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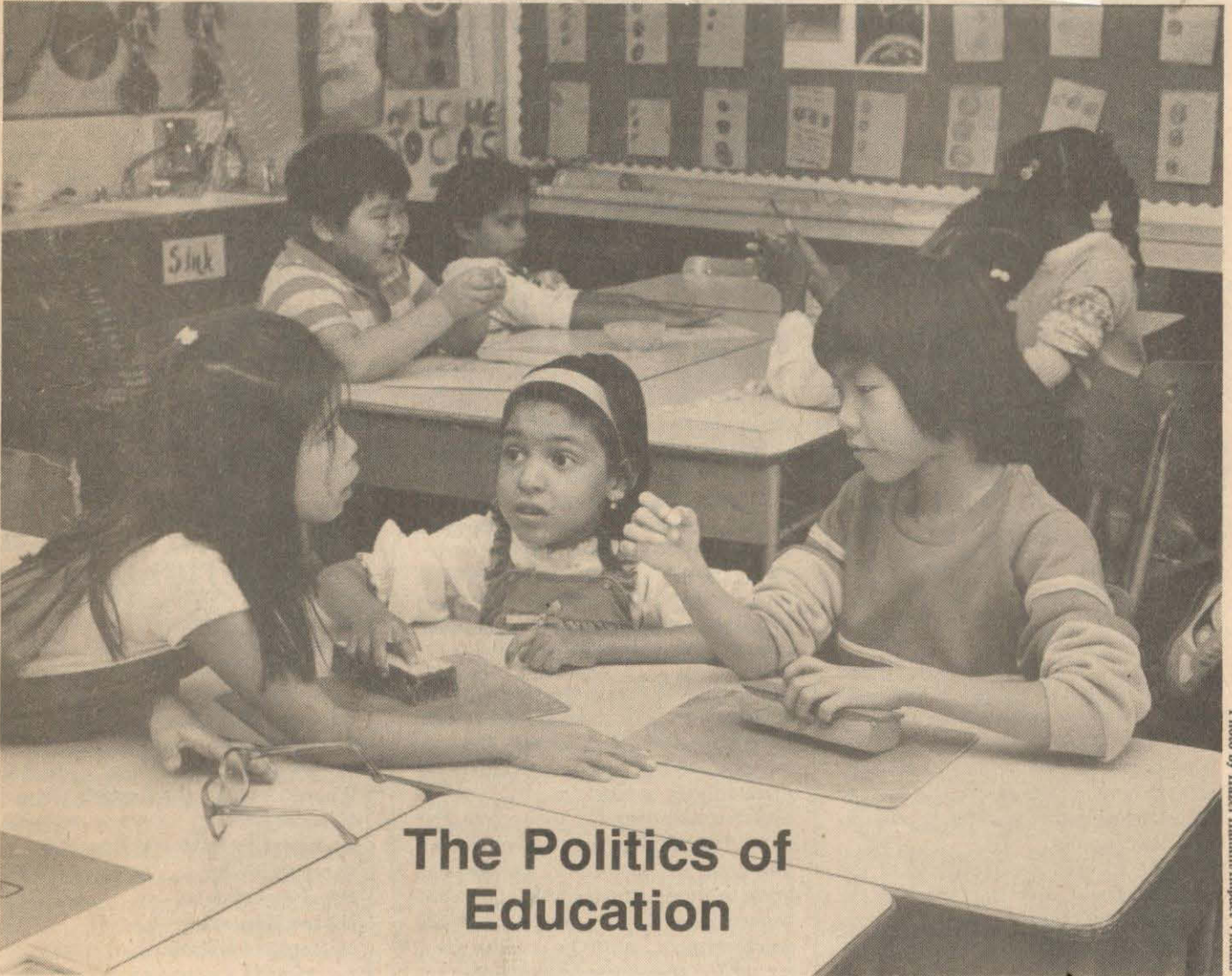


Photo by Hazel Hankin/Impact Visuals

The Politics of Education

Educational Reform • Desegragating the Poor •
Minority Crisis in Higher Education • Drugs and
Public Space •

EDITORIAL

EDUCATIONAL DEBATE OPENS NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR THE LEFT

The pressure created by the unprecedented internationalization of the American economy, the continuing decline of America's inner cities, staggering high school drop-out rates, widespread illiteracy, and unmet child care needs of many families have placed education and school reform at the center of our domestic agenda for the past several years. Business elites, educators and policy-makers are holding schools responsible for these dilemmas, at the same time they are investing the educational system with unrealistic expectations for a way out of these problems.

But the terms of this debate have been dictated by policy-makers from a narrow perspective. In the absence of other strong national voices, business and conservative political leaders have taken the lead in reshaping the goals and standards of our schools. In exchange for a "back-to-basics" curriculum and tougher testing intended to produce higher levels of literacy and a more disciplined workforce, business leaders promise internships, scholarships, jobs, and a stronger, more competitive America.

Several authors in this issue of *Democratic Left* explore some of the dangers lurking in this variant of privatization: the transfer of leadership and decision-making away from educational bureaucrats (at least potentially accountable) to remote corporate heads, instead of toward educators working in conjunction with parents.

The current denunciations of the educational system attempt to justify the racial and class segmentation of the educational marketplace now underway. Access to higher education has declined. A combination of wrenching class realignment, skyrocketing costs of higher education, and cutbacks in government support ensure a narrow student body at most universities and college. It is poor and working class students (disproportionately minorities) who are hit hard-

est by these shifts in policies and priorities. Left economist Robert Kuttner calls it the "new patrimony": shrinking family incomes means that increasingly, in a reversal of the trends of the 60s and early 70s, you have to have rich parents to buy a house and get a first class education. Economic polarization is perpetuated as more and more people are denied access to one of the conventional avenue of upward mobility — education.

This issue of *Democratic Left* begins to tackle some of the central challenges and dilemmas facing our educational system. We of the democratic left, as scholars and activists, must reclaim the terms of the education debate by examining the causes and costs of an educational system in crisis, as well as the possibilities for developing an educational system that meets the needs of the majority of youth. Although the emphasis by corporations and right-wing elites on such skills as literacy merits our support, we must resist much of the corporate and elite rhetoric that has characterized the debate thus far. At the same time, we must promote a vision of quality schools and schooling that is just and accessible.

Education as a focus of a domestic agenda offers both problems and possibilities for the left. The problems are more obvious, and programmatic solutions more difficult to construct, but both are explored and analyzed throughout this issue. The left must not overlook the fact that it has the opportunity and the challenge to unite a vast majority of men and women, blacks and whites, the poor, the working poor, and the middle class around the pressing and mutual concerns of educating the next generations. ●

—Jan Rosenberg

Jan Rosenberg, a sociologist at Long Island University in Brooklyn, is on the National Executive Committee of DSA.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

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Desegregating the Poor

By Christopher Jencks

American schools have always served some poor children as a ladder into the middle classes, but they have never served the majority very well. Most poor children find schoolwork difficult and frustrating and leave school as soon as they are allowed to do so. The same pattern recurs throughout both Eastern and Western Europe and in the Soviet Union.

No society, capitalist or socialist, has been able to make schooling as easy for the poor as for the more affluent, but America does an unusually bad job with certain groups, especially poor blacks and to a lesser extent Hispanics. Black Americans now spend as many years in school as whites. Yet the typical black high school graduate only acquires the verbal and mathematical skills of a white 8th or 9th grader. Poor blacks learn even less. The situation among Hispanics is a little better, but not much.

These ethnic differences shrink somewhat when we compare Hispanic, black and white children from similar economic backgrounds. They shrink more if we compare children whose parents have the same amount of education. But they do not disappear. We do not fully understand why this is true, any more than we fully understand why coming from a working-class home should be a disadvantage. But we do know that certain kinds of reform reduce the effects of both race and class.

One obvious step would be to spend more on inner-city schools. Unfortunately, experience suggests that this will not help much. When we compare schools that enroll equally disadvantaged students, extra money has no detectable effect on how much the children learn. Furthermore, we have tried spending more. After adjusting for inflation, the typical American school spent almost twice as much per pupil in 1986 as in 1964. Yet national testing programs show no improvement in high school graduates'



Photo by Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

Brooklyn resident observes housing construction, as the neighborhood begins to be gentrified.

basic skills during this period, and college applicants' scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, which measures more advanced skills, actually fell. The percentage of young people who managed to graduate from high school also fell from 76 percent in 1964 to 73 percent in 1986.

This does not mean that improving the schools won't cost money. But unless we change the ways we spend extra money, more won't help.

Some inner-city schools do an unusually good job, but no one has been able to devise a formula for duplicating their success. When you visit such schools, a lot seems to depend on the principal. But extraordinary principals are by definition hard to find. The inter-personal chemistry that produces high morale and hard work resists codification.

Nonetheless, one rule does seem clear: children who have trouble in school learn more when they constitute a relatively small minority in a school than

when they constitute a large majority. Effective teaching depends partly on a leaven of successful students to keep classrooms alive. There are more successful students in racially and economically mixed schools than in all-black or all-poor schools.

The role of competent classmates is obvious even in first grade. When the first grade teacher calls on a child in the "fast" reading group, the child usually knows the answer, so children who don't know the answer learn something. When the teacher asks children in the fast group to read aloud, they read in a way that makes sense to the other children and the other children remain attentive.

When the teacher asks children in the "slow" group to read, their efforts are usually so halting that the other children get bored and begin to fool around. As a result, the teacher must spend more time on discipline and less on teaching. The well-documented result is that when chil-

dren start out on the borderline between the fast and slow groups, they learn less if the teacher puts them in a slow group than if the teacher puts them in a fast group.

The presence of students who enjoy schoolwork and do it well is also crucial outside the classroom. When students have trouble in school, they try to preserve their self-respect by telling themselves that schoolwork is not important. They also harass students who work harder than they do or do better than they do. When successful students are a majority, they usually resist this pressure to fail. But when they are a small minority, they often capitulate and stop working. This means that racial and economic segregation usually reduces poor children's short-term incentives to learn, as well as their opportunities to do so.

While we know that both racial and economic desegregation help, it is hard to be sure *how much* they help. The most recent studies of racial desegregation use data collected in 1972. At that time, about 85 percent of the 12th graders in all-black northern high schools scored below the national average. When blacks from similar backgrounds attend high schools where almost everyone else was white, only 70 to 75 percent of them scored below the national average. While desegregation was no cure-all, it could reduce the black-white disparity in test performance by as much as a third. The Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey, conducted in 1965, found almost exactly the same thing.

