



The Evolution of a Confrontation

It all started in the 1967 annual conference of ACAC in Minneapolis. Negro members of NSSFNS observed that, apart from a few cautious circumventions of the problems of the "disenchanted/disadvantaged," the conference program was primarily of the whites, by the whites, and for the whites. Most everyone agreed in principle that this was a situation that needed correction.

The 1968 program committee worked closely with Hugh Lane and the NSSFNS to bring about at least some visible black involvement to the conference in New York. NSSFNS maintained a hospitality suite in the Americana Hotel. The results were encouraging but still only "token." Keynote speaker Whitney Young referred to the Negro representation as "the few black faces you have sprinkled around in the audience" and said: "This convention should be ringing with resolutions that would lift man out of the enormous mass and make him a human being with dignity."

Julianne N. King, volunteer coordinator of the College Advisory Program, Cook County Dept. of Public Aid, attended the panels in New York related to the "disadvantaged" and "seldom found anyone wholeheartedly committed to the premise that colleges have this particular social responsibility." She observed "lip service from some, shrewd awareness of the financial benefits to small colleges from others, discussions about middle-class kids who couldn't make it through the normal admissions procedures and pressure groups consisting of overwrought parents and alumni." In other words, the disadvantaged were still disenfranchised.

So the 1969 program committee took its cue from a February, 1968, seminar at San Mateo College in California in which Negroes and *Chicanos* together formed a separate caucus, passed a set of resolutions and read them at the final session. Benjamin W. McKendall, Jr., Dean of Admissions at Reed College, a member of the planning committee at San Mateo, reported: "The seminar was, we believe, the first of its kind. It was a volatile session, illuminating, controversial, discomfiting, and necessary."

As chairman of the program committee for the 1969 annual conference of NACAC, Benjamin McKendall and the program committee, anticipating takeover tactics by a number of dissident groups at the Chicago conference, designed a program to include many of the potential dissenters. Information about the conference reached members of the Council on College Attendance, a responsible Chicago organization recently formed for the purpose of assisting Negro students in their efforts to enter college. The CCA proposed a set of resolutions to be presented and discussed at the conference. One CCA member served on the program committee. Others came to the conference as representatives of member institutions or were admitted to the conference through the Sample Membership Program established by the Executive Board at its February, 1969, meeting. Also, many friends of CCA serving with community action groups based in and out of Chicago attended the conference as guests of the Association.

Without approval of the NACAC program committee or Executive Board, the CCA made up this set of 16 resolutions which they distributed and promoted throughout the conference sessions:

"NACAC INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

1. That either 10% of each member's undergraduate student body be composed of minority students and, of that number, 6% be high risk; or, the use of the new federal guidelines as set down by the Supreme Court for the desegregation of public schools be utilized.
2. That institutions of higher learning that are members of ACAC should not receive Federal Funds unless there is proportional representation of minority-group persons on every level of institutional activity, including the student body, faculty, administration, and governing boards.
3. That each member institution have in its admission policy, statements as an affirmative-action clause indicating what the school's program is for minority students.



- That NACAC set up a national committee (of which $\frac{1}{3}$ would be black/brown) to write guidelines for interpretation of the above statements.

FINANCIAL AID

- That all members of NACAC make appropriations out of their normal operating budgets for the recruitment and financing of minority students; that amount should finance 10% of their student body.
- That all federal-aid programs for minority students be viewed as "additional" money, in order to increase their number over 10%.
- That grades be excluded as a factor in determining financial aid.
- That a twelve-month year be considered in assessing financial aid.
- That upon acceptance of minority/poverty students, the institution make a total commitment to them in non-academic student-relative areas, as well as in academic areas.

ADMISSIONS

- That the admission of marginal students be determined by a special committee (which should include black/brown students) that are sensitive to the needs and problems of minority students.
- That these students not be required to take admission exams.
- That they should be assured at least two years in which to adjust to the university environment.
- That extensive supportive services be given to all minority students to insure successful college careers.
- That all of the above resolutions become a part of the NACAC policy.
- That all ACAC members be obligated to incorporate these resolutions into their institutional policies regarding the above areas, if they are to maintain membership in the organization.
- That there be a national on-going committee with sub-committees in each state to see that each resolution is carried out with the obligation to make all reports public regarding the actions of each institution in the above areas.



