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**Getting Smart**  
BY WALTER L. SMART  
Executive Director  
National Federation of Settlements  
and Neighborhood Centers

One doesn't hear much these days about race relations. It appears as though the polarization of racial groups has reached a point where it is distinctly unpopular to talk about integration, at least in some circles. There are many reasons why this is so. Some are obvious, but many more of them are subtle, and all of them are complex.

One of the reasons for group pressure against the advocacy of integration is the feeling among some Blacks that efforts to integrate our society is demeaning to Blacks. It is easy to understand why many Blacks take this point of view as we continue to see white flight to suburbia when a Black family moves into the neighborhood, or massive white efforts to obstruct or prevent racial integration of public schools, or the continued discrimination against Blacks in employment and advancement opportunities.

Yes, it's easy to understand the pain, resentment, and perhaps the hatred, and a new approach which advocates separation versus integration.

I, like many of you, have heard many heated arguments as to "who was right - Martin Luther King or Malcolm X?", usually with the older persons of the group favoring Martin Luther King and the younger persons vociferously exclaiming Malcolm X as the only one who made any sense.

It appeared to me that both groups were attempting to simplify an extremely complex situation and had not truly understood the essence of what both of these great men were advocating. Both men were militant in their unrelenting efforts to help their people. Both were concerned over white racism and its destructive role in our society. The legacy of

both men provide light and direction that we may find our path in a dark world.

There is no question that Black people should come together, organize, develop agendas for growth, development, self-reliance, etc. This is not negative and anti-white. Rather, it is positive and neutral white. It is equally true that Blacks should coalesce with other racial groups with similar problems, notably the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Asians, not to promote and/or strengthen racial hatred, but to find the means toward prosperity in spite of racial hatred, and here is the nut of the matter.

Nothing I have written thus far can be construed to mean that efforts to improve race relations are passe'. Nothing I have written should be construed to mean that I am opposed to integration. My ultimate hope is that all human beings will one day come to view each other as brothers and sisters, and that if polarization exists, let it be between the selfish and the selfless, the oppressors and the freedom fighters.

However, I realize that the rate by which we free ourselves from the shackles of racism and move into the hopefully growing circle of men and women who are supporters of humankind will depend on our individual and group experiences, plus our faith in our fellow men and women.

There is a major difference between one who is proud of his race and one who is a racist. My fear is that many people, both Black and white, get the two confused and think of them as one. The Black people of this nation know more than anyone else the extreme destructiveness of racism. We can ill afford to drink of the poison while attempting to eradicate it from society.

As recently as September 14, 1973, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice filed suit charging the Alexander County Housing Authority with unlawfully segregating tenants by race. It asked the U.S. District Court in Danville, Illinois, to enjoin the housing authority from perpetuating segregated housing, and to require correction of the effects of past discriminatory practices.

The book recounts that the Commission's effort to find the facts about public housing segregation in Cairo was "a trail through a bureaucratic labyrinth similar to many encountered in other hearings where a high tolerance among public officials for broken civil rights law is everywhere in evidence."

Despite public attention generated by the hearing, conditions have changed little in Cairo, a city 40 percent Black. Barely 10 percent of the city government employees are Black, and the fire department remains all-white, Good reports.

Local dentists, he writes, do not treat Black patients, who must rely exclusively on the services of a Black dentist who flies in from Chicago for a portion of each week - while the patients hope that

**Report explores racial violence**

Unless concerted action is taken, progress toward racial harmony can be slow and tortuous in a community where the scars of past violence and polarization have not fully healed.

That is the central message of "Cairo - Racism at Floodtide", a major publication focusing on conditions in Alexander County, Illinois, which was issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Written by Paul Good, a journalist and author who specializes in human rights subjects, the book is based on hearings held by the Commission last year in Cairo and on subsequent interviews designed to update the information.

Cairo, located at the southern tip of Illinois, was the scene of repeated clashes between white and Black elements from 1967 to 1972. Groups organized under such banners as the "White Hats" and "Black United Front" brought countervailing pressures. Charges and countercharges flew involving discrimination in housing, employment, health care and other aspects of living in "Little Egypt".

toothaches do not develop at other times.

Author Good concludes his book with these observations:

"During the hearings, one listened in vain when State and Federal officials testified, to hear a tone of outrage in their voices at conditions in Cairo. Some sign that they were offended, first as human beings and then as Americans, that color could tear a town and the people in it apart. But the capacity for outrage over racism seemed to have deserted them, if they ever possessed it . . .

"Their attitudes, perhaps, are understandable at a time when national leaders are not above using code words that are really racist shibboleths, as they practice their politics. The officials take their cue from those on top and when 'leaders' choose to lead backwards, subordinates follow . . .