Northern blacks are also more likely to enter college and more likely to remain

in college if they have attended predominantly white high schools. In the early 1970s, 21 percent of blacks who had attended overwhelmingly white northern high schools entered college the following fall and stayed there continuously for three years, compared to only 11 percent of those who had attended all-black northern schools. Blacks who attended white schools are also more likely to end up in white-collar jobs.

We do not know whether racial desegregation works as well in the South as in the North, since the process had just begun when research on desegregation stopped. Nonetheless, most observers agree that desegregation now works about as well in the South as it does in the North.

Available evidence also suggests that poor children learn more in elementary schools that enroll a lot of middle-income children, regardless of their race. For poor blacks, this also seems to be true at the high school level.

What Can Be Done?

Except in a few big cities, America's public schools made considerable progress towards racial desegregation during the late 1960s and 1970s. But there is little chance of further desegregation in most big northern cities so long as residential segregation persists at its present level.

To begin with, opponents of desegregation have also convinced many judges and public officials that desegregation does not help black children enough to justify its political costs. They have done this by focussing on the effect

of a child's first year in a desegregated school. Since education is a slow process, the first year of desegregation has a very modest effect on student achievement. The cumulative effect of twelve years in such schools appears to be much larger, but the evidence for this is older and now largely ignored.

But even if judges and public officials were dedicated to racial and economic desegregation, there would be little they could do in cities with high levels of residential segregation. Most big city districts are less than half white. Spreading white children evenly across such districts makes them a minority in every school. Few white parents will enroll their children in a predominantly non-white school, so desegregating such cities eventually drives almost all white children to the suburbs. The only way to keep these districts desegregated would be to bus white suburban children into the city. In a society where elected officials — and hence, ultimately, even judges — listen to voters, that is not likely.

At least in the North, therefore, school desegregation depends largely on residential desegregation. Since 1970, residential segregation along racial lines has declined slightly in most American cities. This has been especially true in the South and West, in smaller cities, and in rapidly growing cities. In big northeastern and midwestern cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, segregation has not declined and has sometimes even increased.

But while racial segregation has mostly declined, economic segregation has increased, especially in big northeastern and midwestern cities. Middle-income black and Hispanic families have moved out of poor neighborhoods in these cities, because they have become such awful places in which to live. During the 1970s, the federal government also subsidized a lot of new low-income housing in poor neighborhoods, which encouraged poor families to stay. As a result, the poor were considerably more likely to have poor neighbors in 1980 than in 1970.

Since the late 1970s, the distribution of family income has also become more unequal. Economic segregation is therefore likely to have increased even more since 1980, though we won't know this for sure until the 1990 Census is completed.

As incomes become more unequal, federal housing policy becomes an increasingly critical element in any

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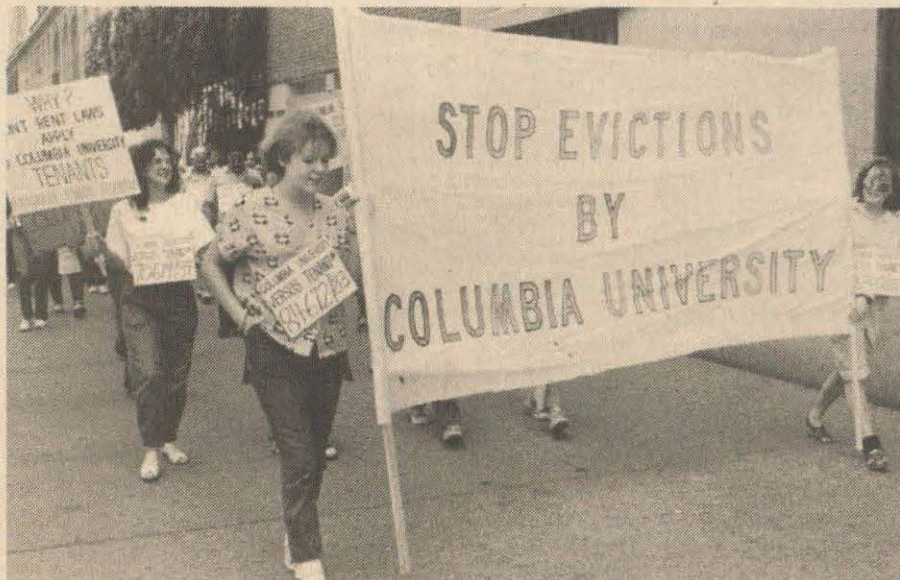


Photo by Mel Rosenthal/Impact Visuals

Protest against Columbia University by Morningside Tenant's Federation.

Educational Reform

The Literacy of Neo-Conservatism

By Maxine Green

“Cultural literacy” has become a token phrase. It speaks to an anxiety about a presumed lack of knowledge on the part of young people, who are said repeatedly to be ignorant of history and literature, as well as of “hard subjects” like mathematics and the sciences. Lately, this anxiety has been deliberately intensified by laments, like Alan Bloom’s about the “closing of the American mind.” Education has, of course, been blamed, most particularly the kind of education associated with the name of John Dewey. That means (for the critics) neglect of book-knowledge, emphasis on critical thinking, and (as Bloom puts it) a “Marxist debunking of history.” The remedies being proposed focus on raising standards, emphasizing content, intensifying academic rigor, and working towards a “national literacy.”

Not accidentally, there has also been a new emphasis on creating a work force that can compete in a global economy. The economy is being explicitly presented as “education-driven.” Businesspeople and state officials have come together to remake the schools in preparation for a society of high technology. “A heavily technology-based economy,” says the Carnegie Forum report, *A Nation Prepared*, “will be unable to invest vast sums to maintain people who cannot contribute to the nation’s productivity.” The obvious implication is that it is each person’s responsibility, no matter what his/her disadvantages, to learn what is required — and in the manner required — to make such a contribution.

What has become more and more obvious, and more and more interesting is the linkage between “economic competitiveness” and “cultural literacy.” On the surface, there is a veneer of democratic fairness in both orientations. No one would deny the inequities involved in neglecting the development of “higher

order cognitive skills” among the deprived. Nor would many people argue that poor and excluded children should not be introduced to Shakespeare, Emily Dickinson and Mark Twain. Great numbers of the public, including those who are dislocated and needy, respond favorably to the promise that their children can be well enough educated to hold responsible positions and become successful under our new economic conditions. All that is needed, they are told, is a raising of standards or an intensification of rigor. With proper assessment measures, improved teaching, increased family support, and a return to “essentials,” higher achievement can almost be guaranteed. Quality and equality of opportunity can indeed become compatible.

This promise depends a good deal on unspoken assumptions with respect to both learning and economics. For one thing, an unquestionable value is ascribed to the canonical works of the Western tradition for every young person, no matter what his/her life story or point of origin. For another, establishment scholars are assumed to be entitled to select (as do E. D. Hirsch, Jr. and his colleagues, at the end of *Cultural Literacy*) “what every American needs to

know.” At the same time, it is presumably assumed that meaningful jobs will exist for the majority of young Americans in a society where deskilling is already taking place, and where service jobs far outnumber jobs in high technology. For all the surface appeal of formulation that assure entry into “mainstream literate culture” and the technical expertise demanded for material success, there is a neo-conservative problematic here that needs to be made clear.

The German philosopher Jurgen Habermas is one of many arguing that neo-conservatism is, among other things, an effort to restore old (and cohesive) moral and spiritual truths in a challenge to relativism and modernity. Its “midwifery” is frequently, he argues, education, with a focus on basic skills and such secondary virtues as “industriousness, discipline, and cleanliness.” More significant is the concern for a “neutralization” of historical pasts likely to give rise to embarrassing criticisms and rejections.

This spirit may be best rendered by Allan Bloom, who blames the “closing of the American mind” on relativism, feminism, rock music, the sixties, and German philosophy. His particular “neutralization” is most obvious when he speaks of

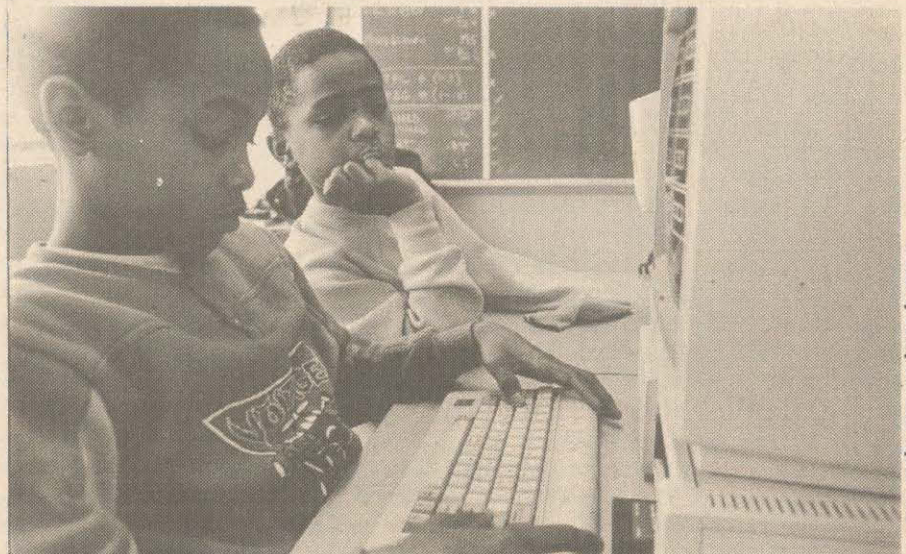


Photo by Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

Computer class in Brooklyn Public School

the fifties, which (for him) was the time of our universities' fullest realization. He calls it a myth that the decade was "a period of intellectual conformism and superficiality, whereas there was a real excitement and questioning in the sixties." He goes on, with a rather characteristic sarcasm, to say that "McCarthyism — invoked whenever Stalinism is mentioned in order to even the balance of injustice between the two superpowers — symbolizes those gray, grim years, while the blazing sixties were the days of the 'movement'..." For Bloom, McCarthy ("barbarian" though he may have been) had no effect on university curriculum or appointments. The "old liberalism," in fact, with its belief in progress and a free marketplace of ideas, "had its last moment of vigor at that time."

Obviously, not all proponents of traditionalism and "cultural literacy" share Bloom's particular obsessions and prejudices. E.D. Hirsch, Diane Ravitch, and their like are more prone to blame Rousseau and Dewey, or the Progressive movement itself, than the sixties. It seems evident, however, that current prescriptions embody a conception of "official" knowledge that overrides or cancels out what has been called "the truth of primary experience of the social world." Moreover, the conception excludes the constructs and perspectives of women as well as those of minority groups and recent immigrants. Hirsch places major emphasis on the need for "background information" to enable the young to understand what they read. But the information and the literacy he has in mind are identified with that which introduces them to the "shared heritage, institutions, and values that draw Americans together." The stress is on a national vocabulary, the essentials of traditional culture, and (not incidentally) social cohesion. Even as we grant the importance of reconstituting community and opening public spaces in our country, there is something troubling about denying the multiplicity that not only marks our school populations but modern consciousness itself. There is something even more troubling in the way in which the "shared" and the "cohesive" are pre-defined and used (it would appear) in support of the existing power structure.

