets a recruitment brochure from the police.

Some black officers point out that state police forces have been exclusively white for so long that it is difficult to convince blacks of the opportunities available. Other spokesmen say their pay scale is not high enough to be competitive. In some states, hiring is handled by the civil service, and that method apparently limits the police in their efforts to attract minority-group members.

Several states were reluctant to talk about their employment patterns, and a couple were suspicious of RRIC and its purposes in making the survey. The Indiana police asked a local law enforcement agency in Nashville to "check up" on RRIC. In Virginia, the commander of the force said he was "reluctant to let outside groups know what our manpower situation is, what with so much turmoil going on these days." And the commissioner of police in Alaska wrote, "It is my feeling that whether any particular trooper is Caucasian, Negro, Indian or Chinese is neither legally or morally my business or yours."

Discriminatory hiring practices have been

charged against police in at least two states. In Mississippi, two black men filed suit in federal court this fall, saying they sought to apply for positions in the highway patrol but were refused the application forms.

In Massachusetts, the state's Commission Against Discrimination filed a legal complaint against the state police last month, charging them with a complex of discriminatory practices. All 812 members of the Massachusetts police force are white. Commissioner William F. Powers, acknowledging "an unfortunate record" of minority hiring in the past, pledged a concerted effort to change the picture. "We shall do everything we possibly can . . . to bring in qualified minority personnel," he said. "We need them, and we want them. I want this to be clear." A comprehensive recruiting program is now under way.

Accelerated efforts to increase the numbers of state policemen from minority groups may bring some change in the picture, but effective recruiting techniques are at a premium. The Illinois spokesman, in his response to the RRIC questionnaire, wrote: "If you have any suggestions as to how to more effectively attract qualified black men into police work we would like very much to hear them."

Blacks Losing Teaching Jobs

BY ROBERT W. HOOKER

The school desegregation that was supposed to help end discrimination has left an ironic legacy in the South this year. Race Relations Information Center found in a six-week survey of the 11 Southern states that hundreds of black teachers have been denied new contracts, dismissed outright, demoted or pressured into resigning. At the same time, the number of blacks hired to fill new openings has declined.

Although hard data is elusive and personal opinions sometimes conflict, the following general conclusions emerged from telephone conversations with some 250 persons:

- Displacement is decimating the ranks of black teachers and threatening black principals with extinction.

- The number of blacks being hired is also declining. Nonhiring appears to be a form of displacement as serious as dismissal and demotion.

- Displacement is more widespread (1) in small towns and rural areas than in metropolitan centers; (2) in areas with a medium-to-heavy concentration of blacks than in predominantly white sections; and (3) in the Deep South than in the Upper South.

- Demotion of principals and teachers is more prevalent than their outright dismissal.

In only one state—Florida—are complete statistics available, and there the Florida Education Association reports that more than 1,000 black teachers have been dropped during the past three years. Incomplete results from a survey of Texas by the Commission on Democracy in Education reveal that in 76 of the state's 1,244 districts, 225 black teachers lost their jobs this year or are out of work as a result of an earlier displacement. (About 450 districts in the state have no black residents.)

Robert W. Hooker surveyed some 250 sources in the South to determine the current effect of school desegregation on the black teacher. Hooker worked on special assignment for Race Relations Information Center, which made the study under contract from the U. S. Office of Education. Hooker recently completed his M.A. history thesis at Vanderbilt University, comparing the news coverage of five Mississippi newspapers with that of television station WLBT-TV during three years of racial crisis (1962-1964).

In Alabama and Georgia, where RRIC sources estimate that the number of teachers affected by displacement this year may range from 20 per cent to one-third of the total, private groups are preparing to release reports. In the rest of the states, apparently all that is available are estimates and outright guesses. There are also some people in every state—mainly officials in the state departments of education and superintendents and principals at the local level—who maintain that displacement problems are minimal, or nil.

Since 1954, displacement in the South has followed almost unflinchingly in the wake of desegregation—coming first to the border states in the 1950's, then shifting southward as schools there began complying. Black teachers in the Upper South were being affected by the mid-1960's, and the pattern passed into the Deep South at the end of the decade.

Invariably, the black principal—for years the linchpin of the black community—has been displacement's primary prey. All over the South, principals with years of experience are being fired, "kicked upstairs" into central administrative offices, reduced a notch, or demoted back into the classroom. Some have gone into college teaching or retired, and some few have kept their title (though often with a white "supervisory principal").

