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A CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA FOR THE EIGHTIES

*James Farmer**

INTRODUCTION: A CAVEAT

The drafting of any agenda for coping with a domestic issue, especially one which for over a decade has been on the nation's back burner, may in the near future become wholly unrealistic in view of the volatile international scene which ushered in the eighties. Resumption of the cold war would lead to equating agitation for social change with a lack of patriotism. Furthermore, if armed conflict occurred in the months ahead, fighting for rights would be likened to treason. In either event, major energies would then have to be expended in merely demanding the right to seek the addressing of inequities. With this caveat in mind, I will proceed with the effort of addressing a civil rights agenda for the eighties.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SEVENTIES

The tragedy of the seventies was that the successes of the sixties caught the Civil Rights "movement" unprepared. The Civil Rights Act¹ of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act² of 1965 found civil rights organizations without program, without a plan for the next phase. The sixties were consumed responding to the unpredictable exigencies of crisis: mass arrests, law suits, murders. There was neither time nor resources for the luxury of long-range planning. The seventies came without even a clear perception of the changes that had taken place in a half decade in the nation's mood—in its way of thinking about, and reacting to, blacks and their problems. In the early sixties there was a positive and sympathetic attitude toward blacks who had come to be seen as long-suffering victims of oppression, their proud and dignified responses being viewed daily by all. After the march on Washington in August of 1963, public opinion polls revealed an overwhelming consensus for strong and enforceable new civil rights legislation.³ By 1970, however, all that had changed; the backlash of the late sixties had reversed the favorable image of blacks. No longer victims, blacks were now perceived as victimizers in street crime, in summer riots, in welfare schemes, in school busing and in employment preference. The majority no longer favored further advancement, said the polls,⁴ but believed that blacks had gone too far, too fast, and that race discrimination no longer existed except, maybe, in reverse.

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1. 28 U.S.C. §§ 1447 *et seq.*, 1975a *et seq.*, 2000a *et seq.* (1976).
2. 42 U.S.C. §§ 1973 *et seq.* (1976).
3. Murphy, Tanenhaus, "Public Opinion and the Supreme Court: The Goldwater Campaign," Public Opinion Q., Spring 1968, 37.
4. G. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll, Public Opinion 1935-1971*, 2248, 2292 (3rd vol. 1972); *See also*, L. Harris, *The Harris Survey Yearbook of Public Opinion* 223, 226, (1970); A. Campbell, *White Attitudes Toward Black People*, 133 (1971).

The seventies, then, were a time of erosion, not only of image but of the relative status of blacks in American society. "Within black America in the sixties there had been eager anticipation that racial wrongs might be set right," observed Vernon Jordan, "a feeling that perhaps the nation was at last serious about attacking racism and poverty. The seventies, however, brought forth in black America a mood of disappointment, frustration and bitterness at promises made and promises unkept. That bitterness stems from the steady erosion of blacks' living conditions, and from the widening gap between black and white."⁵

Three reliable indices of minority progress or retrogression are income, education and life expectancy. By each of these indices, the seventies have been a period of decline in the relative status of blacks. In 1977, median average income of blacks was 60% of whites; in 1975, the median average income of blacks had been 65% of whites.⁶ Despite expectations, education has not significantly improved as indicated by the frightening percentage of minority youngsters who are still graduating from high school unable to read or to compute up to a level of functional literacy.⁷ Although the gap between the percentage of minorities and whites attending college began closing in the 1960's, in the 1970's the disparity remained constant.⁸ The infant mortality rate among minorities continues to be almost double that of the nation as a whole,⁹ and that fact contributes to, but does not fully account for, the wide life expectancy gap: sixty-four years for black males compared to seventy for white males.¹⁰

Adding to the complexity of the problems confronting the equality effort of the eighties is the fact that the ties which earlier had bound numerous special interest groups into a unified movement have been loosened by controversial and ambiguous issues. The seniority rule and affirmative action, for example, have driven a wedge between labor and blacks. Blacks argue that had there been no discrimination in past years, they would have seniority today and that penalizing a people for that very discrimination compounds the problem. The seniority rule, with the resulting recession-induced lay-offs, however, continues to be an essential element of the employment structure supported by most of organized labor. Affirmative action, with its numerical goals and timetables, is another such issue. While viewed by blacks as essential to continuing progress in employment and higher education, particularly in the professions, the same numbers and timetables are looked upon by many whites as "reverse discrimination."