Dr. Hirsch has a characteristic response to such complaints about a "mainstream literacy"; without a broad grasp of dominant ideas and beliefs, and without the ability to participate in the national language community, a young person



Photo by Hazel Hankin/Impact Visuals

First grade classroom.

has little chance of winning material success.

When objections are raised to their neglect of such causes of failure as discrimination, family deterioration, homelessness, and poverty, people like Hirsch and Ravitch suggest that little can be done about such phenomena. To place the onus on structural deficiencies and deprivations is, as they see it, to give way to fatalism and hopelessness. In contrast, something *can* be done about schools. Curricula can be remade; content can be expanded; and, again, achievement standards can be raised. This is, of course, rather grimly reminiscent of the old myth of the public school: that education can bring about change more effectively than political action. In the contemporary moment, however, this peculiar faith in schooling and the implication that education is *not* political may have particular damaging consequences. Among these may be the increasing "normalization" of our diverse population, a lulling of young persons into silence and consumerism, and a commodification of what is being transmitted as "knowledge."

Set aside in the contemporary discussion is a vision of literacy that is multifaceted and open to multiple lexicons, multiple voices, a vision of critical literacy, and grounded in authentic interpretation against the backgrounds of lived lives. Such literacy, expressed in "reading the word and the world," as Paulo

Freire puts it, is sought and discovered in response to questions posed with respect to the actualities of shared existence. It plays back into experience, opening new perspectives, and allowing for the making of new connections. It also depends on and nurtures a sense of efficacy and agency on the part of learners, who may in time be brought to *see* the incapacities caused by illiteracy.

Yes, it is important to understand the tradition in which we are embedded, even as it is important to share in proficiencies that allow for technical and scientific control. But none of this ought to stand in the way of a search for possibilities of transformation. "Economic competitiveness" and "cultural literacy" are insufficient as educational goals in the world as it presently exists. More is required than what Robert Bellah has called a "community of the competent." We need communities of citizens; we need an articulate public; we need a release of political imagination even in our classrooms. We need dialogue and critique and, sometimes, indignation. We need movements towards what ought to be, towards a humane and rational society that does not yet exist. Outside the domains of neo-conservatism, that remains a fundamental educational concern. ●

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Educational Reform in the Age of Reagan: Schooling for Less

By Henry A. Giroux

Since the beginning of the 1980s much of what has passed for educational reform has represented a sustained effort by business interests and right-wing cultural elitists to redefine the purpose of public schooling by putting economic considerations first and touting the alleged virtues of "unitary" Western culture. In the first instance schools are expected to provide the skills necessary for domestic production and expanding capital. This is evident in the early wave of reform proposals such as *A Nation at Risk* and *Action for Excellence*. The practical effects of this public discourse can be seen in the increasing direct involvement of the private sector in the shaping of school policy and the organization of public school curricula. For example, through legislation such as the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 and the initiatives of privately financed programs such as Jobs for America's Graduates, there is a concerted effort underway in many cities to form school-business partnerships that link the employee needs of the corporation to the form and content of schooling. Under the euphemism of "investing in our children," major corporations underwrite school curricula that link the teaching of basic skills with good work habits. The traditional concern of providing students with a critical education in the service of creating a public sphere of citizens who are able to exercise power over their lives has given way to creating students who, in the words of the Committee for Economic Development, "demonstrate a set of attitudes, abilities, and behaviors associated with a sense of responsibility, self-discipline, pride, teamwork, and enthusiasm." Business leaders in major cities such as Boston, Massachusetts have organized "compacts" with school districts in which the corporate sector provides money and expertise for the schools while simultaneously influencing curricula and school administration.

Shiela Harty in *Hucksters in the Classroom* illustrates big business' attempt to influence school curricula through the use of materials designed to meet their own corporate needs. For instance, Standard Brands consistently provides films to teachers to be used in the classroom. In a film entitled *Mr. Peanut's Guide to Nutrition*, the narrator lists a variety of products distributed by Standard Brands in general, along with a pitch for using the issue of nutrition as an exercise in developing the ideology of consumerism.

The McDonald's corporation promotion of its Nutrition Action Pack with the Golden Arches logo on the bottom of each study sheet is yet another example of business' attempt to influence students. The ideology that structures the educational priorities at work can best be gleaned from the materials itself: "The ideal is to introduce new foods and nutritional concepts at an early age, when new tasks and ideas are readily accepted until they become integrated into life-time food patterns."

In addition, the corporate sector provides students with work opportunities in entry level, low-paying semi-skilled jobs that demand higher levels of literacy than those possessed by the majority of minority and working-class students who are "schooled" for such jobs. The growing connection between schools and the business community can, in part, be seen in the levels of capital expenditure currently being made in the public schools by the corporate sector. The General Electric Foundation has donated over one million dollars to upgrade the public schools, and Adolph Coors Company indicated that it would spend 70 percent of its three million dollars in philanthropic funds for 1988 on education. Exxon, Kodak, and IBM are similarly involved in shaping schooling policies through increased capital expenditures. The reasons are far from altruistic. The cost to American business in training entry-level employees exceeded \$30 billion in 1987. Companies like American Express make it clear that their involvement in public education is



Photo by Cindy Reiman/Impact Visuals

The Service Industry continues to influence the educational agenda.

based on what they term as enlightened self-interest, which translates into reducing the cost of training employees by shifting the financial costs to the public schools.

Preserving Western Civilization

The second and more recent wave of educational reforms takes a somewhat different turn. In this view, it is not the American economy that is at risk but the very notion of Western civilization itself. Here, rather than being defined as vehicles for economic reform, schools are seen as sites of cultural production and their purpose redefined as providing students with the language, knowledge, and values necessary to preserve the essential traditions of Western culture. The right's position on cultural production in the schools has arisen from a recognition by some of its followers that the problems faced by the United States can no longer be reduced to educating students so they can occupy jobs at entry-level and middle-range occupational levels. Instead, the emphasis must be switched to addressing the alleged cultural crisis, which can be traced to broader ideological tenets of the progressive education movement that dominated the field after the Second World War. The villains here include the doctrine of cultural relativism, the notion that student experience should qualify as a viable form of knowledge, and that ethnic, racial, gender, and other relations play a significant role in accounting for the development and influence of mainstream intellectual culture. To counter these pernicious ideas, the new proposals attempt to address the issues of cultural literacy, the development of national curriculum boards, and provide students with the basics of those "revered" traditions that constitute the inherited virtues of Western culture. Different versions of this approach to educational reform can be found in the discourse of Reagan's Secretary of Education, William Bennett, Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind*, and E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literacy*.

One current consequence of this approach is a pedagogy of chauvinism dressed up in the lingo of the Great Books, which presents culture and history as if they were a seamless web, a warehouse of great cultural artifacts that merely need to be reproduced and transmitted to students at various levels of schooling. Within this vision, teaching the dominant versions of American culture and history becomes an act of patriotism. Teachers simply have to teach a

narrowly defined store of cultural wealth. Students have to be regularly monitored, scrutinized, and measured in order to make sure they are succeeding, and school achievement is assessed and displayed in a dizzying array of numerical scores posted monthly in the local newspaper. Of course, nothing will be said about the 44 percent dropout rate for Puerto Rican students in the urban centers or the 48 percent dropout rate for blacks, or the 65 percent dropout rate for Native Americans in our urban schools. Nor will anything be said about the more than 30 percent of potential graduates who leave high school before their senior year.

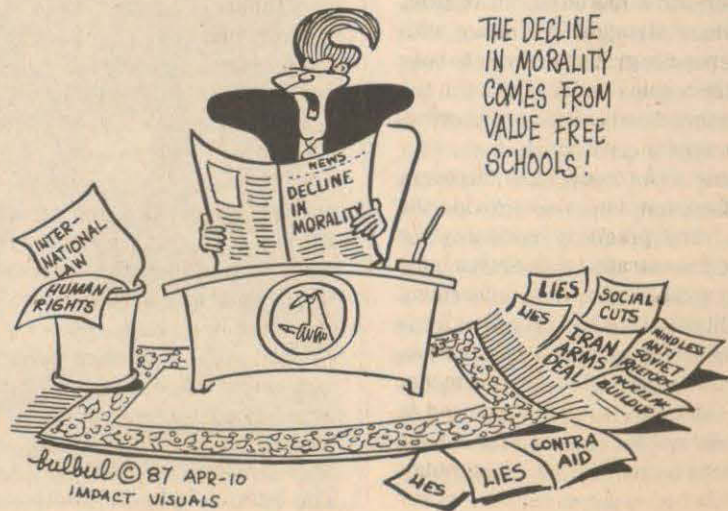
Deskilling of Teachers

The ideological shift that characterizes the current reform period is also evident in the ways in which teacher preparation and classroom pedagogy are currently being defined. With few exceptions, the major reform proposals exacerbate conditions that erode the authority and intellectual integrity of teachers. In fact, the most compelling aspect of the influential reports, especially the widely publicized *A Nation at Risk*, *Making the Grade*, and *A Nation Prepared*, is their studious refusal to address the ideological, social, and economic conditions underlying poor teacher and student performance. For example, little is said regarding the fact that public school teachers constantly confront such conditions as the overwhelming emphasis on quantifying tasks, the growing lack of control over curriculum, little or no input into the decisions that critically affect their work, isolation from their peers, and the often condescending treatment they receive from school administrators.

At both the local and federal levels

the new educational discourse has influenced a number of policy recommendations, such as competency-based testing for teachers, a lockstep sequencing of materials, mastery learning techniques, systemized evaluation schemes, standardized curricula, and the implementation of mandated basics. The consequences of these reforms are evident not only in their substantively narrow view of the purpose of education, but also in the definitions of teaching, learning, and literacy that are championed by the new management-oriented policymakers. In place of developing critical understanding, engaging student experience, and fostering active and critical citizenship, schools are redefined through a language that emphasizes sterile forms of standardization, competency, and narrowly defined performance skills.