It is estimated that in the past two or three years, the number of black principals has fallen from 620 to 170 in North Carolina, and from 250 to 40 or 50 in Alabama. Mississippi reportedly has lost more than 250 black principals in the last two years. In those states, and all the others, the onetime chief link with the white community and onetime chief recruiter of new black teachers is rapidly disappearing.

Black coaches, band directors and counselors are also frequent victims of displacement, although they have come through desegregation with fewer losses than principals. A National Education Association task force that visited 70 districts in Louisiana and Mississippi early this fall found no district in which a black was head coach of a desegregated school.

At the classroom level, the displacement of blacks, while less overt and proportionately less severe than the displacement of principals and coaches, has been widespread nonetheless. Imprecise statistics compiled by the Atlanta branch of the Office for Civil Rights, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, on 108 districts in six Southern states show that, in two years, the total number of teachers rose by 615 while the number of black teachers fell by 923 (from 9,015 in 1968-69 to 8,092 this fall).

Most school boards do not release black teachers out-

right, RRIC was told. Former department heads are relieved of their titles and high school teachers are demoted to junior high or elementary school classrooms. Blacks are placed in federally funded programs, such as those under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and when the federal money runs low or is revoked, the blacks are released.

Black teachers are put in subjects out of their field, and when the English teacher has trouble teaching science, she is fired for "incompetence." Blacks become "co-teachers" with a domineering white, "teacher's aides" without responsibility, "floating teachers" without a classroom of their own, and sometimes even hall monitors without a classroom at all. Some of these teachers give up and resign. Some protest and are fired for insubordination.

Where the disgusted and dismissed teachers go, nobody really knows. The older ones often retire, while the younger apparently move to other school systems to teach (sometimes out of the state, and the South), or take jobs with industry or government.

And into their places, more often than not, go whites. It is, in fact, in the new hiring of black teachers—rather than the firing—that the biggest catastrophe for blacks probably lies. In the 108 districts surveyed by the Atlanta Office for Civil Rights, 3,774 white teachers (77 per cent of the total leaving) and 1,133 black teachers (23 per cent) left their school systems this fall. Hired new to those systems were 4,453 whites (86 per cent) and 743 blacks (14 per cent).

Despite the erosion in the ranks of experienced black teachers, however, new black teachers seem to be faring well on the job market this year in the South. Only one of the nine predominantly black institutions contacted by RRIC reported that its teacher-education graduates are having trouble finding jobs.

Some of the deans and placement directors at the other eight schools had only estimates, or no figures at all. But most of them agreed that although certain school systems are tough to crack and there is a surplus of teachers in certain disciplines, a young black graduate can find a teaching job somewhere, if he is not too choosy.

The displacement situation, along with the teacher surplus and growing opportunities for blacks in other fields, may be dissuading young blacks from going into teaching in the first place, however. Three of the nine institutions reported that the number of their teacher grads has declined in recent years, and five said that the percentage of their products actually going into teaching is down. By and large, young black teachers aren't leaving the South in any great number, the officials said.

In some states, it is possible to pinpoint a section that has the most displacement. In North Carolina, for example, the major problems are found east of Raleigh; in Texas, along and east of a Dallas-to-Houston line; in Tennessee, in a few rural counties in the west. In some states, though, the trouble spot isn't so clear cut. "The worst section in Alabama is all of Alabama," said Joe L. Reed, associate executive secretary of the Alabama Education Association (and onetime executive secretary of the old black teachers group).

On the whole, displacement—nonhiring as well as firing and demoting—appears to be more of a rural phenomenon than an urban one, and it is appar-

ently most widespread in the Deep South states of Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama and least prevalent in the Upper South states of Tennessee and Virginia. In some cases, where blacks are represented on the school board or where white superintendents have shown a sensitivity to the problem, blacks have escaped serious displacement.

Many of the metropolitan centers have to maintain court-imposed ratios on their faculties, RRIC sources reported, or they need black teachers for their still predominantly black schools. Consequently, the hiring rate has held up and most black teachers have held onto their jobs.

An RRIC check of five metropolitan systems revealed that the hiring of blacks this year has increased at one (Nashville), held even at one (Richmond) and fallen off slightly at two (Miami and Chattanooga). The Charlotte-Mecklenburg system hired proportionately fewer blacks than whites this year because the turnover of black teachers is lower than whites.