5. Speech by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., "The State of Black America," in Washington, D.C. (Jan. 22, 1980).
6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1979* (100th ed. 1979) at 448, No. 734 (computed in constant 1977 dollars). [hereinafter cited as *Statistical Abstract*].
7. See generally H. Levin, "Education and Earnings of Blacks and the Brown Decision" in *Have We Overcome?* 79 (M. Nomorato, ed. 1979). One can also note the lag in the number of school years completed in *Statistical Abstract, supra* note 6, at 144, No. 228, and at 145, No. 231.
8. Compiled from *Statistical Abstract, supra* note 6, at 142, No. 224 and at 28, No. 27. The percentage of blacks enrolled in college per the black population dropped from 4.3% in 1977 to 4.0% in 1978. While the percentage of whites going to college also dropped .3% from 1977 to 1978, black progress throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's to achieve parity, percentage wise, fell behind in the late 1970's.
9. *Statistical Abstract, supra* note 6, at 75. Infant mortality per 1,000 of black population as compared to infant mortality per 1,000 of white population was 30.9 to 17.8 in 1970; 26.2 to 15.8 in 1973 and 21.7 to 12.3 in 1977. On a relative scale, the gap between whites and blacks was closest in 1973, a ratio of 1.66, and rose to a ratio of 1.76 in 1977.
10. *Statistical Abstract, supra* note 6, at 70, No. 101.

The presence of these divisive issues among civil rights groups presents the first order of business on an agenda for the eighties: creating political alliances for civil rights. Once these alliances have been formed, the second order of business is to translate the accomplishments of the sixties, the defining and securing of civil rights, into genuine equality of status by closing glaring gaps in education, in health, in housing and in other areas related to "the quality of life."

POLITICAL ALLIANCES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Need for Alliances

Critical objectives sought by blacks today do not have the support of the majority as they did in the sixties. Hence, some of the strategies and tactics of the sixties will be of little use; they may, in fact, be counter-productive in the eighties. Though there is sufficient black voting power to prevent much of the violence of the pre-voting rights days and to soften the rhetoric of racist politicians, blacks nevertheless remain a numerical minority.

There is no nationwide support for numerical goals and timetables, low rent housing in suburban communities or crash urban public works projects. Therefore, in spite of the increased strength and heightened visibility of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congress is not inclined to pass legislation to assist the disadvantaged or unemployed. Typical of this climate was the painful watering-down of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill before it could be enacted, a move which has made a pitiful mockery of the full-employment legislation it was originally intended to be.¹¹

The grand alliances and propitious mood of the sixties are no longer with us and despite an impressive array of new office-holders, black power to influence events has declined. With fewer allies today and a less sympathetic electorate, the problems confronting blacks are immense. Consequently, strength must be mustered and opposition minimized through alliances and coalitions. In the past, such alliances were ready-made but now they must be aggressively sought, even from hitherto unresponsive sources.

Traditional Alliances

Alliance-building efforts, of course, must not ignore the traditional forces of religious groups, progressive labor and liberals—all of whom, in the ensuing years, can be conjoined again.

Where schisms and broken alliances exist, a serious effort to mend them should be undertaken. Questions which have caused dissension such as affirmative action and reverse-seniority layoffs, must be faced in bold dialogue with creative compromise as the objective. In facing the simple controversies of the sixties,

11. Compare the final enactment, 12 U.S.C.A. § 225 (Supp. 1979), 15 U.S.C.A. §§ 1021-1024, 3101-3152 (Supp. 1979), and 31 U.S.C.A. §§ 1322-1326 (Supp. 1979), with the original bill, 122 Cong. Rec. 6610 *et seq.* (1976). See also: [1978] U.S. Code Cong. & Admin. News 4398 *et seq.* (esp. comments of Senators Williams, Cranston and Sarbanes at 4468):

The general and diffuse language of the act extolls the virtues of "maximum employment, production and purchasing power," but does not make a full "commitment" to these objectives

Most important, however, [the original bill] would make full employment the paramount objective of Federal economic policy Our most strenuous disagreement is with the [amended bill's] mandate to pursue an unrealistic goal of zero percent inflation within 5 years. With this amendment, adopted by an 8 to 7 vote, the committee has converted the commitment of the original bill from "full employment with reasonable price stability" to one of full employment or reasonable price stability.

"compromise" was understandably a pejorative term; in working with the complexities of the issues of the eighties, exploring the politics of creative compromise must be a high order of priority.