Within this paradigm, the development of curricula is increasingly left to administrative experts or simply adopted from publishers, many of whom are under siege from right-wing political and religious groups, with few, if any, contributions from teachers who are expected to implement the new programs. In its most ideological offensive form, this type of prepackaged curriculum is rationalized as teacher-proof and designed to be applied to any classroom context regardless of the historical, cultural, and socioeconomic differences that define various schools and students. What is important to note is that the deskilling of teachers is related to the ways in which a particular form of technocratic rationality is used to inform state educational policy, to consolidate the power of school administrators, and to redefine teacher work. This type of rationality increasing-



ly takes place within a social diversion of labor in which thinking is removed from implementation and the model of the teacher becomes that of the technician or white-collar clerk. Likewise, for students, learning is often reduced to the exercise of lifeless paperwork, the "mastery" of knowledge that has little to do with their own experiences, and the organization of classroom social relations based on the military model of discipline.

No Concept of Democracy

If left and progressive educators are to fight effectively to reclaim public schooling as part of the struggle to reconstitute a politics of possibility, imagination, and commitment, they will have to first develop a language that allows teachers and others to view and experience schooling in a critical and potentially transformative way. Understood in these terms, schools are viewed as public places where students learn the knowledge and skills necessary to live in a critical democracy, instead of as extensions of the workplace or as front line institutions in the battle for international markets and foreign competition. Students are given the opportunity to learn the discourse of public association and social responsibility and to engage in public dialogue that would encourage moral leadership and responsibility. Such a focus seeks to recapture the idea of critical democracy as a social movement grounded in a set of practices that embody a fundamental respect for individual freedom and social justice. Moreover, viewing schools as democratic public spheres provides a rationale for defending them, along with progressive forms of pedagogy and teacher work as institutions that perform a public service essential to the construction of the democratic state. Similarly, in opposition to the current conservative discourse on reform, teachers must struggle in alliance with other progressive groups in order to both redefine their roles and to fight for the conditions they need to function as critical and engaged intellectuals.

Teachers need to develop a discourse and set of assumptions that provide the theoretical and practical possibility for them to demonstrate to their students the importance of linking empowerment — the ability to think and act critically — to the concept of social transformation. Teaching for social transformation means educating students to take risks and to struggle within ongoing relations of power in order to be able to alter the grounds upon which life is lived. Acting as en-

gaged intellectuals means helping students acquire critical knowledge about basic societal structures, such as the economy, the state, the workplace, and mass culture so that such institutions can be open to critical examination and potential transformation — a transformation, in

this case, aimed at the progressive humanization of the social order. ●

Henry Giroux teaches at Miami University in Oxford Ohio and is the author, with Stanley Aronowitz, of Education Under Siege (Bergin and Garvey, 1985).

Women's Studies in the Age of Reagan

By Barbara Scott Winkler

Women's studies grew out of the women's movement in the sixties and early seventies. How has it fared? In 1977 the *Women's Studies Newsletter* reported 276 programs. By 1985, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) reported 503 programs out of three thousand campuses nationwide, an 82 percent increase. While the increase is noteworthy, most of these programs are at four-year colleges and universities. Few are at the community and junior college level. While 14 percent of four-year colleges adopted programs by 1980, only 4 percent of two-year institutions did. Of the 503 programs listed in 1985 only twenty-one were at community colleges. In 1985, however, 45 percent of all women students in higher education were at community colleges. These students are often older, working class, and vocationally oriented.

Women's studies now includes 20,000 courses, twenty journals, newsletters and presses, fifty research centers, the National Council for Research on Women, and the NWSA. But women's studies programs have not escaped the difficulties of the Reagan years — decreasing budgets and fewer permanent faculty. In what ways has women's studies suffered?

Tenure: Women's studies programs still rely primarily on other departments for permanent faculty. Adverse tenure decisions mean fewer faculty course offerings, and those faculty who remain are severely overworked.

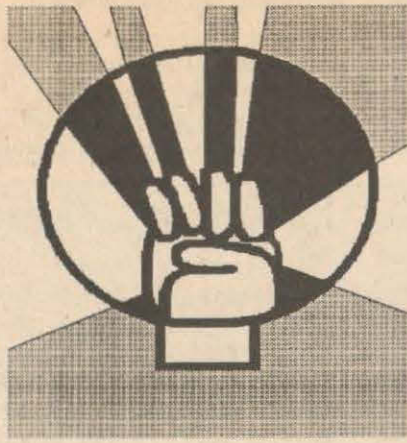
Funding: University budget cuts hurt programs with marginal resources the most. As students at the research universities and four year colleges scramble to get the necessary credentials to enter the labor market women's studies has had to "sell" itself as general education credits to ensure enrollments and avoid crippling budget cuts. External funding has also been severely curtailed. National Institute of Education research,

training, and grant support for women and minorities dropped from \$3.4 million in 1980 to \$168,000 in 1983. National Endowment for the Humanities funding for women's programs has dropped by half, and the Women's Educational Equity Act office has been practically dismantled.

Ideological Attacks: The religious right often targets women's studies programs, attempting to discredit them. For example, religious conservatives at the State University of California at Long Beach have accused women's studies of promoting lesbianism. Intellectual conservatives have portrayed women's studies as "ideological," not in keeping with the ostensibly "value-free" university. Humanities traditionalists like Alan Bloom promote a vision of culture which excludes diversity and the experience of those not part of the elites that dominate the public realm.

Women's studies, however, has not stood still. The NWSA Academic Discrimination Task Force provides one means of monitoring adverse tenure cases as well as more flagrant attacks such as that at Long Beach. Graduate level offerings (77 schools in 1985) are one form of legitimation; "mainstreaming", the transformation of the non-women's studies curriculum, while of debatable effectiveness, also counters intellectual conservatives while reaching a larger audience. Most significantly, feminists of color and labor-oriented women have challenged women's studies to include the dimensions of race and class in theory and practice. And in a period when feminists might give way to despair, women's studies argues that women have created supportive institutions, championed alternative values, and been effective creators of culture and agents of change despite oppression. ●

Barbara Scott Winkler, a DSA member in Ann Arbor, is currently working on her dissertation, "A Comparative History of Four Women's Studies Programs."



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DSACTION

REPORTS

• DSA was among the over 100 groups opposing U.S. Policy in Central America targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation during a five-year campaign of harassment and surveillance, according to documents released under the Freedom of Information Act to the Center for Constitutional Rights. Only 1,320 pages out of 3,756 were released and even some of those obtained were censored by the FBI. Enough was disclosed, however, to reveal that particular FBI attention was paid to activities against U.S. government policies in Central America undertaken by DSAers in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Texas.

DSA joined with other targeted organizations, including Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and the United Auto Workers (UAW) in denouncing this violation of the right to dissent. DSA has also filed its own Freedom of Information request to the Central FBI headquarters and to FBI field offices around the country in order to uncover further evidence of government spying against DSA activists.

• The 1988 Democratic Socialists of America "Honor Roll" Membership Campaign will make its first splash in April—and you can be a part of it. You'll simply need to sign our "Honor Roll" pledge vowing to sign up ten new DSA members and two *Democratic Left* subscribers this year. You'll be advancing DSA's political agenda and you'll be in the running for prizes to be awarded to the best recruiter. Your efforts will be only one part of a package that will include newspaper ads, and direct mail. Get involved today by

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contacting Organizational Director Patrick Lacefield at the National Office.

• More than 300 students from 50 campuses attended the DSA Youth Section's annual winter education and outreach conference at Columbia University over the Presidents Day weekend. The conference drew new activists from schools from the south and the midwest, as well as the northeast. In a time when the renewed energy among youth activists points to the possibility of a revived and strengthened student movement, the recent winter conference gave students the opportunity to gather and discuss their work together and their plans for the future.

The conference opened with an outreach plenary on opportunities and challenges for the left. Sam Meyers, President of UAW Local 259, Congressman Major Owens, and Leslie Cagan, an organizer for the April 25th and October 11th marches on Washington, all spoke eloquently to the issues that will be facing the left in the post-Reagan era: the renewed possibilities for left-wing activism, as well as the legacies of the right-wing agenda of the Reagan administration.

The bulk of the conference took place Saturday and Sunday, with plenaries and workshops addressing the range of issues of concern to students and youth activists. Sunday featured a morning session with sociologist Joan Mandle, Reginald Wilson, from the American Council on Education, Office of Minority Concerns, and Human Serve activist Richard Cloward. From different vantage points, each delivered an analysis of contemporary economic and social policy, and discussed strategies for progressive political change. In addition, important discussions on voter registration, electoral politics, anti-racism, the labor movement and sexual politics took place within plenaries and workshops throughout the weekend. A set of informal participatory workshops allowed more time for indepth personal discussion of issues.

Caucuses provided another forum for indepth discussion. The Third World caucus wrote a statement in support of the building take-over at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, which occurred on Friday, February 12th (the

first day of the conference). University of Massachusetts professor and DSA member David Kotz took a copy of the letter back with him and read the statement at a rally that took place during the protest. The regional caucuses that took place at the end of the conference were particularly useful; the midwest caucus is already making plans to hold the summer conference in Ohio or Michigan.

RESOURCES

• *Central American Traps: Challenging the Reagan Agenda* by Morris Blachman and Kenneth Sharp is a new pamphlet that is an important reading for activists interested in challenging the assumptions that underlie U.S. policy in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Send \$3.00 to The World Policy Institute, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10164.

• *Ideas for Turning America in a Progressive Direction* is hot off the presses from the folks who bring you *Dissent*. The 88-page pamphlet includes articles by Michael Harrington, Harold Myerson, Robert Kuttner, Peter Steinfelds, Barbara Bergman, Hendrik Hertzberg, Robert Lekachman and William Julius Wilson. Individual copies are only \$1.50, or send \$1.00 each for copies of ten or more. They are available from the DSA

• John Efromyson of Ithaca DSA captured the highlights of last December's DSA national convention and is willing to duplicate footage for interested parties. For more information, contact him at 420 North Cayuga Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.

• The most recent issue of *Peace and Democracy News*, the bulletin of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, features a symposium on "After the INF Treaty" and valuable updates on the activities of the unofficial peace and human rights movements in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Individual copies are \$2.50, and \$5.00 will get you a yearly subscription. Write the Campaign at P.O. Box 1640, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025.

• DSA buttons, either with the fist-and-rose or with the clasped hands, are available from the national office for \$1.00 each or 50 cents each for orders of ten or more.

Continued on page 13

ON THE LEFT

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

California

Los Angeles DSA sponsored a presentation and slide show by Nicaraguan Task Force member Carol Wells on "Developing Women's Liberation in Nicaragua." As part of their celebration of International Women's Day, the LA local produced in concert Sabia and Kimberly Miller, a woman's band known for its performance of central American music....the East Bay local has scheduled a discussion on Israel and the Palestinians to take place around a potluck Middle Eastern dinner. The Jackson campaign will also be discussed.... Virginia Franco, a DSA San Diego activist spoke on women and labor at the University of San Diego. A membership meeting highlighted a forum on "First Amendment Rights on Trial," in response to deportation efforts against Palestinian citizens.