Away from the cities, though, many schools appear to be passing over blacks. About 80 per cent of the teachers hired new to the system in 26 Mississippi districts this year were white, according to statistics in the possession of Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry. A year or two ago, said Barber, that percentage was 50 or 60 per cent. About 110 of the some 120 black teachers in Kinston, N. C., alarmed by the possibility of a similar trend there, have retained a lawyer to investigate.

When a black teacher is dismissed, it is generally for one of several reasons. In some systems, the average daily attendance is a criterion for setting the size of the faculty, and when white students abandon the schools for private academies, often the black teacher is released. Where white teachers are leaving, too, the systems are hiring only whites to replace them, or they are firing blacks and then hiring whites, in order to maintain the old faculty ratio.

Another tactic that is being used against black teachers—apparently with increasing frequency—is the standardized test, particularly the National Teacher Examinations (NTE). The NTE is a statewide criterion for certification in three Southern states (Texas, North Carolina and South Carolina) and in certain districts in the other eight states.

Critics of the test, which is designed to measure academic preparation for teaching, maintain that it is being used to weed out black teachers. They say that the NTE tells nothing about a teacher's classroom performance and is stacked against blacks, many of whom do not share the middle-class, white orientation upon which the test was supposedly built.

Another common justification for displacement of blacks is their "incompetence" or "inadequate training." White school boards, indifferent to the quality of teachers they hired during the era of dual schools, are now looking at their employees again and judging some of them unqualified for desegregated schools. The competence of whites is rarely questioned.

Most black educators bristle with resentment at the suggestion that black teachers, as a group, are less qualified than whites. Many also think that proposals for retraining poorly qualified blacks are a smokescreen and that federal and state officials who advocate retraining are merely swallowing school boards' put-on justification for discrimination.

A displaced teacher's recourses are limited. Six of the 11 Southern states now have tenure laws, or their equivalent, but tenure is only as effective as officials are faithful in administering it.

The black teachers associations and the federal government used to be strong allies of displaced teachers. Now, however, all but two of the black groups have merged with their white counterparts, losing some of their clout, and the educational and legal arms of the government are looked upon with varying degrees of distrust and scorn by many black educators who feel they have been deceived.

The courts have been an effective recourse for a few, but the process is long and expensive.

Feeble as the recourses are, however, they would be more effective were it not for the timidity of the black teachers themselves. Traditionally, they have been a conservative breed, and confronted with displacement, they are apparently remaining quiet rather than risking the wrath of their white creditors and their next white supervisor.

For many black teachers in the South, ironically, desegregation has not been a happy process. E. Harper Johnson, a former black principal and now the Tennessee Education Association's director of special services and staff consultant for human relations, says desegregation "has given Negro teachers the opportunity to prove they have competence, integrity and all of those virtues we hold to be important in America. But there is still much work to be done. The Negro teacher, despite his ability, is not yet given the recognition he's entitled to."

J. K. Haynes, the black executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association, is less diplomatic. Desegregation, he says, "is a farce as far as teachers are concerned. Nobody ever dreamed that man's inhumanity to man would manifest itself to this extent."

Race, Economics Threaten Cairo

BY BERNARD GARNETT

For the past three years, Cairo, Ill., has been racked by a virtual race war that has compounded an existing, severe economic crisis. Today, these two interlocking factors threaten the very existence of this southern Illinois town, located at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, where Illinois touches both Kentucky and Missouri.

Race relations could hardly be worse, except with all-out war in the streets. Since blacks in Cairo began a boycott against downtown merchants 20 months ago, there reportedly have been 140 black-versus-white shooting incidents. Most have occurred around Pyramid Courts, a black, low-income housing development, which blacks have declared off-limits to police, and near the headquarters of the United Front, a coalition of black organizations. Recently, a number of white-owned stores and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) headquarters—all located in the black inner-city area—were destroyed by fire. Firemen fighting the blazes reportedly were under sniper fire. There have been numerous injuries, including at least one known black death.

For almost two years, the news stories from Cairo, Ill., have reported a series of racial conflicts and shooting incidents. RRIC Staff Writer Bernard Garnett visited the Southern Illinois riverport to study the underlying causes. Garnett found that a severe economic crisis has compounded the racial conflict and that the mutual distrust between blacks and whites is so strong that it threatens the economic existence of the town.