"In conclusion, the meaning of the above resolutions fall well within the purposes and principles of ACAC. The question is, how will the National Association of College Admissions Counselors specifically respond to this challenge?"

Thursday morning the confrontation got off on a high plane with the talk by Antonia Pantoja, the lady from Puerto Rico and founder of ASPIRA. It was continued an hour later in more pungent terms by Luis Valdez, Director of Teatro Campesino Cultural in Fresno, speaking for the *Chicano* in America. The afternoon session came as a surprise to most, as the scheduled keynote, Julian Bond, cancelled his appearance at the last minute and was replaced by Preston Wilcox, controversial Harlem leader.

The talk that ultimately became the keynote address in retrospect was delivered with strength and eloquence at the banquet Thursday evening by Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. His presentation was enhanced by the appearance on the same program of "The Spirit of Soul" choral group from Evanston Township High School under the direction of Avon Gillespie. The 22 youngsters, mixed black and white, underscored the fact that a human problem like integration-segregation can often approach a solution better through art than argument. At any rate the audience of over 1,500 conferees was better prepared for Senator Muskie's message because of the inspirational presentation of these youngsters.

The talks delivered by the four participants on Thursday are reproduced here, reduced in length but not in substance, with comments from the membership in the center column. The comments were taken from letters addressed to officers of the Association and the Executive Director or from the Conference Evaluation Forms which carry no signatures.



"The Spirit of Soul"

Avon Gillespie

ANTONIA PANTOJA



In the early 1960's, it was sorely evident that this country had a social revolution running parallel to the atomic and electronic upheaval in the scientific world—a revolution of the minorities, the deprived or excluded groups of this society which include not only the poor, the racial, or cultural minorities, but also youth. Each sector of this large group has used varied methodology to bring about change in their common condition, their powerlessness, silence, inability to practice in the positions that affect, make, or undo their lives.

We the Puerto Ricans in the United States are one of the cultural or racial component groups participating in the social revolution of the 1960's. Our situation has been found to be one of extreme poverty, of powerlessness, of lack of knowledge of the political, social, and financial structure and processes in this country, of lack of knowledge of the language, of lack of possession of the skills and education to successfully penetrate established order. The terrible part of our situation is that the opportunities to obtain skills and education are unattainable by Puerto Ricans as a group.

In the middle of the 1950's a group of Puerto Rican New Yorkers who had been educated in New York City, organized as Puerto Ricans for the purpose of grappling with the idea of identifying and devising solutions for their problems. The Americans of this organization, the Puerto Rican Forum, marked the beginning of a way of thinking among Puerto Ricans in New York which initiated the social revolution.

Puerto Rican New Yorkers need to organize Puerto Rican organizations which in turn will establish Puerto Rican institutions, service agencies, schools, financial institutions, etc. The Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., was one of the first organizations to call itself Puerto Rican, to openly speak of being an association for Puerto Ricans. The usual name for

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COMMENTS

We feel that the ACAC conference this year was prostituted in planning and in execution. We hope that the organization in the future will provide balanced, effective programming and presentations.—Robert D. Lynn, President, The Hutchison School.



There was little need to use the methods Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Valdez employed. No audience of reasonable, intelligent men and women needs to be addressed in such language. Four-letter words are out-of-place before such a group—particularly when half the audience is composed of ladies . . . the efforts of the CCA and their 10% plan is a case of pure regimentation.—Robert S. Lyle, Headmaster, The Hockaday School.



Six years ago I became an admissions officer. Each year since then I have left the annual meeting with a renewed sense of dedication and an appreciation of the purposes of the organization. It is with this appreciation still uppermost in my mind that I now express my regret and deep concern for the confusion of purposes.—Sister M. Raphaelita, C.S.C., Director of Admissions, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ind.



Hoorah for Wisconsin! They gave us Bob LaFollette, William Proxmire, Gaylord Nelson, and now the Wisconsin Resolutions passed by the NACAC Assembly.—Dyer Moss, Florida Presbyterian College.



I regard this convention as a vast improvement over preceding years. The panel discussions and individuals we met or heard were often infuriating, often dogmatic, often uninformed, but rarely dull.—Herbert B. Livesey, Director of Admissions, New York University.



In my admissions work I spend much time recruiting black students for the college and providing them with guidance and counseling. For me this work is important and receives a high priority on my time. I am not a "racist." I went to Chicago well-disposed toward hearing the problems and proposed solutions for minority groups seeking a college education. I came away less enthusiastic than when I went.—Rev. James W. Moore, S.J., Director of Admissions, St. Joseph's College.