District of Columbia

DC/MD DSA had a terrific turnout for its March 8th membership meeting, at which left economist Jeff Faux spoke. An April membership meeting will focus on the need for a national family agenda to coincide with the Coalition of Labor Union Women's May 14th rally in Washington, DC.

Florida

DSA member Paul Rasmussen founded *The Order of the Blade and Whetstone* in 1986 to raise funds for strikers and to promote unity, solidarity, and action. The order has been actively sending money to strikers across the country, including those in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

Georgia

Atlanta DSA has initiated an Emergency Response Network to enable activists to collectively respond to events in the news that cause progressives to say to themselves, "Something should be done about this."

Kentucky

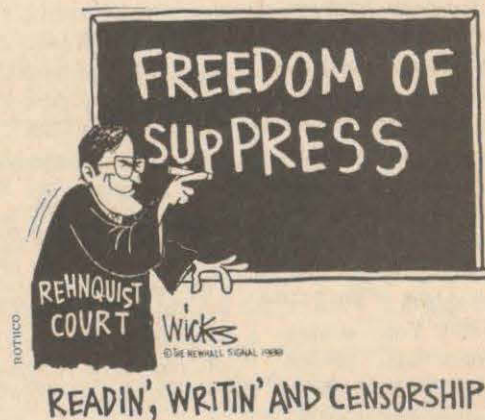
A media fair is being organized by Central Kentucky DSA, which will involve film and food highlighting women, gays, ethnic groups and prison issues. A discussion of left history is planned for their regularly scheduled study group. The *Lexington Herald-Leader* carried important stories about two Central Kentucky DSA members and their contributions to the struggle for economic justice; Carol Straus was featured for her study on Kentucky women and poverty; Anne Joseph was spotlighted for her work lobbying the state legislature as Director of the Kentucky Task Force on Hunger. Shakoor Aljuwani, DSA's Field Director, City Council member Rev. Michael Wilson and Youth Section activist Lisa Laufer spoke at Wesley United Methodist Church on Jesse Jackson and the Democratic party.

Massachusetts

Boston's DSA February forum heard Bryon Rushing, Preston Williams and Shakoor Aljuwani speak on "Martin Luther King, Jr's Legacy in Black Politics." Boston DSA's labor support group is backing the drive of the Harvard Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (AFSCME) to organize the more than 3,000 clerical and technical workers at Harvard. Boston activists organized a New England regional meeting to foster cooperation by DSA locals throughout the region. DSA women's brunches continue to be held monthly at Holly Zalinger's house in Brookline.

Michigan

Ann Arbor's DSA-SOCPAC endorsed three members for city council, as well as the rent stabilization initiative in the city council election....DSA



Maryland

Baltimore DSA and fifteen other progressive organizations joined the Baltimore chapter of the National Lawyers Guild in an amicus curiae brief arguing for the constitutionality of Baltimore's anti-apartheid divestment ordinance, which the city's pension fund trustees are challenging. Baltimore DSA held its winter ski weekend at Richmond Hill Lodge in Pennsylvania. A film series of and about women co-sponsored by DSA, John's Hopkin's Black Student Union, and the Feminist Alliance will be shown through June...."The End of the Cold War?" was the discussion topic at the February Howard County DSA meeting.

in Detroit is backing a petition drive to restore Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women. Ron Aronson, a DSA member who teaches at Wayne State, presented a multi-media event on his recent trip to South Africa.

Missouri

The Washington University local is sponsoring a three-part series during March and April on justice in the workplace, including presentations by Missouri state Representative Shiela Lumpe speaking on comparable worth; Local 34's Lee Berman speaking on union organizing; and former Region 5 Assistant Director, UAW, speaking on new strategies for collective bargaining.

New York

Albany DSA is backing the efforts of the Hunger Action Network of New York to initiate an Up to Poverty campaign to increase New York State's public assistance benefits at least up to the federal poverty level. At their February meeting they discussed ways to back the Jackson campaign.... Ithaca DSAers participated in a Jackson for President volunteer training session.... The Nassau local has begun to produce a new issue of its bimonthly newsletter, and is now holding a series of Saturday seminars at UAW District 65 offices. Topics to be tackled include the criminal justice system, the Third World, environmental issues, and strategies for social change. Barbara Ehrenreich and Charlie Russell are on the Jackson delegate slate for the 3rd Congressional District.

Bernt Carlsson, United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia, spoke at a New York City DSA forum on "Namibia: Prospects for Independence." Helmut Angula, permanent observer to the UN for SWAPO, and a representative from the American Committee on Africa also spoke... NYC DSA's School for Democratic Socialism and Housing Task Force held three seminars on a program to end the low-income housing crisis. NYC DSA's annual convention will be held April 30th.

Ohio

Cleveland DSA helped turn-out people for a fundraiser for C.J. Prentiss, a woman candidate running for state representative in Ohio. The feminist committee of the Cleveland local is organizing the cultural outreach event of the DSA socialist-feminist retreat, which will take place in Oberlin, Ohio.... Members of the local are organizing for the Jackson campaign in preparation for the April primary.... Youngstown DSA is planning an outreach event to mark the 70th anniversary of Debs' well-known anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio, which was the cause of one of his many arrests.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh DSA has planned an International Women's Day event, at

which awards will be presented to community and peace activists, journalists, labor representatives and women in health care, politics and the arts. Eva Bertram of the Christic Institute spoke on "Iran-Contragate" at the University of Pittsburgh.... The Peace Committee of Philadelphia DSA will be hosting a forum and slide show on Vietnam by two members who recently returned from a trip there.

Tennessee

The first "Jobs with Justice" campaign in Nashville was organized in support of the Nashville Symphony players in February. The State Labor Council, DSA, Central America organizations, church groups, gay and lesbian organizations, and others all rallied in support of the musicians. DSAer Martha Wettman chaired the Jackson primary campaign statewide.

Texas

Sylvia Romos, San Antonio DSA member and Co-Chair of the San Antonio Jesse Jackson campaign, and Latinos for Jackson cosponsored a Latino/Labor breakfast for Jackson. Resolutions on full employment, child care, *contra* aid, and divestment in South Africa were passed by DSA locals in precincts in Houston, Austin and San Antonio on Super Tuesday. The resolutions will come to a vote at the state Democratic convention in June.... Houston DSA will host a reception at the Texas state convention.

RESOURCES

continued from page 11

- DSA's Labor Commission has produced its first 1988 issue of *Labor Voice*, a newsletter for trade union activists. To obtain a subscription to *Labor Voice* send \$10 to DSA Labor Commission, PO Box 28408, Washington, DC 20038.
- Jobs With Peace Campaign has produced several excellent fact sheets illustrating the connection between the military budget and spending for social programs, in conjunction with their June 4th "Build Homes Not Bombs" Campaign. For more information, contact "JWP," 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110

IN MEMORIAM

Our movement lost a great leader when Paul DuBrul died on December 18th. After having fought a forty year battle with cystic fibrosis, Paul died at the age of forty-nine. From the day he joined the socialist movement at Hunter College, Paul selflessly organized and cajoled others into action. A writer whose style was a cross of Liebling, London, and Steffens, he chronicled the victims of capitalism, from inner city children — especially those suffering from lead poisoning — to industrial workers.

To those of us in the New York local, Paul was a moral conscience and an anchor. Had his illness not limited his mobility, he doubtless would have been a national leader. Paul was the principal advisor to DSA New York City Councilmember Ruth Messinger, whose run for higher municipal office he was charting at the time of his death. After Paul was confined to his apartment in 1985, his living room became a gathering place for many of us who sought strategy and analysis for our work in DSA and where he edited our newspaper.

Paul's unwillingness to give up on the socialist ideal and the building of a democratic socialist movement in this country is what kept me and many others going. Just when another day of activism seemed hopeless, there came a phone call late at night. It was Paul barking out urgent marching orders challenging me to do more. He once said that he adapted his gruff demeanor to the knowledge that he had a short time in which to get everything done and to make the world a better place for his son Sascha.


Like many others, I will miss Paul. But, our collective tribute to him must be to move forward, to reach out, and build a mass movement and, in Paul's words, to "get the bastards."

—BY JO-ANNE MORT

Jo-Ann Mort is the Director of Communications at Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

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Where Have All The Baskets Gone?

Drugs, Basketball, and the Erosion of Public Life

By Mark Naison

For more than four generations, schoolyard basketball has served as a symbol of the pride and vitality of New York City neighborhoods from Harlem to Astoria and Brownsville. Initially Jewish and Irish, later black and Latino, these youngsters learned most of their skills from folkways rather than formal coaching. Pickup games on rusty baskets often matched college and professional games, prodding participants to breathtaking feats of skill. Hundreds of thousands of youngsters passed through the schoolyard culture, receiving of a boost to their self-esteem in a difficult social landscape. In the Brooklyn of the 1950s and 1960s, schoolyard basketball brought modestly skillful kids like me into the black strongholds of Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant, into Catholic Bay Ridge, into Jewish Manhattan Beach and ultimately, as a spectator, into the great showcase of the sport — Madison Square Garden — where the best New York players matched their skills against the best players from the rest of the country.

Given the historic role of basketball in the culture of city neighborhoods, it is a devastating indictment of mid-1980s New York that backboards and rims are fast disappearing from the schoolyards and parks of the city.

New York is a fear-ridden city in which public space is a zone of contention between participants in the underground economy and members of a dwindling working class (black and Latino as well as white). The racial attacks in Howard Beach, Bensonhurst and Canarsie, the crack killings in Brownsville and the West Bronx are but the most publicized manifestation of debilitating "turf war" in schools, parks, and streetcorners. As job opportunities for inner-city residents have diminished and drug dealing has captured the imagination of low-income youth, schoolyard basketball may be an endangered species.



Photo by Kathleen Foster/Impact Visuals

Children observing a basketball game in Harlem.

The first attacks on schoolyard ball came in gentrifying neighborhoods. About seven years ago, residents of Second Street in Brooklyn's Park Slope forced a public school across the street to tear down rims in its schoolyard because of complaints about the noise level of the players, some of whom played by lamp-light till midnight. Perhaps coincidentally, the brownstone owners who complained were white, the players black. Almost simultaneously, disgruntled residents of the West Village poured oil on the famous court at West 4th Street and Sixth Avenue, a place known citywide for the quality of its games. This time, the baskets stayed up.