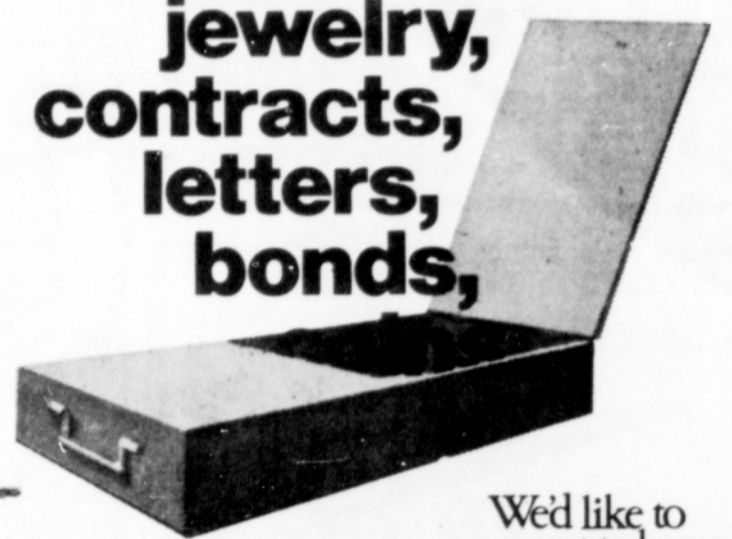
"Cairo whites have been conditioned to act the way they do by their total American experience. They have been getting a message from Washington and Springfield for the last 100, the last 50, and the last 4 years. With varying degrees of explicitness, that message has been: Racial equality laws are an inevitable legal outgrowth of the Constitution but enforcement will be satisfied with apparent, not essential, change . . .

"Racism isn't regional today and never has been. That is an American truth as evident on a Cairo levee as it is on Broadway. Whether this truth turns the American Dream into the American Tragedy depends on the national conscience and will. No Commission can judge that. But ultimately, that will determine the future of Cairo, the fate of us all."

The Commission is an independent, bipartisan, fact-finding agency concerned with the rights of minorities and women.

Vice Chairman Stephen Horn is President of California State University, Long Beach. Other members of the Commission are Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, a St. Louis attorney; Dr. Maurice B. Mitchell, Chancellor of the University of Denver; Robert S. Rankin, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; and Manuel Ruiz, Jr., a Los Angeles attorney. John A. Buggs is Staff Director.

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**CAUCUS TIME**

by **Jettie B. Wilds, Jr.**, Chairman  
Oregon Black Caucus

It is a fact that we must attempt to unify the various Black perspectives. It is not a fact that this has to be done to the detriment of the masses of Black people. Today's message is to call a halt to the game playing.

It is important that Black folks continue their education, eat, work, be housed and receive the many services that are necessary for their upkeep. We most certainly must fight to assure this. The thing that is bothersome is the ill-conceived notion that these things must be continually secured in historical terms.

(1) Historically, we've had a few Black folks identified by the system to serve as representatives of the system. The purpose of these people is to keep Black folks dependent upon the system with no advances toward control or partial control of that system and their lives.

(2) Historically, we've had a few Black folks who identified themselves as leaders and who tended to use various rationalizations when others found that there were no followers. The purpose of these Black folks is to pursue individual aggrandizement (power) with no intention of helping others.

(3) Historically, we've had a majority of Black people committed to the church with its hope for a better hereafter. The Black ministers of these churches have oftentimes kept the people shackled to them by prayer with no efforts toward encouraging self-determination for the people in the here-and-now.

(4) Historically, Black folks have allowed the white liberal, white teacher, white administrator, white politician, white sociologist, white psychologist, white anthro-

poloist, white planner, white milkman, white reporter and white, white, white, white, to describe, predict and influence the limits of Black growth.

What will be done?

(1) The representatives of the system will be made representatives of the people. We will render those who now allegedly speak for Black people to merely persons who speak for themselves. We know that the system will ease such persons out when this is discovered.

(2) We will expose persons and organizations who tend to support suppression of the people for gain and only come forth when there is an emotional issue. There will be no more illusions about where the community's support or non-support lies.

(3) We will press the ministers for a commitment to self-determination for Black folks or an admission that they keep their congregations dependent upon them (the ministers) and the system.

(4) We will reject and as some invalidity of any report, study, survey or opinion that is based upon white folk's premises unless they are also the premises of Black folks.

I was wrong when I said to the membership that the ministers and the other organizations in the community should not be our first target. Now that some ministers and some of the membership of the other organizations have become disillusioned, we have no choice but to move or be ranked with the antiquated. I was wrong and I'm sorry that I was wrong. I will however pursue the new path with vigor and let the chips fall where they may.

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namely, research into the traffic in a particular area - both vehicular and pedestrian - that will bring business into a store." Daniel B. Ward, Regional Director of the SBA, said.

Owners/managers or prospective owners of a small business who may find this information useful in planning their location may obtain a copy of this Aid by contacting any Small Business Administration office.

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