LUIS VALDEZ



Today is the ninth of October. In three days this country will traditionally celebrate what is known as Columbus Day. Throughout Latin America it is called *El Dia de la Raza*, which means the day of the race. We *Chicanos* in the American Southwest prefer to call ourselves *La Raza*, representing myriad tribes scattered across the face of Mexico and part of Guatemala when the white man arrived to these shores.

We are called Mexican-Americans. It's a name used by recognized authorities to describe our people. The name itself is an historical lie that lies at the very foundation of everything that has moved against our people or any of the non-white peoples in what is called America. Let's look at the word America. Any grammar-school child knows that it derives from the name of Americus Vespucci, an Italian navigator with Columbus, later a cartographer, who charted the unknown regions of South America and put them on the map. For some reason Columbus was evaded and denied the privilege of having his name honored as the name for this new world that he had presumably discovered.

By all rights, the name should have gone to Christopher Columbus and this should have been Columbia. But by even greater right—and it sometimes takes the white man a little time to recognize this right—it should have been named after something that was already here, something indigenous, something native, something basic, something for instance like Mexico which was here, which did exist.

So who are Americans?

The people in Latin America don't often get a chance to call themselves *Americanos* because it usually refers to people from the United States. Americans are people who live in North, South, or Central America. We are all *Americanos*. You can't claim the name "American" for yourself—right? Claim North American. Who are the North Americans? North America is Mexico, Canada, Puerto Rico,

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Antonia Pantoja

many groups in those days was Spanish, Latin, or Pan-American, even when all or almost all their members were Puerto Rican. Not only groups hid under the umbrella of Hispanic or Latin, but individuals would not admit to being Puerto Rican and would call themselves Spanish or Latin. We learned that change efforts are only possible when the group affected is organized in a homogeneous association. The inclusion of those who inflict the problem weakens and defeats the change effort.

The second point that we had to make was that Puerto Ricans will define themselves racially, politically, socially. We will not accept the names, descriptions, roles, places to live, image, or identity assigned to us by the total society. The Puerto Rican experts have not been Puerto Rican; they have been people who have gone about defining and assigning roles to us. For example, people have been mixed up about our racial identity. Many of them concluded to make a new race so that in many serious books you will find three columns: Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other. These are the three races. We are Negroes, we are white people, we are mixed people, we are red in blood mixture. In our Puerto Rican organization we are going about identifying that fact. In terms of identification politically, the political structures of the United States have made our decisions. We are supposed to be in the pocket of one of the political parties and because we are already in their pocket, we receive no attention from them. And we receive no attention from the other party because they conclude there is no use.

Many sociologists and anthropologists conclude that we have no culture. That is a strange statement because culture is anything that has happened to a people and we have a history that dates from the Taino Indians, and the Spaniards who came from the other side of the world and mixed with those Indians and brought their culture, a culture that dated to the fourth century after Christ. And then we have some African Negroes that were brought in when the slave trade was going on, and brought in another culture that pre-dated Columbus.

This process of healthy identification led to a rejection of politicians who claimed to represent us. These were Americans who had visited Puerto Rico and lived among Puerto Ricans in New York or they were Spaniards who came to power in the electoral process, and became experts about Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans started to call themselves Puerto Rican and there was even a successful fight to call a parade down

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CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU ON SUCCESS OF NACAC CHICAGO MEETINGS CULMINATING IN WHAT I READ TODAY IN OCTOBER 20 ISSUE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION RE CCA'S RESOLUTION PASSED BY ASSEMBLY OCTOBER 11th CHATHAM AND ADMISSIONS STAFF ARE PROUD AND HAPPY TO BE A MEMBER OF NACAC. —PEGGY DONALDSON, DIRECTOR OF ADMISSIONS, CHATHAM COLLEGE



In 40 years of living, and not just existing, I have been fortunate to have had all types of experiences. I have lived in slum areas and ghettos. I have visited 45 of the 50 states, some 12 foreign countries, and in general have travelled more than half a million miles, but in all my years I have never heard a talk given by one, who supposedly was an educated individual, that was so degrading, so utterly disgusting, and so thoroughly without justification. [Wilcox] What is more irritating is the amount of so-called educated people who are incapsulated in their own little ivory towers that they find no courage but to cling to their every word, no matter how crude, and to applaud this cheap performance.—George A. Tricolos, Guidance Coordinator, Central High School, Fort Wayne, Ind.