Observing these incidents, I was inclined, to view attempts to close down schoolyards as racially motivated. But when taking some students on a tour of Brownsville this fall, I noticed that the rims had been torn down on courts in two public housing projects in the neighbor-

hood. Here, no racial motive could have operated; everyone was black and Latino.

My curiosity whetted, I started looking around and saw more evidence of this phenomenon. Four rims torn down in a schoolyard on 5th Street and Fort Hamilton Parkway, a place where first rate games were played for years in a predominately Irish working class neighborhood. Baskets were torn down in a schoolyard on Coney Island Avenue in Flatbush, in a racially mixed neighborhood. I asked students and co-workers whether they noticed fewer baskets and many answered in the affirmative. A teacher in Bedford Stuyvesant said the baskets had recently been removed from the yard of the school where he worked. My administrative assistant told me that most of the baskets had been removed from the Grant Projects in Harlem. A former student who lived in Bedford Stuyvesant said that ten of the twelve



Photo by Judy Janda/Impact Visuals

Junior high school students playing chess during an after-school program.

baskets in a big schoolyard near his home had been taken down. Three of my students said that rims had been removed from schoolyards and parks in the North Bronx, in predominately Irish Woodlawn and Italian Morris Park as well as predominately black Wakefield.

What's going on here? Why are people taking courts out of circulation that have served thousands of kids?

Although some think that drug dealers are directly responsible, most of my informants claim that the actions are in response to pressure from community residents who are horrified by the spread of crime among youth, and regard any place where youth congregate as a breeding ground for crime.

Unfortunately, such actions occur at a time when indoor recreation activities for youth have been sharply curtailed. Afternoon and evening centers in the public schools used to be a standard feature of life in New York City—they were decimated during the fiscal crisis of the 1970s, never to be replaced. Many non-profit organizations providing sports programs for youth have gone bankrupt or reduced their services, among them Sports for the People and New York Sports Foundation, organizations which once served thousands of youngsters in the Bronx. Church evening centers in several neighborhoods (Park Slope and Yorkville) have shut down because of fear of violence; they are so flooded with

youngsters wanting to play ball that they cannot control the crowds.

Given the paucity of opportunities for supervised recreation, tearing down baskets is a gesture of profound despair. Where are kids supposed to play? What is the adult world offering them as an alternative to hustling?

What does it mean for a city when many of its residents fear public gatherings? Above all it reveals spiritual impoverishment, the decline of hope. New York's poor neighborhoods are in a state of seige. In Brownsville and East New York, blocks of meticulously kept one- and two-family homes stand armed like bunkers against the surrounding decay, with bars on every window and guard dogs in every yard. This is the plight of the city's black and Latino working class—hospital workers, security guards, truck drivers, motor vehicles clerks, employees of body shops and garment factories. They have the right to a public life free from fear and intimidation; the right to walk the streets, shop, and send their children to school.

Dramatic measures must be taken to break the stranglehold of criminal elements in poor neighborhoods. First, after school and evening centers, staffed by trained personnel, should be restored to every elementary, intermediate, and high school in New York City. Secondly, public employment programs should be established to hire inner-city youngsters

as tutors, recreation leaders and construction workers to rehabilitate decayed parks and playgrounds. Third, drug-related offenders should be placed in work camps in rural areas, physically removing them from neighborhoods while new youth programs are put in place. This should be accompanied by more vigilant law enforcement at the local level, something which community residents in every low income neighborhood have been demanding for years. Fourth, rescuing inner-city youth should be made a national priority. A national service requirement should be instituted immediately sending millions of middle class youngsters into poor neighborhoods to staff day-care centers and clinics, work in schools and community centers, and set up programs in theater, music and sports. To supplement this, colleges should require every student to spend at least one semester doing community service. These measures may seem drastic, but the levels of social disintegration that confronts us require a national mobilization by government and voluntary organizations. Leisure and sociability in the public domain should be available to everyone, not, as it seems to be now, one of the rewards of money. ●

Mark Naison is head of the Afro-American Studies Program at Fordham University, and he teaches basketball for St. Saviour's Youth Project in Brooklyn.

A Challenge to the Educational System: An Interview with Educator Deborah Meier

The first several questions in this article initially appeared in NY Newsday on June 29th in an interview between Jim Sleeper, the new deputy editor of NY Newsday's Forum section, and Deborah Meier, founder and director of the Central Park East Secondary School in East Harlem. Meier, a DSA member, recently won a \$335,000 grant from the MacArthur Foundation for her innovative educational work.

The remaining questions were posed to Meier by Sherri Levine, Democratic Left's managing editor.

Question: You are the first public school teacher to receive an award from the MacArthur Foundation. How is your school, Central Park East (CPE) different from other public schools in the city?

Deborah Meier: The idea was to create a community of learners, with teachers in the central decision-making role, jointly "inventing" their own workplace. We also try to create relationships of mutual respect by making the students' families feel co-ownership in the school. Learning can't and won't take place if school and family distrust and disrespect each other. We have reexamined what each parties' role must be if the children are to feel safe. One small thing we changed was simply to be sure that the student is present at all family conferences. It has a remarkable effect on what is discussed and how it is discussed.

Another difference we have with most other schools is the way we view how children learn. The best way to teach children to become book literate, for example, is not by spending school time practicing for tests, or creating sterile text-like curriculum in which children are taught a sequence of skills separated from content. The best way for children to learn is to surround them with books that are worth reading, read a lot to them, and introduce curriculum that encourages youngsters to seek books as resources.

Q: Have you encountered opposition from the central school board?

DM: No one ever seems to object to our rhetoric, nor does anyone try to subvert us. They just don't understand why we can't do "our thing" and their's simultaneously. What they don't realize is that their regulations actually do subvert our goals. They aren't aware of how the plethora of single right-answer, multiple-choice tests, tells people that what we mean by being well-educated is recognizing the "right" answers. Of course, there are some "right" answers — some facts that students need as they pursue a particular subject. But our definition of being well-educated is knowing what to do with such inert information. This includes developing habits of mind, frameworks for thinking, and a deep love of learning itself. Besides, a system run by "experts" and bureaucrats removed from the site of operation, leaves too much room for mistakes. It is not that people are deliberately trying to harass us, but they are simply acting under faulty assumptions about how to be sure schools, teachers, and students are held accountable.

Q: How did you get into teaching?

DM: By accident, in 1964, in the Chicago public schools. I applied to substitute-teach two days a week. It was an exciting period because of the civil rights movement and because the problems of education and minority youth were being addressed for the first time. We moved to New York City in 1967, and I got a part-time job in Central Harlem at P.S. 144. My children went to schools in the same district and I became immersed in education politics.

Q: Does the system today support teachers' morale?

M: It is not only a question of "being nice" to teachers, although that certainly helps. There are so many small ways that teachers are regularly humiliated that most veteran teachers hardly notice anymore. Teachers are scolded by bureaucrats and administrators in ways that adults usually reserve for children. Teachers need to beg access to phones, and they often have no private place to confer with students or work on professional matters. They are not provided

with typewriters or copying machines — normal tools of their trade. Being interrupted for petty announcements, the absence of time to talk to colleagues, and endless red-tape are all ways in which a teacher's morale is undermined

Q: When did you first have the idea to start your own school?

DM: In 1974, I got together with Tony Alvarado, who was then the superintendent of District 4. I proposed to start a school that was like a good private school: small — about 100 students, never getting above 250 — with a hand-picked staff and plenty of autonomy.

Q: How were the first kids selected?

DM: A group of teachers and I went around to Head Start centers, parents' meetings, and put up signs in laundries. The first day of school we had thirty-five students.

Q: How quickly did the school grow?

DM: By Christmas we had eighty-five kids. Today 260 children are enrolled in the first school, but there are now three schools like ours in East Harlem.

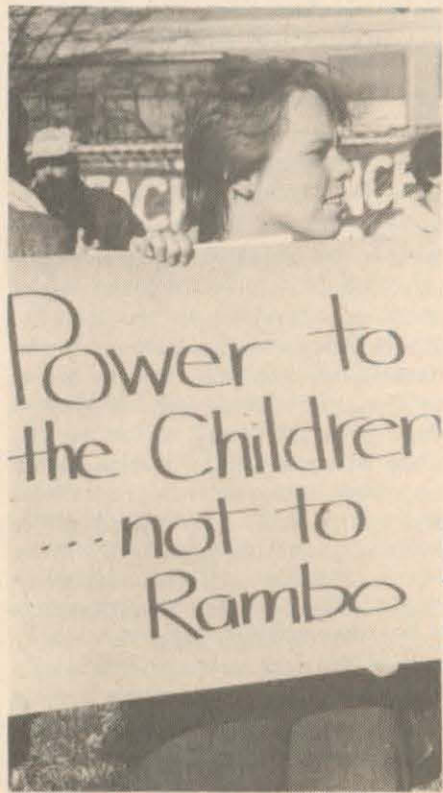


Photo by David Vito/Impact Visuals

The combined population at all four schools is about 700. And that doesn't include our latest addition, a 7th-12th grade secondary school! The majority of our student population is black and Hispanic, with white students making up about 25 percent. In both Brooklyn and the Bronx, parents whose kids could not get into our schools have now convinced their Boards to start similar programs.

Q: Doesn't this kind of reform lead to another kind of elitism, where more informed and sophisticated parents get what they want and the rest are stuck in the worst schools?

DM: Every strategy has risks. Only staying with what we have is predictable — a predictable disaster. The question is not to abandon all fruitful paths but to develop ways to reduce the risks. First, families that seek "alternatives" to the nearest neighborhood schools are usually people with children who are doing poorly, not parents whose children are doing well. Without any effort on our part we could have filled our schools with children referred to us by other schools and agencies, or responded only to the desperate pleas of lost and hopeless families. But we sought to build a school that served those kids and everyone else as well.

Yes, "creaming" can be a danger, but it can be controlled if the city wants to. The more choices families have, of course, the less serious it is if they don't make their first choice. We give priority to local children at our schools, and since family relations are so critical, we also give automatic priority to siblings.

Q: Is this the answer to "white flight" or keeping middle class parents in the school districts?

DM: There is, incidentally, flight by lower income and black parents too. CPE schools could easily be 100 percent white or 100 percent professional middle class. It is true that those are the parents who have the most leisure and the most access to information. Solutions that keep these more powerful groups in our schools, while letting the rest suffer in silence may serve certain short run educational and political ends. But such a policy is intolerably cruel and unproductive in the long run. Too many efforts to stem "white flight" are guilty of that. Many programs for the "intellectually gifted" are simply programs to bribe certain parents to keep their kids in public schools by labeling them gifted and creating schools or protected classes for them.