Only the presence of 24 specially detailed state policemen, equipped with a menacing looking armored truck, has curtailed violence in the past month. But with blacks and whites loathing and distrusting one another, there is practically no middle ground and "moderates" on either side are hard to find. With both sides determined not to give in an inch to the other side, and with negotiations all but broken down, it seems only a matter of time before violence resumes in Cairo.

The old riverport town of Cairo (pronounced either 'care-o' or 'kay-ro') has undergone a steady decline. It is shunned by expanding industries. Many of the old firms have left. The unemployment rate in Cairo, now at 10 per cent and higher among blacks, often exceeds the national average even in times of soaring prosperity. Some 30 per cent of the residents receive some form of public assistance.

While neighboring cities and regions have at least held their own and attracted new businesses over the past two decades, Cairo is dotted with decaying relics of more prosperous times—and hints at what might have been. In 1950, Cairo's population was 12,000; today, it is about 6,100. As soon as a youth reaches his 20's, he is most likely to move to St. Louis or Chicago, rather than gamble on a future in his dying home town.

And Cairo's already sorry economic plight has worsened with the current racial conflict. The downtown boycott has forced several firms to close. Whites from elsewhere, hearing of the continuing tensions, now are trading in nearby Paducah, Ky., Cape Girardeau, Mo., other parts of southern Illinois—anywhere but Cairo.

Mayor Albert B. (Pete) Thomas recently complained of the difficulty he has in attracting big business to Cairo, because of the turmoil. And even though the city has always suffered some undercurrent of racial unrest—what with its being a white, ultra-conservative stronghold—much of the current tension can be traced to the boycott.

But others speculate that much of the racial turmoil is in turn due to the economic situation. "If there were plenty for everybody," said one white resident, "we probably wouldn't have all this trouble." One Kentucky businessman has suggested, "The way those two rivers are eating away at the city, it doesn't make much sense to set up much business there, anyway."

While the discussion continues over whether a racial solution will lead to a healing of Cairo's wounds, or vice versa, Cairo is due for what appears to be a critical election next year. Mayor Thomas, called a 'racist' by blacks and a 'moderate' by some whites, has said he will not seek re-election. Speculation has been raised that the most militant of the blacks will present one slate of candidates, to be opposed by a slate of the most militant of the whites. As issues heat up, according to this speculation, voting will

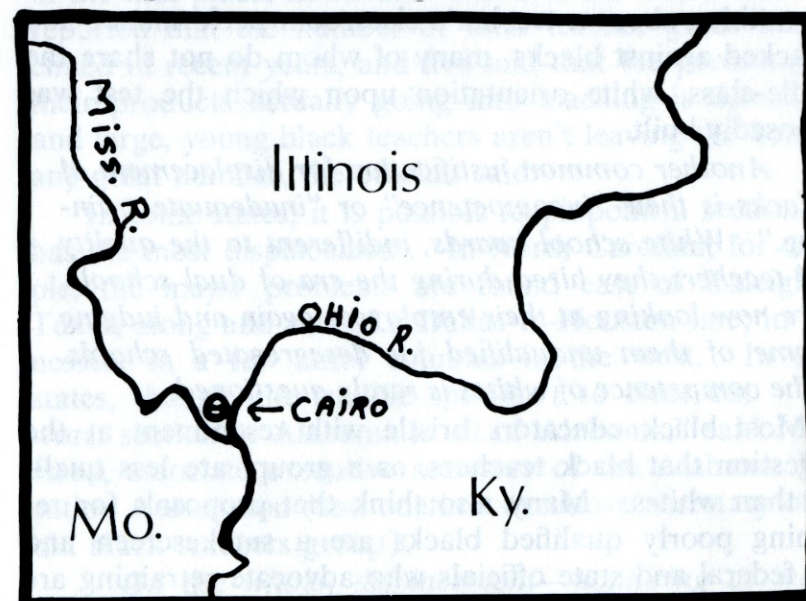
inevitably take place along racial lines. The black voting power, however, has been estimated at only one-third that of the whites, which would insure a sweep of offices by the whites. And one Cairo white citizen worries, "I don't see how this town could survive four years of that."