After people have a chance to settle back, think, and observe the impact and long-range effects of this conference, it will go down in NACAC history as the one conference that really made us look beyond the transcript, beyond the application, beyond our desks, beyond our schools, and into the heart of our troubled society, and perhaps for the first time made many of us really aware that we are members of a powerful profession and a concerned and involved association.—Richard P. Mackey, Dean of Admissions, Northland College.



The speeches of Valdez and Muskie were stimulating to hear. Each was forceful and powerful in delivery.—Admissions Officer, Private College.



The conference hit an all-time low. Many panelists were unable to cover their topics because of rude, illiterate interruption.—High-school Counselor.



Mrs. Antonia Pantoja was an absolute delight. She was superb in all respects, but I would have to say that the next two speakers, Valdez and Wilcox, were the most gross kind of insulting characters to both their predecessor on the program, and to the audience. . . . I attempted one or two sessions with the student-panelists holding sway, and I am rather sick and tired of hearing from immature, spoiled brats, who continue to tell us how lousy the colleges are and that we are doing nothing to effect change in the country.—Robert G. Rogers, Associate Dean of Admission, Claremont Men's College/Harvey Mudd College.



Luis Valdez

Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Cuba, and the United States. That's right —Fidel Castro is a *Norte Americano*. So who are you then? You are trying to define us and fail to define yourselves. We can call you *gringo* but then the word itself has varied definitions throughout Latin America. In Mexico it is a negative term, in Paraguay it is a positive term. *Bolillos*?—it comes from the French occupation of Mexico at the time of Maximillian. The French came over with a biscuit they called what sounded like *bolillo*. The upper classes of Mexico became French overnight. It became very chic. So Mexico is divided between the *bolillo* eaters and the *tortilla* eaters. *Bolillos* were people that were white.

So who are you who are trying to define us? American from the very origin of the word to me means foreigner. There is nothing more American in the real meaning of the word than a Mexican because Mexico was here. Twenty-thousand years of civilization and culture! What did they do a long time ago? The Spanish were very surprised to find out that the residents of Tenochtitlan took baths every day and the chief took two baths a day. They were shocked to find that the streets in Tenochtitlan were clean and that they had a garbage disposal system and fresh running water. Of course, in Europe people didn't bathe in those days. Don't forget that they invented perfume in France. There is also that technique, of course, that the woman walked inside on the sidewalk close to the wall alongside the Elizabethan style of house that they had in London in those days. They used to throw garbage or the chamber pot out of the windows. The outside one was always the one that got it. That is very civilized. These were the people who came to teach our people civilization.

We did, of course, practice all kinds of things like human sacrifice and ritualistic cannibalism but I don't defend them and I don't apologize for them. Today, our own people as Catholics celebrate ritualistic cannibalism. I was born a Catholic. I am something else now but I still believe in God, and that God tells me that what the Catholics do is exactly what my ancestors used to do. When the Spanish people came they found my people eating an arm. It is no different than the Catholic who receives holy communion in the form of a symbolic little wafer of bread of the holy host in which he accepts the body and the blood of Christ . . . ritualistic cannibalism. We are not going to be convinced that our people were savages, our people who were able

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Fifth Avenue a "Puerto Rican Parade" which was previously organized as a Spanish parade. A book of short stories appeared about that same time in Spanish entitled "Spics" using the name we are called to offend us. A fight was instituted against the City College of New York City because they discriminated against Puerto Rican professors in their romance language department. If you are going to hire a professor to teach Spanish, it's best to hire an American who learns Spanish in school. The second best would be a Spaniard, because he will speak pure Castillian. You could hire a Colombian because Colombians are supposed to be the group that speak Spanish better. But Mexicans speak Mexican, Cubans speak Cuban, and Puerto Ricans speak Puerto Rican. And because of this, we found after a thorough study of certain practices in the romance language department of the City College, that there had been no Puerto Rican in any career position teaching Spanish. In fact, that year there was a Puerto Rican teaching Spanish who had made it a point to live in Spain long enough to sound like she was from Madrid, and that was how she was able to sneak in.

The organization of a national association that would fight discrimination emerged during this period—ASPIRA, which incorporated most of the philosophy and methodology of the new approach.