Before we attack choice within pub-

lic schools as a form of elitism, let's look at the far more widespread and pernicious use of tracking and "gifted" programs. When the two overlap we can legitimately call "foul play," but only if we also do so when they are disguised forms of choice.

Q: Are there any legitimate reasons to have special classes for "gifted" children, or tracking in any form?

DM: I don't think there is, and I do think that those who disagree should be required to respond to the voluminous evidence about the impact of tracking. At its best, tracking seems to have an indifferent impact on top students. At its worst, it has a disastrous impact on those in the bottom tracks. All those wonderful lists of things "gifted" students need are precisely what every child needs.

Finally, there are no definitions of gifted now in use that are not by nature inextricably intertwined with race and class biases. The IQ test, in particular, is simply a mislabeled attitude plus achievement test with a narrow range of "right" answers. Of course, there are many times when one groups for this or that particular purpose, or offers courses on an interest basis, but we should never lose sight of the negative impact labeling has on most of our youngsters.

Q: What do you think of Joe Clark, New Jersey's controversial principal?

DM: Clark's popularity is primarily a reflection of the way he has been adopted by the media. Given the kind of media coverage he has received, it was probably natural that two quite opposite groups came to his defense. Some people cheered him on because his contemptuous treatment of black teenagers reflected their own racism. It was hardly a surprise that Reagan embraced him and his tactics. Clark's view of school failures — mostly young black males — as leeches and animals, his disregard of their legal and civil rights, and his acceptance of the notion that power rests in the club and

the bullhorn, made respectable their own similar views. On the other hand, many blacks also came to his defense. Clark was seen in contrast to too many other principals, whose passivity in face of disastrous school conditions reflects another form of racism. At least he acts!

The amount of attention the media paid to him, however, is truly despicable. There are thousands of marvelous educators, including principals, who have made a real dent in children's lives, by creating truly educational environments based on respect for learning and for caring for others. They are never in such spotlights.

Q: What do you think of New York's new Schools Chancellor, Dr. Richard Green?

DM: What do I hope for from Richard Green? I hope that he eliminates constraints, as opposed to mandating more of them. I hope he finds mechanisms for increasing school site autonomy and for providing more direct funds accessible to the collective wisdom of individual school communities. Accountability of the sort that well-meaning state legislators, governors and even good chancellors often get enticed into are precisely the wrong kind — top-down, with reliance on a set of misleading "measurements." They lead neither to good reform nor to real accountability! If we gave up every accountability scheme that educators now respond to, we would lose nothing. The truth is that I'm not accountable at all, although I am forever dealing with someone's latest idea of how to hold me accountable! These top-down reforms exhaust our energies, divert our attention, and, in the end, are shams.

Probably the biggest impact Green can have is setting the intellectual agenda, the topics for discussion, the vocabulary of public discourse. It is a very important kind of power. Green can use it to keep New Yorkers talking about education, and talking about it in different



terms than they are accustomed to.

Q: Both Clark and Green are black, and so are a majority of the students they work for. Is this very important in the way they can be effective? Is it, or should it be, an important consideration in selecting leaders, principals and teachers?

DM: It has to be a consideration. There is simply no question that our society treats the education of its least powerful students with less respect (and less money) than its more powerful. Under such circumstances, black and Hispanic communities would be remiss not to question the relationship between a predominately white power structure in a system of largely nonwhite students.

However, we also know (e.g., Chicago) that the same can happen in a system with a largely black professional and even lay leadership. And we know that black teachers have no clear record of accomplishing more than white teachers, although I suspect that there are gains children get from black and Hispanic teachers that don't show up on our usual measuring rods.

The trouble is that we're usually comparing one bad system to another. This kind of "control group" study where you discover that just altering the racial composition of the staff doesn't matter much supports the need for fundamental and systemic reform. What it doesn't prove is that more black and Hispanic teachers are not needed.

When we imagine schools in which mutually respectful conversations are encouraged between parents and professional, both with some power, as is the case in CPE schools, the impact of race would be more *and* less important. It would be less important because it could be discussed, because parents could make decisions about individual teacher trustworthiness based on knowing them and their work. But the absence, for example, of black teachers in a school filled with black children, simply *has* to say something to kids. Besides the white staff would be impoverished in its capacity to understand and grow intellectually without such teachers. Precisely where teachers have more power, the importance of an integrated staff would become more, important.

Q: It is obvious to me that your socialist vision and politics have had an effect on your educational views. How would you explain the relationship between the two?

DM: It takes place on many different



Photo by Steve Caram Impact Visuals

United Federation of Teachers demonstrate against Reagan's policies.

levels. Since socialism is all about creating a world in which people can influence their own destinies — about expanding democracy — my definition of good schooling is uncannily like a definition of socialism.

While schools cannot by themselves change society, they are a powerful part of the society. They impact on the growth of the kind of habits of heart and mind that encourage people to take part in designing their own future. A good school, one which leaves all its participants with greater respect for their families and communities, can be a contributing force for social change.

Working in schools has helped me understand social change by helping me to understand and respect people's conservatism, their resistance to novelty, and their insistence on continuity. I respect "traditionalism" more, as I have struggled to create an innovative school. I have even come to regard children's resistance to learning as worthy of respect; if we were as easy to change as teachers and do-gooders would like, we would long since have succumbed to tyrants and dictators.

What democratic schools should not be is a place to indoctrinate. The ground on which we must fight relates to the "hows" of a good learning environment, not the details of "what." Our task is not to get the students to agree with us. That would be a sham victory at best, and a cheap and dirty one at worst.

We see schools as civic institutions with a public function. The nature of this public function needs to be talked about, it needs to be made visible and debatable. Otherwise, we lose sight of our goals and we end up with a city in which 65 percent of the kids now score "above grade level", but few can read entire books, most love learning less than when they began school, and both successes and failures share a cynical view about society and their potential role within it. These are the facts that are more of an indictment of our system than the drop-out rate. If kids were dropping out to do worthy things, I wouldn't be alarmed. Instead they drop out of school because they see school as merely another dead-end. They are unengaged, uncommitted, and in quiet despair. That's what's really troubling, or should be.

Desegregating

continued from page 4

strategy for improving inner-city education. Democrats in Congress seem eager to spend more money on low-income housing. If the Democrats also recapture the White House, a major new housing initiative is likely. But unless we are careful, this initiative could easily do more harm than good.

If we want poor children to end up in racially and economically integrated schools, we must adopt housing policies that deliberately encourage successful families to remain in poor neighborhoods, while making it easier for poor families to leave. We might, for example, subsidize home mortgages for non-poor families in neighborhoods with poverty rates above 20 percent, while restricting rent subsidies to neighborhoods with poverty rates below 15 percent.

We also need a new approach to large public housing projects. These projects were a mistake to begin with, and we need to find ways of phasing them out of existence. Pushing large numbers of very poor families together in a single project will never produce a decent environment for children, no matter what else we do.

No one contemplates building more of these projects. New federal funds will go for small, scattered-site projects, for housing vouchers, or most likely, for "Section 8," certificates which subsidize low-income tenants in economically mixed apartment buildings.

But while everyone now recognizes that the big projects were a mistake, there is no consensus about phasing them out, because nobody knows where the tenants would go. As a result, almost everyone, liberal or conservative, prefers to think about something else.

If we approach the problem gradually, however, we can solve it. Instead of tearing the projects down, we should try to make them more like "normal" housing. This means attracting — and renting to — an economically mixed group of residents. If Congress were to remove the rent and income restrictions for new tenants, local housing authorities could raise rents and bring in a more economically diverse group of residents. The middle class will not, of course, flock to these projects no matter what the rent is. But if some units were rented at market value, the projects could become a lot more eco-

nomically diverse than they now are.

If rents were higher, local housing authorities could also repair the buildings, which would make it possible to attract even better tenants. If the projects begin to attract families that were not destitute, they should eventually generate some surplus income, which cities could then use to subsidize low-income housing elsewhere. At the same time, poor tenants in the existing projects would have a much better physical and human environment.

But none of this is likely to happen unless those who worry about housing the poor and the homeless pay more attention than they now do to the social costs of residential segregation. Most of those who worry about housing still think largely in physical terms. They want to build a lot of "affordable" housing (which means subsidized housing) as quickly as possible, and they want to get as many units as possible from whatever funds Congress will appropriate. It is both easier and cheaper to build subsidized

housing in poor neighborhoods, where there is no political resistance and land is cheap. We need to stop and think about what happens to children who grow up in such neighborhoods.

If we cannot get a federal housing policy that promotes racial and economic desegregation, we should at least stop subsidizing segregation. Instead of bribing the poor to live where we can't see them, we would do better to stop spending public money on housing and spend it on programs with less damaging side-effects. More generous food stamp allotments, Medicaid coverage for the working poor, universal health insurance for children, and a bigger Earned Income Tax Credit are obvious possibilities. Programs of this kind would not attack segregation directly, but at least they would not encourage it. ●

Christopher Jencks teaches sociology at Northwestern University and is the author of Who Gets Ahead (Basic Books; 1979).

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Minority Crisis In Higher Education

By Reginald Wilson

Until as recently as twenty years ago, higher education in America was overwhelmingly a white male province. Although it remains considerably the same today, the changes that have occurred are the consequence of the accretion of policies developed and implemented since World War II. Before the war Latinos were nearly invisible in academia and blacks were mainly in the historically black colleges. Women's numbers in the student body actually diminished after the war with the surge of veterans occupying the available slots. However, the initial changes in the diversification of the student body began with the availability of G.I. Bill grants that gave a significant number of black and Latino veterans opportunities for higher education never available before in American history.

Moreover, the decade of opportunity between 1964 and 1974 can be traced to the consequences of the civil rights movement and the laws enacted to make actual the intent of that movement. One needs simply to recite the names and dates: The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 affirmative action Executive Order 11246, the 1967 Executive Order 11375 prohibiting sex discrimination, the 1972 *Adams* decision dismantling segregated higher education systems, and Title IX of the 1972 Education Act prohibiting sex discrimination in "any federally assisted program." The climate for social change created by the federal executive branch coupled with sanctions for resisting such change, propelled higher education toward significantly increasing opportunities for minority students, faculty and administrators. For example, between 1960 and 1980, the number of black students doubled from 600,000 to 1.2 million, with most of that growth occurring in predominantly white institutions. The number of Latinos also increased substantially.