On affirmative action, for instance, the debate has focused on the wrong issue. Most liberal proponents of minority progress, even those estranged from the civil rights movement over the question of "quotas," would favor numerical goals and timetables (quotas) in employment or at least would not oppose them where it could be clearly established that the present imbalance is the result of a *practice*, if not a policy, of excluding minorities or women. It would be much more fruitful, then, to center the debate not on quotas per se, but on the question of how one determines whether or not there has been a practice of discrimination in the first instance.

In regard to school admissions, including those of law and medicine, it would be constructive to shift the debate from the emotional question of quotas to the selection process itself. If, for instance, the University of California Medical School at Davis selected fifty entering students by lottery from among the three hundred best qualified applicants through a process which would ensure an adequate inclusion of minorities and women, then the explosive quota issue might be defused. A Bakke argument of reverse discrimination would be less compelling if he were in the three hundred and not in the fifty. The issue would then become the process by which top qualification is determined and the three hundred selected. But here, again, there is ample room for creative compromise.

The seniority question in lay-offs is also not immune to imaginative alternatives. One suggestion is *work sharing*: rather than laying-off twenty percent of the work force, the work time of the entire force could be cut twenty percent, with the deficit in wages made up through unemployment compensation. Another possible alternative, workable in some cases and already at work in a few, is *voluntary early retirement* for the older worker, with management contractually obligated to bring the earned pension up to ninety-five percent of income.

It is, therefore, not impossible to bring together again the traditional groups who have been in the forefront of civil rights progress: blacks, religious groups, labor and liberals. But to stop at merely mending together traditional alliances at this historical juncture is to be mired in the past.

The Creation of New Alliances

The future requires pursuit of those groups which, whether for reasons of ethnicity or of issue orientation, have, in most cases, the same adversaries if not the same advocates. The three most obvious are Hispanics, native Americans and Asian Americans, each of whose interests coincide with those of blacks on virtually every issue. Overtures have been made from all sides in the past several years and feelers extended for such a partnership. Few prospects for the eighties hold so bright a promise as this, for before the decade has ended such a coalition might shelter nearly one-third of the nation. It must be a top priority in the decade to come.

The interests of various issue oriented movements coincide more often than they conflict with those of blacks. The women's movement, gay rights and the beleaguered freedom of choice in reproduction groups are possible allies of the eighties. This is to suggest neither that all the opponents of those movements are *ipso facto* racists nor that all their proponents are friends of racial equality.

What it does mean is that the main thrust of such groups is progressive enough to provide sufficient trade-offs to make *ad hoc* alliances feasible.

Such alliances, like the more traditional ones with labor and religious organizations, are most useful when understood to be functional only at those points where interests intersect. There are no permanent allies, as the saying goes, only permanent interests. If that is understood at the outset, then it is possible to avoid serious schisms such as have occurred between blacks on one hand and labor and liberals on the other. Groups can coalesce around major issues even if they go their separate ways on others. A divergence on some issues need not be viewed as a betrayal of the principle of cooperation.

DE-RACIALIZING ISSUES

In today's climate, it will be helpful to de-racialize the issues as much as possible. Welfare reform, as a case in point, is not a race issue; about seventy-five percent of welfare recipients are white.¹² It is a tactical mistake to continue to allow welfare to be pictured as something for the benefit of blacks and Hispanics. The same can be said about most of the problems facing minorities: health, education, family planning and housing.¹³ The underlying factor is poverty, not race.¹⁴ Broadening the target of civil rights advocacy beyond blacks and Hispanics would act to disarm the racist assault upon the advocacy for genuine equality of status.

FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

The long struggle of past generations, in the legislative and judicial arenas, was to articulate the rights of the nation's black minority in order to complete the tasks of the 13th and 14th Amendments. The prime battleground was Washington: Capitol Hill and the Supreme Court. Rights that were formerly implied are now explicit; federal legislation of the fifties and sixties¹⁵ and *Brown v. Board of Education*¹⁶ cleared the air of uncertainty. Civil rights forces must safeguard enforcement and prevent any erosion of these rights. Accomplishing more than preserving rights in the present hawkish and economically conservative atmosphere of Washington may not be realistic. That