During this period, we found that the change which must occur in the society at large must result in the opening of opportunities for the entire Puerto Rican group and not exceptional members of the group, that to accept the entry of a few members of the group into the life of a community was to lose them and to lose the fight. Usually these were the "tokens" or "Uncle Toms" as the blacks call them who were used against their own groups once they were in.

In order to achieve change from our state of powerlessness, silence, and exclusion, there is a need to acquire power and the know-how to use this power. A poor people have power in their numbers if they are organized, if they have a philosophy. We found that we had a very good, organizational binding element—our language and our culture and heritage. So we organized associations and institutions where identity centered on our culture and language. We cannot ride the tail of the black movement or the *Chicano* movement. We have to have our own efforts.

We consider our situation similar to the blacks, the *Chicanos*, and poor whites

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Thursday . . . we were subjected to an entire day of repetition, a day of inflammatory, bigoted, non-professional speeches phrased in non-professional and, at times, vulgar terminology. The generalizations, the bigoted interpretations were in no way constructive. Saturday's morning session was of professional and practical value. The three students and Miss Archie were better than our keynote speakers. Too bad so many participants had already left for home and missed hearing them.—Admissions officer, Junior College.



Valdez and Wilcox were offensive to me and many of my colleagues. They were a poor substitute for Julian Bond. We can get the vulgarity and crudeness in film and on TV and don't have to travel hundreds of miles to be accosted in person.—Admissions officer, Private College.



A great advance for NACAC to choose such a critical conference theme. Hope the organization will respond to this challenge and not just leave it to the various institutions.—Guest.



Rated "of little value." Tedious, poorly prepared panels and speeches replete with gutter talk and boringly repetitious foul language. Any sensitive, intelligent person could have gotten the message in one hour. Three days of it was too much.—Admissions officer, Private College.



We were preached at and sworn at. They succeeded in jarring but not inspiring.—Admissions officer, Public College.



Wilcox and Valdez were most offensive and offered little to the program. When people expected to hear Julian Bond, to be accosted by this illiterate duo was a keen disappointment. Such speakers do little to improve human relations and human empathy.—Independent, secondary-school counselor.



Exposure to insult and choice of speakers with inadequate vocabularies made the conference much less than inspirational.—Admissions officer, Private College.



Whatever happened to the large group of students who enter college who don't classify as "minority" or "disadvantaged?" There are still areas of concern to be discussed.—Admissions officer, Private College.



Luis Valdez

to do all kinds of fantastic things before the white man arrived. Our people, the Mayans, were able to operate on the human brain, to repair broken arms with splints, to stitch together cuts in the body with human hair. They were a people who had all manner of medicine and astronomy and mathematics. The Mayans had zero, whereas the Greeks and the Romans did not and that is where the Mayans were able to calculate astronomical distances and chart the paths of the stars with numbers, which is something that neither Romans or Greeks could do. When the Aztecs had war the purpose was not to kill on the battlefield but to take captives. They killed them later on the pyramids but the purpose of war was a mighty ritual in the favor of the gods to see who would win and so the weapons weren't superior at all. They fought with bows and arrows and *macanas*—clubs with blades of glass imbedded in them. But the whole purpose was to take captives. And, of course, they didn't come out in armor; they came out dressed in feathers, one of the most brilliant *alhajeros* ever to appear in pre-Columbian America, dressed like an eagle with a shield. Heroic, as was the jaguar knight, with the skin of a jaguar.

This was a civilization that had an understanding of the movement of the stars, the heavens, and an understanding of the relationship between the cosmos and the humble crop, corn, which was grown. The villagers would go out into the fields and sing to the corn so that it might grow taller. This was naive or stupid to the Spaniards as you don't sing to a plant, but what does science tell us today?—that if you treat a plant kindly, it will grow taller. Or if you attach electrodes to a plant, and then, before the presence of the plant, you boil a live lobster, the plant will register something akin to a sympathetic feeling of pain. Yet perhaps as a people we did something wrong long ago and so our gods turned their backs on us. But the change has come. We're not a minority group. We are an ancient people. We look at ourselves in the mirror, and we see an Indian face. We must look into our souls because our souls have been attacked too, our spirits have been raped as well. We had our minds taken over and brain-washed. The American educational system has not helped in the least bit because it too has lied to us. It has lied to us about who we are. It has taught us that everything we had was nothing but savagery. It has obliterated every vision that we ever had about America, nature, and the world.