On one side of this seemingly insolvable racial hassle is the United Front, a predominantly black citizens' group organized in March, 1969, to improve living conditions in Cairo's century-old, dilapidated slum area, to gain lucrative employment, and to establish a rapport between the police and the community. The continuing troubles in the town have led to the formation of a National Black United Front, with Cairo as national headquarters. On the other side is the United Citizens for Community Action (UCCA), a white, right-wing organization affiliated with the Citizens Council of America.

Both the black and white organizations keep their memberships secret. Some local moderates insist that each group has a small number of members and wields little influence among its respective race. The opposite obviously is true. Blacks rally behind UF, supporting the boycott and patronizing only Front-sponsored clothing and food co-ops and other black businesses, when they shop in Cairo at all. UF has the cooperation of blacks, young and old, in all its self-help projects. Some black businessmen took part in the Front's recent Thanksgiving food and clothing drive. The local NAACP shares a building with the Front, and the two cooperate in many projects. Jim Flanary, editor of the daily *Cairo Citizen*, observed that when downtown merchants kicked off the current Christmas shopping season with a Santa Claus descending on downtown in a helicopter, "Blacks were conspicuous by their absence."

Likewise, most of Cairo's whites appear to agree with UCCA, even if they aren't card-carrying members. Amid reports that UF leaders often import black terrorists to enforce the boycott and intimidate white merchants in black neighborhoods, whites often view black strangers with suspicion. The monthly tabloid, *Tri-State Informer*, usually expresses UCCA opinion, although its management denies any connection. The *Informer* boasts a circulation of 2,200, a majority of the whites in Cairo. Many of its paid political advertisements have promoted white conservative candidates. Businesses affected by the boycott, including Mayor Thomas' auto dealership, also advertise in the paper.

Cairo can trace its racial history to the days of slavery, when it was an important Underground Rail-



way stop. Many escaped slaves settled there, however, rather than continue northward. Thus, Cairo's black population—estimated at one-third to one-half of the total—exceeds the black populations of many neighboring areas. But while Cairo was a refuge for escaped slaves, the town also has the remains of an underground prison, where a number of captured blacks were held until their owners could claim them. "Today's conflict," said Leon Page, a United Front official, "is between the descendants of the ex-slaves who stayed here, and the descendants of the racists who captured the escaped 'niggers' for their 'massas.'"

Through the years, trouble has brewed in Cairo. Since 1950, it has increased so steadily that Jim Flanary quips, "We have a generation of kids who grew up to the sound of gunfire." In the summers of 1962, '63 and '64, blacks sat-in and picketed for equal accommodations. They eventually won these victories and began demanding more far-reaching concessions. By 1965, they were dramatizing their grievances through summer violence, the kind that was rocking larger cities from coast to coast.

But whites in Cairo responded with the White Hats, an armed and drilled group distinguished by their headgear. Blacks labelled the group, which was formed in 1967 but outlawed by the state two years later, a vigilante association. White Hat leaders called themselves a neighborhood protective group. Sporadic violence continued until black activists felt compelled to consolidate their efforts into the United Front.

This was in March, 1969. The next month, UF launched the boycott, protesting the scarcity of blacks in downtown jobs and the discourteous treatment they said they received. In July, the UCCA was formed. Blacks called UCCA a revival of the White Hats, but founder Bob Cunningham countered, "The UCCA merely tries to get the facts about Cairo to the news media and to get responsible blacks to overthrow the Front."

At any rate, the shooting started. Blacks took up firearms and fought back. There was no use seeking police protection, they said, because many of those firing into their homes were lawmen. As UF director Rev. Charles Koen once put it: "While politicians on the national scene cry 'law and order,' black folks in Cairo are being arrested, while white folks are raising hell."

In recent months, white-owned businesses and the VFW headquarters have been burned. Police reported that in October, uniformed black militants opened fire on police headquarters on at least two occasions. All this trouble has been attributed to the United Front.

UF leaders, however, contend that whites burned their own businesses in the night and blamed blacks, to collect the insurance and to whip up "law and order" sentiment prior to the Nov. 3 election. The attack on the police station is called a "fabrication." Page said, "Notice that nothing belonging to whites was destroyed or allegedly attacked, until close to election time. They haven't said a word about their attempts to destroy our clothing co-op."