12. For example, as of December, 1978, blacks were recipients of only 26% of Supplemental Security Income. *Statistical Abstract*, *supra* note 6, at 357, No. 573. Note also that 16.4 million whites were below the poverty level in 1977 compared to 8.3 million blacks.
13. In housing, for example, in 1978 about one-half of the people who moved into low rent public housing were white. (61,376 out of 139,667). *Id.* at 790, No. 1391.
14. Several reports illustrate this point. The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs stated that an estimated 75 to 85 percent of the approximately 150,000 retarded and mentally defective children who are born every year in the United States are born to parents who are living at what is defined by the federal government as poverty level. Low, "Infant Malnutrition: Shame of our Nation," *Parents' Magazine*, (March 1975). *Clinical Pediatrics* cites to a position paper of the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences which concluded that malnutrition, per se, may adversely affect brain development and behavior both directly and indirectly. The article also says that there are many elements contributing to the problem of malnutrition, but poverty is the one overriding, consistent issue. Mauer, "Malnutrition—Still a Common Problem for Children in the United States," 14 *Clinical Pediatrics* 23 (January 1975).
15. Civil Rights Act of 1957, 5 U.S.C. § 5315(19); 28 U.S.C. §§ 1343, 1861; 42 U.S.C. §§ 1975 *et seq.* (1976); Civil Rights Act of 1960, 18 U.S.C. §§ 837, 1074, 1509; 20 U.S.C. 241, 640; 42 U.S.C. § 1971, 1974-1974e, 1975d (1976); Civil Rights Act of 1964 *supra* note 1; Voting Rights Act of 1965 *supra* note 2; Civil Rights Act of 1968, 18 U.S.C. §§ 231-233, 241 *et seq.*; 25 U.S.C. § 1301 *et seq.*; 28 U.S.C. § 1360; 42 U.S.C. §§ 1973, 3533, 3535, 3601 *et seq.* (1976).
16. 347 U.S. 483 (1954) *reargued on question of relief*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

does not mean the effort should be abandoned. To surrender Washington to the neo-conservatives and the new right without a battle would be a betrayal of black interests. There are windmills at which we must continue to flail.

Some legislative goals remain clearly possible such as National Health Insurance, which will benefit the white middle classes as well as the black and poor, and Welfare Reform, which can be fitted into the neo-conservative agenda as "getting the chiselers off welfare."

Inflation: Defense v. Domestic Spending

One issue which civil rights groups must counter in the eighties is the argument that federal spending on domestic projects such as shelter for the ill-housed and public works for the unemployed will increase the rate of inflation. This inflationary argument applied against the use of public money for domestic programs loses much of its force in view of the obvious increase in defense spending. Defense spending contributes nothing to the economy in consumer goods and services. By taking the taxpayer's money and diverting it to the production of war materials, defense appropriations deplete the supply of domestic goods thereby forcing an increase in prices. Domestic expenditures are relatively not as inflationary because of the resulting increase in production of consumable goods and services. The issue is not a matter of resources, but a matter of allocation. Thus the "guns and butter" debate will rage anew in the eighties.

Full Employment

A federal issue of crucial importance to civil rights is the task of translating the full employment goal enunciated in the Humphrey-Hawkins legislation¹⁷ into actuality. These public service jobs for the jobless¹⁸ can be used to help alleviate essential needs such as housing, transportation and health services. The jobs under Humphrey-Hawkins should not, however, be limited to providing bare essentials of existence; those jobs can serve educational, recreational and cultural needs of cities to enhance the quality of life. The national commitment to full employment should not be treated as a mere statement of policy.

Nonviolent demonstrations by the jobless may be able to compel the realization of the enunciated goal of full employment before the end of the decade.

National Programs on Early Childhood Nutrition

Another front for battle lines in Washington during the eighties should be the often ignored but extremely critical issue of pre-natal and early childhood nutrition. It is now an established fact that inadequate nutrition during pregnancy can have a disastrous effect upon fetal brain development. Further, poor

17. 15 U.S.C.A. § 3101 *et seq.* (Supp. 1979).

18. Of interest to note is a comment made in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *The State of Civil Rights: 1979* (January 1980) at 21n. 2:

The ratios of unemployment rates (for age 16 and over) for black males and black females over that of white males were 2.7 and 3.2, respectively, in 1976 (i.e. the unemployment rate of black males in 1976 was 2.7 times higher than that of white males); 2.2 and 2.6 in 1977, 2.7 and 3.4 in 1978, and 2.7 and 3.4, respectively, in 1979. Thus, since 1976, the unemployment rate of black males has remained close to three times higher than that of white males Ratios for Hispanic males and females were 1.7 and 2.0 in 1977, 1.7 and 2.7 in 1978 and 1.6 and 2.4 in 1979.