How do you know that the astronauts were the first men to go to the moon?

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in some aspect, insofar as we are poor, but we are a different people historically, culturally, linguistically. Whenever there is a problem for the black community, maybe as an afterthought you attach something for the Puerto Ricans. Many of you who are in colleges where they are developing a center for black studies find out that, if there are any Puerto Ricans in the college, somebody will say, "We'll put one course on Puerto Rican history and it will be taught by a non-Puerto Rican." So our efforts in our own behalf must be in our hands. There are areas of common cause where we can join hands with one another, but this should be done on specific issues.

Change must also take place in the majority community where decisions are made that affect our lives. We are very much aware of the many projects instituted to service us, projects which place the burden of the change only on us, the affected. We are also very much aware of the use of projects that offer service which are mainly "cooling" agents, efforts to help us adapt to our present situation, and get used to our assigned roles in the present order of things.

ASPIRA is an agency which attempts to develop through education a Puerto Rican leadership which will penetrate all levels of this society and, at the same time, preserve identification with and work toward the solution of the entire Puerto Rican group in this country.

We started in New York City and we have just received money to open up offices in Chicago, with an ASPIRA of Illinois, in Philadelphia with an ASPIRA of Pennsylvania, in Newark, with an ASPIRA of New Jersey, and in Puerto Rico, with an ASPIRA of Puerto Rico which is situated in San Juan and which aims to working with poor Puerto Ricans on the island. This is all coordinated under the banner of the ASPIRA of America. These offices of ASPIRA will be open to contact with you very soon. Through ASPIRA, Puerto Rican youths are motivated to remain in high school and are given the necessary guidance to continue their studies further in institutions of higher education. ASPIRA imparts to the youths the necessary motivation to achieve and to develop a healthy, positive image by finding identity as Puerto Ricans in their cultural backgrounds. You are one of the groups whom I call the gate-keepers, who have kept us out and have withheld one of the avenues to obtain and enjoy things offered by this society of higher education. Before ASPIRA existed very few Puerto Ricans from the United States could be

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The "Spirit of Soul" singers did the best job of communication. The program as a whole was extremely well conceived, though in practice there were problems.—*Douglas R. Price, Director of Admissions, St. John's College.*



Because of the incessant injection of the same theme in every panel discussion and major speech and the *ad nauseum* use of four-letter words in practically every presentation, by Thursday night I believe a great number of us had "had it."—*Admissions officer, Private and Public College.*



I feel that admissions officers were rudely treated and maligned, outrageously subjected to vilification which was undeserved. If anyone has been sensitive to the needs of the minority groups, admissions people have been, yet to observe their treatment in this conference you would think quite the opposite. It appeared to be a "scared" convention and how can anything constructive be brought forth in that kind of atmosphere? — *Independent, secondary-school counselor.*



The theme of the conference notwithstanding, the loading of panels with speakers with but one axe to grind angered me, not because of the minority topic, but because I do not like to be bullied or manipulated.—*E. J. Degyansky, Coordinator of Guidance, Lakewood (Ohio) High School.*



Who in their right mind approved of these selections? They were an insult to the intelligence of anyone present. Instead of promoting their cause they made people anti.—*High-school counselor.*



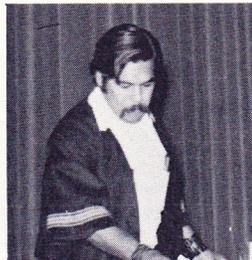
Luis Valdez was outstanding, marvelous, eloquent! The closing session was also great.—*Admissions officer, Private, Graduate College.*



Being chastised by the minority groups became tiresome and I fear that the program developed more backlash than concern for the blacks.—*Admissions officer, Private College.*



The banquet speech was outstanding. The whole rest of the conference I rate of little value due to heckling at every panel in an obvious effort to jam through the resolutions with filth from every podium by minority group representatives.—*Admissions officer, Public College.*



Luis Valdez

How do you know you need a rocket ship? There are whispers which are now called superstition that at one time our people could fly without anything. There are whispers that our people could change themselves into all kinds of animals. How do you know? You may have read a book by a young anthropologist, Carlos Castanera of UCLA. He speaks of living with a *yaqui courandero*, a witch doctor if you will, a mystic, for five years. He was changed into a bird and he doesn't know if it was hallucination or not. How do we know? Or consider nature. What has the white man done? The white man has poisoned the atmosphere. The white man has prided himself on his control over nature, has always pointed out that these primitive, savage peoples could not advance because they had no concept of control over nature. Our ancestors did not believe in control over nature. They believed that they *were* nature, that they were one with nature, that they could move with nature, that they could *be* nature, that nature was them, that they were God and God was them, and that it moved through them and with them. They sang to the crops and hailed the rising sun because they were one. They practised ESP, reports tell us, and did many wondrous things. How do we know that the white man's attitude toward the world is the only one that could possibly work? How do you know?