Most of the Front's activities originate from what was St. Columba's Catholic school and church, before the old black and white neighborhood parishes were consolidated. The Rev. Ben Bodewes, a white Catholic priest working in a community service role, and Manker Harris, also white, work closely with UF. They have a three-hour tape of a

gunfire incident, which they said was waged between police stationed at headquarters and at a public library, and blacks located in a housing development a few blocks away. The black neighborhoods are the most poorly lighted areas in town, but UF leaders say this is to their advantage. As Page put it: "This way, the white snipers can't see us."

Recently, Mayor Thomas sought to end the boycott by offering blacks 12 full-time jobs and six part-time positions at downtown stores, and more if business improved. He also offered 12 trainee posts at the currently all-white police and fire departments, six on each force. Ironically, under Cairo's commissioner form of government, the fire commissioner is a black man, Norman Seavers. UF rejected Thomas's offer as "an insult to the intelligence and dignity of blacks, an act of dishonesty and racism, and a trick."

There now are few attempts to negotiate. When the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Relations Service (CRS) recently attempted to mediate the situation, city and county officials refused to attend. Blacks were not surprised.

National BU

During the Black Survival Conference at Southern Illinois University in October (*Race Relations Reporter*, No. 19: Nov. 2), members of several local Black United Front organizations formed the National Black United Front (NBUF).

Officers are: Chairman—Rev. Charles Koen, Cairo, Ill.; Defense Director—Mel Coley, Washington, D.C.; Program Coordinator—Rev. Horace Jones, Peoria, Ill.; International Affairs Coordinator—Rev. Douglas Moore, Washington; Chiefs of Staff—James Chairs, Cairo; Lennix Durant, Boston; and Reggie Brown, New York.

Economic Development—Bob Williams, Cape Girardeau, Mo.; Field Director—Anthony Cox, Washington; Treasurer—Al Farmer, Cairo; Communications Director—Janice Stewart, Cairo; Campus Coordinator—Debby Jackson, Carbondale, Ill.; Public Relations Director—Melody Newkirk, Boston; Cultural Director—Chuck Turner, Boston; Coordinator of National Survival Fund—Bill Hampton, Chicago; Think-Bank Schools Director—Leon Page, Cairo; and Administrative Aides to the National Chairman—Larry Howard, Wichita, Kans., and Levi Garrett, Cairo.

The idea of various groups pooling their efforts and resources through umbrella organizations is nothing new. But the "united front" concept—with local "moderate" and "militant" bodies absolving their tactical differences for the sake of black unity—was first advocated in 1968 by Stokely Carmichael.—B. G.

Blacks also are suspicious of the state police, who they remember were called in only after reports of their attack on police headquarters—not when blacks were complaining of attacks on them. And even though Illinois law enforcement director Herbert D. Brown left the CRS meeting saying that firemen would not be permitted to carry firearms and that part-time deputy sheriffs' activities would be curtailed, blacks still are not convinced that the state is sufficiently responsive to their needs.

Cherokees Trying Economic Projects

BY FRYE GAILLARD

Among the Oklahoma Cherokees, 1967 was a year of hope. The problems—poverty, illiteracy, disease, powerlessness—were as bad as ever, but there seemed to be a feeling, for the first time in more than half a century, that somehow they could be dealt with.

The struggle surfaced with the case of a young deer-slayer named John Chewie—a hard-drinking, tough-talking full-blood, who by almost any standards was an unlikely hero. Chewie's family lives well below the poverty line. Like most Indians, Chewie earns little money in the economically depressed hills of eastern Oklahoma, and to feed himself and his relatives, Chewie killed a deer—on his own land, so he says.

The problem is that you can't do that in Oklahoma, except in certain seasons, and seven game wardens descended upon Chewie to confiscate his kill and put him in jail. The case, which was not the first of its kind, attracted considerable attention among Cherokee full-bloods. The average income for a Cherokee family is \$500 a year, and with hunger an ever-present problem, venison helps. Hunting also is an integral part of the Cherokee tradition and of the tribal lifestyle, even today.

Thus, on the date for Chewie's trial, several hundred Cherokees filtered silently into Jay, Okla., the placid seat of Delaware County. And as they gathered in the vicinity of the courthouse, the white population of Jay became very nervous. The Indians were armed.