nutrition during the first two years of life continues the retardation of cerebral development. St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, in a fifteen year long cooperative program with Memphis Area Project, South (MAP South), has presented incontrovertible evidence of this terrible waste.¹⁹ The program has also demonstrated that if nutritional intervention comes early enough, the destructive process can be reversed.²⁰

In response to studies such as MAP, Congress enacted legislation to provide supplemental food for women, infants and children.²¹ Presently there are about seventy programs serving 1.1 million people. There are, however, 1,600 counties in the United States which have not yet implemented the program and an estimated 8.3 million individuals who are eligible, but not receiving food under this program.²²

In upgrading nutrition, there is no "inflation vs. recession" argument to confront, as in the case of jobs. With the universal concern for the well-being of children it may be possible on this issue to mount a significant national effort to demand a stop to the waste of infant minds.

STATE LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

While civil rights forces must fight for some federal programs, to continue to look to Washington for strong initiatives in this era may well be an exercise in frustration. Therefore, the focus of the eighties should be on State Houses and City Halls. It is there that the major issues of the eighties will be confronted. The goals of the civil rights programs in the eighties will be most constructive when they translate the "rights" victories of the 1960's into closing gaps in the quality of life. The new coalitions of ethnic and issue oriented groups should monitor the states on the apportionment of government benefits to low and middle income residents. The over-riding criterion for judging state laws and services must be the extent to which they serve and protect the interests of the poor. In the sixties, such questions would have been considered tangential at best; today they are vital.

Representation and the Limitation of Campaign Contributions

Since state legislators will be pivotal in the eighties, the issue of their loyalty must outweigh all others, including that of race; black legislators purchased by interests inimical to those of their constituents will be liabilities, not assets. Unfortunately, there is no assurance against political maneuvering by large contributors and well-financed lobbyists. Having the various states, however, place limits on campaign contributions for statewide candidates and referenda will help in the effort to make legislators more responsive to their constituents.

19. Kafatos, Zee, "Nutritional Benefits from Federal Feed Assistance," 131 *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 265 (March 1977) gives a summary of the study and the results.
20. "In 1969, sixteen percent of the preschool children in this urban community were below the third percentiles for height and weight on the Stuart-Stevenson grid, and fifty percent were below the twenty-fifth percentiles. By 1972, heights had shifted significantly to a more normal distribution, and weights were significantly improved in the twenty-fifth and fiftieth percentile groups. Head circumferences were more than two standard deviations below the reference mean in fifteen percent of 300 children surveyed in 1969. Three years later, the frequency of below-normal head sizes was twelve percent among 250 children who were 0 to 6 years of age and nine percent among seventy-seven children who were zero to two years of age, all of whom had received an enriched infant formula for the first six months of life." *Id.* at 266.
21. 42 U.S.C. § 1786 (1976).
22. "The WIC Program or 'Perils of Pauline,'" 133 *Am. J. of Diseases of Children* 478, 479 (May 1979).

Consumer Protection

One of the most urgent needs for the poor is statutory protection of their consumer rights. In each state there should be a consumer protection office providing comprehensive safeguards in areas not preempted by federal law. The other area of consumer rights, consumer credit, will loom as perhaps the most significant state issue of the eighties. States must limit the ability of creditors to discriminate and harass in the granting and administration of credit. Since a critical part of family finances depends upon the availability of credit and the legal protection in the purchasing of goods on credit, whether a state protects these consumer rights may well spell the difference between turbulence and relative tranquility in the eighties.

Health Services

One of the unrealized goals of the sixties is that the country failed to make any impact on the health gap. In fact, our chief health concern in that period, as in any war, was combat oriented: the healing of our wounded troops that they might return to battle. Today in each state, the adequacy of health services for low and moderate income people must be assessed. State mental health services must be closely evaluated. Furthermore, there must be an adequate check to keep state municipalities from closing public general hospitals leaving the non-medicare/medicaid citizens, who also lack medical insurance, to fend for themselves in a venal jungle of private hospital services. Other health care questions such as family planning facilities with outreach services and abortion funding for low income women have to be addressed. These state health care service issues should find enough support for their enactment because sufficient whites of both low and moderate income stand to benefit from most of these struggles.

Education

*Brown v. Board of Education*²³ may have been the most important Supreme Court decision in history. It thrust the nation into its finest hour in the civil rights movement of the fifties and sixties. Unfortunately, in terms of its impact upon the quality of education in America, its effects thus far have been negligible.²⁴ Euphoria was too rampant, expectations too high. Ingrained problems of educating children of the poor and the blacks and Hispanics in a society dominated by the middle income groups and whites do not yield so easily to social engineering, however valid. Integration in the classroom alone cannot remove the scars inflicted by centuries of racism and poverty.