Education has suppressed us. It has conspired against us in many different ways. Take the case of the farm worker for one. The University of California has produced machines, with the educational system providing the technology, to produce a grape picker which is replacing our people before they can find other jobs, not because mechanization is needed, but because some brave people in Delano, California, have had the guts to fight for four years, and some of the members of the boards of trustees are growers.

I come here not as a minority-group member but as a representative from an unrecognized nation, a nation we have begun to call *Azplan* because white America suppressed us, took our land away and lied to our people. But it didn't take away our spirit. And so we speak to you on an equal level.

Some of you may find it hard to understand how we can be so unpatriotic. Unpatriotic, my . . . ! White ownership of lands is oppressing my people right now in the Southwest. Right now there is somebody working out there in those goddam fields sweating away. Working for what? . . . his mind wasted away; his children

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found in the universities. In many colleges and universities only middle- or upper-class Puerto Ricans from the island of Puerto Rico attended. Now that we have an agency whose purpose is to bring us into your institutions, the thousand obstacles which make up institutional discrimination makes sure that only a few from the United States will be placed by ASPIRA.

In New York City after some of our young people exposed their heads to police beatings and acquired terms in jail and police records by closing up City College, burning fires in rooms in Brooklyn and Hunter College, the Board of Education is trying to find ways to accommodate a percentage of the graduates from all high schools in the city. This might turn into bringing in a number of Puerto Rican graduates in the university. This is an attempt to take steps toward the students demand for open enrollment. What are you doing in your institution in that direction? Are you still at the level of admitting one or two Puerto Ricans to college or do you consider that if you have black students, you have done enough? Or can you psychologically "tool up" to a different world, a world in which groups who had always lived in it silently, waiting to be granted entry are, all of a sudden, speaking loudly, courageously and hammering at doors impatiently and angrily. The Puerto Rican is one of these groups. Do you know of him? He lives among you, he is an American citizen by birth because you made him so at a convenient time, right before the war in 1917. These are the people with a distinct and cultural imprint who live among you and are striving to be Americans and still be different.

You represent the keepers-of-the-gates for your institutions. If you start to tool up psychologically to this reality you can start the necessary change to take place in institutions, so that Puerto Ricans, *Chicanos*, Indians, and blacks will become a normal component of your student population and their history and culture becomes a normal component of your curriculum.

There are both schools and colleges which are doing an outstanding service to the black community by lowering or ignoring normal admissions standards and by providing scholarship assistance far and beyond that offered poor whites. The delegates from such schools deserved something better than what was offered them by this year's convention.—*Lewis B. Powth, Asst. Headmaster, Bordentown Military Institute*



I offer my compliments to Antonia Pantoja for her learned and encouraging presentation. She is a woman well qualified to represent her magnificent heritage. Luis Valdez and Mr. Wilcox, on the other hand, not only do not represent their people in my estimation, but offered to an interested audience a barrage of insulting, inflammatory, and unconstructive criticism. I feel that my intelligence, my sincerity, and even, to my dismay, my faith was a matter for scorn and prejudice in the language of these two men.—*Sister Teresa Paul, O.P., Director of Admissions, Mount Mary College*



I did not like being subjected to the obscene language of the opening sessions and was not impressed or moved. The mood or leanings of the speakers and panelists became overbearing and obnoxious. Most institutions are doing all that their governing boards will permit and with all due speed, and harassment will not change it.—*Admissions officer, Public College.*



I didn't come all the way to Chicago to hear the same stuff I've been hearing on campus for years. I'm looking for new ideas, creative responses, not speakers whose most salient points are their bizarre language and naive view of college admissions.—*Admissions officer, Private College.*



Avoid speakers who cover up ignorance with fluff. The Board of trustees makes policy at most schools. Why ask the admissions office to do so?—*Admissions officer, Private College.*



The entire convention was biased, one-sided, and lacked objectivity. The program chairman and officials are much to be criticized.—*Admissions officer, Private College.*



Luis Valdez

wasted away. He sends them to school and they teach them to be afraid, to be embarrassed, to be ashamed of their culture, to be ashamed of the food, to be ashamed of themselves. That is what we are fighting.