The trial was held and the jury pondered, but no decision was reached. The facts of the case were unclear, and ultimately it was dropped. Out of it, however, came the Five County Cherokee Community Organization, which later changed its name to the Original Cherokee Community Organization. The group in 1967 announced its intentions in eloquent terms:

"We meet in a time of darkness to seek the path to the light. We come together, just as our fathers have always done, to do these things. . . . We . . . are one people. We stand united in the sight of God, our creator. . . . We insist on equality under the laws of these United States. We act now, peaceably but firmly, to carry out the wish of our people. . . . We do this for the benefit of all Cherokees. We do this as a good example to all men. . . . When we have succeeded, then shall we rest."

Even though there had been no incidents at Chewie's trial, the crowd and the guns made it clear that the Cherokees' declarations were more than rhetoric. Nearly three years have passed since then, and although OCCO's leadership has changed hands several times, the organization has not rested.

Stuart Trapp, a white civil rights attorney from Memphis who was called in to represent Chewie and who ended up staying, is now OCCO's full-time lawyer. At one of the organization's recent meetings, he summed up the group's frustrations: "We just have not mobilized the Cherokees for any kind of basic assault on their problems. We say our purpose is to drastically improve things. But we just haven't done it."

There are alternative explanations as to why OCCO thus far has failed to accomplish its goals. Some say the organization's most recent leadership is incompetent. (No one denies that it is energetic.) Others say that the group suffers from the inherent contradiction of being an organization of Cherokee full-bloods in which the strongest leader is Stuart Trapp, a white lawyer.

But more plausible, perhaps, is the thesis that OCCO has simply become bogged down in the vastness of the problem. OCCO's staff consists of George Groundhog, the group's 57-year-old chairman; Trapp; another lawyer; two secretaries; and a young executive director named Tom McLemore (who also is a Cherokee). The six serve a membership of some 3,000 full-bloods—nearly all of whom have pressing problems with which they need immediate help. The result has been that OCCO's staff spends long, frenzied hours trying to deal with hundreds of individual needs, and energy becomes so diffused that no comprehensive assault is mounted against the tribe's total problem.

George Groundhog is convinced that if OCCO could just get more funds (it is now supported by the Field Foundation), a larger staff could be hired, and the organization could be more effective.

All this is not to say that OCCO's brief history has been entirely devoid of accomplishments. It has not. OCCO has provided free and badly needed legal help for hundreds of Indians. It has energetically sought improvements in health care, education, and anti-poverty programs affecting the Cherokees, and it has helped Indians cope with federal and state bureaucracies in order to receive help. And most important, OCCO is, as one sympathetic writer put it, "the fragile umbrella under which Cherokee nationalism huddles." To a large, though undetermined, number of Cherokees, it is a reason for hope.

But John Chewie, the deer-slayer, recently offered an unintentional but telling commentary on the group's effectiveness. He appeared several weeks ago at OCCO's office seeking legal help. His alleged crime: killing another deer.

Whatever OCCO's frustrations, there are two other organizations now playing a major role in the life of the Cherokee tribe. One is the official tribal government, the Cherokee Nation. The other is Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity (OIO), founded five years ago through the efforts of LaDonna Harris, a Comanche descendant who is now married to Oklahoma's Democratic senator, Fred Harris.

This is the second of a two-part series on the problems of the Cherokee Indians whose stable and prosperous society was dismantled twice by the U. S. government. Frye Gaillard's first article appeared in the *Race Relations Reporter*, No. 20: Nov. 16. This section deals with the attempts of three groups to seek solutions to the Cherokee plight. Gaillard has also written a special report on the Indian movement today, which will be published soon by RRIC. The special report will examine the impending destruction of the ancient Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico and will analyze the threats to Indian culture generally.

Both groups apparently believe economics is the key to the Cherokees' future. The Cherokee Nation talks hopefully of attracting industry into eastern Oklahoma, while OIO accepts the basically rural nature of Cherokee life and has adjusted its projects accordingly.

In the modern, four-building Cherokee headquarters near Tahlequah, Okla., Billy Bob Stopp, the young, earnest and energetic deputy chief of the tribe, talks of his region's economic future. "There is a lot of labor here," he says, "and it is cheap labor, waiting to be tapped. For that reason, there is a big future for industry here. It will take some time, but we hope to attract enough industry to provide a lot of jobs for Cherokees."

Hiner Doublehead, one of Stopp's top assistants, is even more emphatic. "With the help of Chief Keeler, we are already attracting a lot of industry in here," says Doublehead. "You will see things getting better. It will take some time, of course, but we are making real progress." (W. W. Keeler, the titular chief of the Cherokees, was appointed to his post in 1948 by President Truman, and is unpopular with many Cherokee full-bloods.)