Desegregation was not, however, useless; nothing could be further from the truth. Children, at least in parts of the South, have learned to live together in schools sufficiently to make the "apartheid" of the past seem like a scene from Alice in Wonderland. America is much the better for that, but it does not automatically help people to read or to compute.

23. *Supra* note 16.

24. *Supra* note 18, at 14 notes:

In 1979, equal educational opportunity for all children remained an unrealized goal. More than 25 years after *Brown v. Board of Education* . . . nearly half of the Nation's minority children remain in racially isolated schools.

Note also the necessity of H.R. 3227, 96th Cong., 1st Sess., "National Education Opportunities Act of 1979" which attempts to establish a national policy on equal educational opportunity which is designed to help states progress in desegregation.

The answers to the educational problems of American cities may or may not lie in Project Excel of Jesse Jackson's PUSH which exhorts parents to drive their children to burn midnight oil in quest for academic excellence.²⁵ PUSH answers the problem only partially. There is much that minority communities can do to encourage their youth to strive to excel. Blacks have been lax in the past, and must be more attentive to responsibilities in that regard; racism is no justification for laziness.

Much can be done by blacks, as the Reverend Jackson points out, but much also must be done by the urban school systems and the society of which they are a part. To point exclusively to "self-help" without also recognizing the problem of racism is to succumb to the popular pastime of blaming the victims.

Something, however, in addition to striving for excellence and in addition to child nutrition and child stimulation, is required for better educational progress. First, there is the need for money. Perhaps the new Department of Education will succeed in getting a higher priority placed on educational matters at a federal level, and thus secure a larger slice of the tax dollar. State legislatures across the country must hear that demand too, from every corner of their respective states. Only with increased state funding of schools can class size be reduced and special education services, so needed by the disadvantaged, be expanded.

Secondly, education, most educators would agree, is too important to be left to the educators alone. After only a brief adventure in community participation in schools in the late sixties, however, most minority communities have generally left the schools to their own devices. That must be corrected in the eighties. In every school district there must be pressed upon educators those mechanisms which, where tried, have facilitated learning. One such mechanism, the use of indigenous para-professionals as genuine teacher assistants, has had a widely demonstrated effectiveness. Especially helpful in the learning process also is the utilization of older children in teaching younger children, under the teacher's supervision.²⁶

Taxes

Inflation, the unfairness of existing tax systems and soaring property assessments have produced a tax-cutting and spending limitation frenzy in state governments—a Proposition 13 mania—which, if unchecked, will do cruel damage to minorities and the poor. The first expenditures to be cut are almost invariably those for programs benefitting the less fortunate of our society. Included in any civil rights agenda for the eighties, therefore, should be opposition to the "meat-axe approach" to tax questions. A far more rational solution is progressive tax reform, requiring the affluent and the large corporations to pay their fair share of the burden, thus avoiding cuts in essential services.

25. For a brief explanation of PUSH, see an interview with Jesse Jackson on PUSH-EXCEL in "Jesse Jackson: Pushing to Educate," 9 *Black Enterprise* 35 (No.2 Sept. 1978).

26. Gartner, Kohler, Reissman, *Children Teaching Children* (1971).

TOWARD ONE NATION

President Lyndon B. Johnson's Commission on Urban Disorders observed in 1968 that the nation is moving in the direction of becoming two nations and each city two cities, one black and one white—separate and unequal.²⁷ The 1970 census revealed an increase in black population in the cities while white population increased in the suburbs.²⁸ The seventies witnessed the beginning of a return to the cities by the white and middle class. The promise of healing the nation's split personality was soon preempted by real estate speculators, who turned it into another scarring of the urban scene: minority poor being displaced by affluent whites in whole neighborhoods.

It is to be hoped that the eighties will see a resurgence of the effort to make the nation whole, a reenactment of the King dream. That goal cannot be accomplished without seeking residential integration. History has shown that progress of minorities in America will be limited by separation from the majority.

The struggle in the eighties will be on many fronts, for all are interrelated. To neglect any one is to risk erosion of all.

27. Kerner, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, March 1, 1968 at 220.

28. *Statistical Abstract*, *supra* note 6, at 17, No. 16. From 1960 to 1970, the black population in the central hub cities grew by 2.7% when the white growth in that part of U.S. cities grew less than .05%.