Photo by Marilyn Humphries/Impact Visuals

Student take-over of New African House at University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Most demographic indicators identify 1976 as the approximate peak year of black participation in all levels of higher education. From 1976 to 1982, despite a 25 percent increase in high-school graduation rates, blacks declined 11 percent in participation in undergraduate education. From 1976 to 1978, overall black enrollment in public doctorate-granting universities declined from 104,000 to 99,700. During that same period full-time black graduate students declined by 5.3 percent (9.5 percent for first-year students), although professional school numbers, at the same time, increased by 2.2 percent. Overall, the black percentage of total graduate students declined from 6 percent in 1976 to 5.5 percent in 1980, while black professional-school students increased from 4.5 percent in 1976 to 4.6 percent in 1980. Much discussion in higher education circles has been devoted to the alleged mass flight of black graduate students from academic study (PH.D.s) to professional study (law and medical degrees) for supposedly pecuniary reasons. While some shift has occurred,

as the data indicate, that shift does not account for the overall loss. We are dealing with an absolute decline in the number of black graduate students which parallels the decline at the undergraduate level.

The National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities is quite straightforward in its assessment of the principal reason for black underrepresentation: "The failure to attain equity in graduate and professional education is a direct result of the decline in civil rights incentives. Systemic and institutional barriers persist because there is little direction from the federal government on equal opportunity." In the five years since that statement was written, one can say that the direction from the federal government is clear — it has been consistently and systemically moving toward the dismantling of those laws, programs and executive orders which undergirded the civil rights programs of the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, the administration's economic and education policies have

served both to worsen the economic situation of poor and disadvantaged people and to place higher education increasingly out of their reach.

Between 1980 and 1984, the share of national income received by the lowest fifth of the population (where most minorities are) declined from 4.9 percent to 4.7 percent. In 1980, families in poverty paid 1.9 percent of their income in federal taxes. In 1985, families in poverty paid 10.1 percent of their income in federal taxes. Between 1980 and 1984, the availability of student aid grants as a percentage of total financial aid declined from 55 percent to 41 percent. Also during these years, available financial aid declined by 21 percent in constant dollars, while college tuition increased by 11 percent. Reagan administration budget recommendations have regularly recommended the elimination or reduction of funds for Pell grants and compensatory education programs that have benefited minorities particularly in higher education. But perhaps more devastating than the active opposition of the Reagan administration to civil rights is the national climate that thus has been created, that gives sanction to overt bigotry and racism not as openly witnessed in this country in twenty years.

The policies of this administration both in the economic arena as well as in student financial aid bear responsibility for a major share of the decline in minority student participation in higher education. The tragic impact of those policies will have consequences for years to come in efforts to increase minority students, faculty and administrators in collegiate institutions.

It is important to note that even before college entry, many minorities have already been eliminated in high school with high drop-out rates, inadequate academic programs, and dispirited fellow students and teachers with low expectations. Those who survive such environments are often minimally prepared for alien and indifferent college campuses.

In the 1960s, social progress for minorities was a consequence of a worldwide movement of rising expectations for Third World people all over the globe, which was reflected in the civil rights movement in the United States. Laws dismantling official segregation and special programs to assist access were primarily responsible for advances in minority higher education. Aggressive recruitment resulted in greater student diversity because the government required it.

For the past seven years the government has not only not required enforcement of the laws but has worked actively to try to overturn those laws and programs — affirmative action, desegregation, academic support programs, and financial aid. Higher education, despite being the alleged intellectual leader of American society, has never taken leadership in the inclusion of minorities in its rank. The message of the Reagan administration that it will work to turn back the social justice clock for minorities was not lost on our colleges and universities. Without the threat of federal sanctions, aggressive recruitment has declined and minority numbers have declined with it. At the same time that numbers are declining we are seeing an increase in the number of racial incidents on college campuses ranging from racial slurs to beatings and rapes. Racism at the University of Michigan and racism at Howard Beach flourish in the same environment.

The responsibility of committed progressive students is clear. After a period of some quiescence on campuses, students in the early 1980s began to coalesce around the issue of apartheid and demonstrated for university divestment from companies doing business with South Africa. Many of these same alliances broadened to opposing CIA recruitment on campuses and protesting Star Wars research. However, while these exemplary activities on the part of progressive students were going on, minorities were disappearing from campuses. Progressive students must challenge university admission and recruitment policies just as they challenge apartheid. Progressives must demand increased minority faculty just as they demand divestment. Progressives must oppose racially-motivated attacks on minorities on campus just as they opposed the CIA. Progressives should not tolerate an all-white campus any more than they would tolerate an all-white society.

Racially motivated attacks have not been directed just at black students, although they are victims in the majority of cases. Attacks and slurs have been directed at Latinos, Jews, and Asians as well. The potential for coalitions of students around this issue can perhaps broaden to include other issues. Moreover, the support of progressive faculty should be solicited to aid students in working on these issues.

The situation of the decline of minorities on college campuses is a national

crisis. That is bad news. The good news is that progressive students and academics can use this crisis to unite to work collectively to help resolve it. ●

Reginald Wilson is the Director of Minority Concerns at the American Council on Education.

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REVIEW

Two Laments

By Robert Lekachman

THE CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND, by Allan Bloom. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987. \$18.95, hardcover.

THE LAST INTELLECTUALS by Russell Jacoby. New York: Basic Books, 1987. \$18.95, hardcover.

Let us dispose speedily of Allan Bloom. His mysteriously applauded screed consists mostly of assaults upon rock music, popular culture in general, and above all faculty abandonment of curricular coherence and the common values of Western civilization. His text is laden with famous names. Indeed, if you haven't recently been entertaining yourself with such Greek dramatists as Aristotle, Plato, St. Augustine, Dante, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Heidegger, Hegel, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Montesquieu, and John Stuart Mill, you will encounter troubles of comprehension similar to those caused by efforts to grapple with the learned conversations in a novel by Saul Bellow, who incidentally contributes an introduction rather more in praise of himself than of his Chicago colleague Bloom.

According to Bloom, the mission of the university is forever identified with Plato's vision in *The Republic* of a society governed by philosopher kings, wise and disinterested enough to keep the rabble under control. In 20th century America, elite universities have defaulted out of cowardice in meeting their responsibility to indoctrinate the young and intellectually gifted with the Great Books of western civilization. Hope of cultural renewal depends upon requiring young barbarians to concentrate upon the great utterances of philosophers, political thinkers, and literary geniuses. Ideally, small groups will assemble around Bloom clones and read, alas in translation, the powerful inspirations of western thought.

Nothing is new in Bloom. Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer Adler preached this gospel half a century ago. Great books are the mainstay of Chicago and Columbia undergraduate requirements and the entire curriculum at St. Johns in Maryland. The only mystery surrounds the enormous commercial success of this pretentious, turgid, and utterly unoriginal polemic.

In graceful, unassuming prose Russell Jacoby identifies a very different failure of the academy. He poses a sharp question: where are the successors to Lewis Mumford, Irving Howe, Edmund Wilson, Daniel Bell, Michael Harrington, John Kenneth Galbraith, C. Wright Mills, Rachel Carson, Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy, Lionel Trilling, Hannah Arendt, Robert Heilbroner, and even myself? As independents or faculty members, this group, aging and dead, spoke to the book reading public in intelligible English prose on important public themes. Jacoby bemoans the failure of younger writers to extend this tradition. Who writes books like Edmund Wilson's *To The Finland Station*, Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*, and Harrington's *The Other America*?

Jacoby identifies several reasons for the nonemergence of new public intellectuals. One is the decline of Greenwich Village and other bohémias as conversational meccas and group reinforcements for freelance intellectuals. Another is the disappearance of outlets for new essays, fiction, and poetry, at least those periodicals which paid contributors modest fees for their work. As the media have become increasingly concentrated and general interest magazines have yielded to journals focused upon health, money, gossip, and almost anything else from tennis to gardening, young writers can sell serious work in very few places.

The prime villain, however, is the university. As economic exigency forces young scholars into competition for tenure, they are compelled to adjust themselves to departmental expectations. These include publication in mainstream professional journals, "collegiality," and extreme caution in public utterance. Harvard denied tenure to Paul Starr, a Pulitzer Prize winner for his *Transformation of American Medicine*, at least partly on the ground that he sought a wide public audience and worse still got it, rather than publish unreadable technical articles.

By the time tenure is achieved, its proud winner has usually internalized professional norms, forgotten how to write for the public, and abandoned his/her ambition to do so. Jacoby's case is depressingly plausible. One can of course quibble. Lester Thurow, Juliet Schor, Frances Fox Piven, Robert Reich, and William Julius Wilson address general audiences interested in economics and politics. No doubt there are promising young scholars in other fields with whom I am less familiar. But in the main, Jacoby, alas, has it right. Too bad that half a million people have bought Bloom and perhaps 10,000 will do the same for Jacoby. ●

Robert Lekachman, DSA member, is the author of *Visions and Nightmare: America After Reagan* (New York: McMillan, 1987).

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April 8,9,10, 1988

Borough of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
199 Chamber St. & Westside Hwy (nr. Trade Center), NYC

PLENARIES

FRIDAY APRIL 8, 7:30 PM

Ray Rodgers, Corporate Campaign
Nomonde Ngubo, South African Mine Workers Rep to U.M.W.
Barbara Ehrenreich, Co-chair, Democratic Socialists of America

SATURDAY APRIL 9, 5:00 PM

Stanley Aronowitz, Author, *Science As Power*
Luciana Castelina, Member, European Parliament
Paul Robeson, Jr., Journalist
Daniel Singer, Author, *The Road To Gdansk*
Pablo Casanova Gonzalez, Prof., Autonomous Univ. of Mexico (U.N.A.M.)

SUNDAY, APRIL 10, 5:00 PM

Joseph Murphy, Chancellor, City University of New York
Frances Fox Piven, Co-Author, *The New Class War*
Cornel West, Author, *Prophesy Deliverance*
Bogdan Denitch, Author, *The Legitimization Of A Revolution*

1988 Registration Form

Make checks payable to "Socialist Scholars Conference" and mail to: R.L. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialists Club, Rm. 801, 33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036. (For information, please call 212-606-4226)

Preregistration: _____ \$17.50 _____ \$10.00
(student/low income)

Regular Registration: _____ \$25.00 _____ \$12.50
(student/low income)

Professional Childcare available during the day on Saturday and Sunday.

I need childcare for _____ children.

*Community Jobs,
the George Washington University Community
Action Network,
the Georgetown University Public Service Center,
and the Youth Action Project
invite all concerned to:*

Careers in Social Change

*A national conference featuring socially responsible career opportunities—
alternatives to big business and government*

Friday-Saturday April 8 & 9, 1988

George Washington University, Washington, DC

- Keynote address by Ralph Nader
- Panel discussion on our call to social justice featuring prominent activists
- Social change workshops
- Alternative career fair
- Housing, dinner and dance w/live band

Conference fee: Regular \$15 Student \$11
+housing and dinner

For questions and registration forms, call
(202) 331-7816