When asked for specific documentation of the progress, however, Doublehead hedges. He claims not to know how many jobs have been provided so far by the push for industrialization—a claim that the leadership of OCCO finds curious since Doublehead has been assigned responsibility for community development among the Cherokees.

In any case, the number of jobs is small, in comparison to the need. For example, the Cherokee Nation recently loaned a total of \$210,000 at very cheap rates to two industries. In return, the companies located two plants in the Tahlequah area and by early fall had hired a total of 19 Indians between them. The statistics for the tribally owned Cherokee Industries are a little better: Some 83 Indians work there, but more than half of them are part-time and the vast majority are women.

There are an estimated 10,000 full-bloods in eastern Oklahoma—most of whom are poorly educated and desperately poor. In the 22 years Keeler has controlled the Cherokee government, he and his assistants have, at best, only scratched the surface. Things seem to have improved slightly in the couple of years Stopp and Doublehead have been in their present jobs, but progress has been so slow that thousands of full-bloods remain either hostile toward the tribal government or hopelessly isolated from it.

The rural development program of the Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity is headed by a young white liberal named Peter Graff. Graff is regarded by many Cherokees who know him as intelligent and tough-minded, and some observers see a great deal of hope in the programs he and his co-workers (white and Indian) have devised.

OIO's largest project among the Cherokees thus far has been a feeder pig cooperative involving 100 families. The cooperative supplies pigs to Jimmy Dean Sausage Company, a Texas firm, and both parties seem happy with the arrangement. The sausage company has recently agreed to supply the cooperative with enough breeding stock to double its herd (from 600 to 1,200 sows), and in the process, to increase the number of Cherokees involved.

OIO's second major Cherokee project, just now getting under way, is to develop a woodcutting and sawmill company, which will operate on 36,000 acres of timber-

land now owned by the Cherokee Nation or held in trust for the Cherokees by the federal government. All employees of the company (about 30 to begin with, and ultimately several hundred if things work out) will be Cherokees. In addition, the employees will own, collectively, one-third interest in the enterprise. So will both the Cherokee Nation and OIO.

Some Indians find OIO's activities encouraging, but the group's impact on the Cherokees is a very recent thing. No one knows yet whether it will be successful in the long run, or whether it will be another in a long line of nice tries.

In the meantime, the Cherokee full-bloods, whose prosperous and stable social system was dismantled 60 years ago by the U.S. government, find themselves trapped by a set of rules and institutions that they did not create and do not understand and that limit their ability to live as they choose. "Things are so bad here," says Stuart Trapp, "that it is amazing to me the Cherokees are still alive."

Black Christmas Market Growing

BY JACK E. WHITE JR.

Dick Gregory, the comic turned social activist, once told a story that illustrates the ambiguous feeling many black Americans have toward Christmas. His daughter, Gregory said, was skeptical that Santa would come because "I know ain't no white man gonna be caught in this neighborhood after dark."

Similarly, many blacks have felt the irony of humming "I'm dreaming of a white Christmas" while purchasing cards with cherubic, pink-cheeked Santas on the cover and blonde-haired, blue-eyed walking dolls. The irony is stronger than ever today with the cries of "black is beautiful." Many blacks want to buy black dolls and cards, and they want the dolls to look black all over—full lips, flat noses, kinky hair—and the cards to be infused with the black perspective.

The name of the game in American business is to find a demand, and supply it. So a number of black-oriented—but not necessarily black-owned—firms have sprung up to meet the growing market for black dolls and cards. In addition, established white firms have added black-oriented products to their lines.

Mattel Toys, for instance, now has a black doll named "Julia" after the black television nurse. G.I. Joe now comes in a "Negro" version. And a number of white-owned greeting card firms have added black designers to their staffs and black racial humor and everyday (birthday, anniversary, and get-well) cards to their lines.

Two of the largest and most successful firms now dealing in the black Christmas market are Merchant Prince greeting cards of New York and Shindana Toys of Watts, Calif.

Merchant Prince was founded in April, 1969, after Berkeley Burrell, president of the National Business League (founded by Booker T. Washington in 1900 and a black counterpart of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce), got together with George Kregos, a white marketing ex-