Your own sociologists will tell you that there is a new world forming. Marshall McLuhan talks of the effects of mass communication, of TV and radio and movies and the effect that this is having on the human mind and that possibly Indian races will be able to function more easily in this type of civilization than the rational White Western European mind. So you have got to learn something from us.

We feel that a college education is owed to us. We've paid our dues. We have built the Southwest. We have supported the crops. None of these universities and colleges from Stanford and UCLA to the University of California at Berkeley would be standing if it weren't for the sweat and blood of the *Chicanos* and the Puerto Ricans, and Negroes, and Philipinos, and Japanese, and *Chinos* in the Southwest. We've built the railroads across this country. We mined in the mines. You learned everything about gold mining from the Mexican and you killed us on top of that. Spanish is still a white man's tongue and that ain't the tongue that speaks out of this brown skin. This brown skin cries out in Nahuatl, this brown skin cries out in Shoshoni, or some other Indian tongue which you haven't even begun to understand.

Smoke a marijuana cigarette—get loose. Our people did it. Try a little peyote. Blow your heads a little bit. Get a little religion in your soul. Try a mushroom or two once in a while. This is what *LaRaza* is all about. This is what *Azplan* is all about. And this is what we're talking about in the Southwest. It will take years. We try to approach it at the *Teatro Campesino*, through cultural centers, through our schools, in a creative manner. We want to create. You know the United States is a revolutionary country in many ways. It will change. Soon we will have *Chicano* architects that will design buildings that will dazzle your eyes. Soon we will have *Chicano* writers that will write novels that will dazzle your minds. We will have *Chicano* playwrights and *Chicano* movie-makers and *Chicano* musicians that will invent new forms of music that will dazzle your ears.

This is the promise of *Azplan* but don't fight it, don't resist it. We need the colleges. We don't need to fight. There has been too much fighting already.

Viva La Raza!



PRESTON WILCOX



... introduced by Joe Jefferson, Director of Development, Bowdoin College.

Most of us have not learned what it is to be human, to engage in an authentic equal relationship, and most of us really haven't searched deep within ourselves to find out who we are and to learn to guard the right to be who we are after having discovered it. I'd like to talk about "understanding"—a kind of understanding of white institutional racism and what it has done to all of us. What is happening here is that a lot of black and Puerto Rican people have been asked to come before a predominantly white organization to help them understand how white people can stay in control. I seldom get involved in encounters or training experiences with people who hold subordinate positions because what they do is acquire the skills to keep everybody else subordinate. The real task is to find out why people want to have subordinate positions, why they want to control other people's lives, and particularly the lives of people they cannot possibly understand. We live in a society where large numbers of people with white skins have systematically defined themselves as being human, and defined people with black skins and brown skins as being inhuman.

Luis Valdez was saying that white people had deceived themselves as a means to oppress the *Chicanos*. Whites who conceal their roles as slavemasters do it as a deliberate step to get people who are in oppressed positions to be ashamed of the fact that they are being oppressed and to want to become like their oppressors. It seems to me that he was really calling you a dirty name. Some white ----- without ----- And what I am reminded of in that kind of analogy is of all the little black kids who have been thrown out of schools just because they used the word ---- and they are thrown out of schools by teachers who actually are ----- over them. I am talking about all those people who hear the word ---- as an unclean word

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If topics announced had been followed, it would have been far better. As it was, the majority heard little of the topics they had spent money to hear and too much about racism. One meeting devoted entirely to the subject would have been sufficient.—Admissions officer, Public College.



I feel that the whole conference was aimed at the wrong people. There were no panels or speeches that were of significant value to high school members and it seems to me that there is little that directors of admission or their staff members can do to set the policy of their institutions. These militant speakers should have been talking to the trustees, chancellors, or presidents of the universities.—High-school counselor.



I think that if NACAC seizes the challenges offered by CCA's 16 points there is real hope for NACAC to be a meaningful body.—Chris Covert, Hamilton College.



A well-mannered, polite group such as NACAC did not deserve portions of the presentation on such an important subject. We are not asleep.—Admissions officer, Private College.



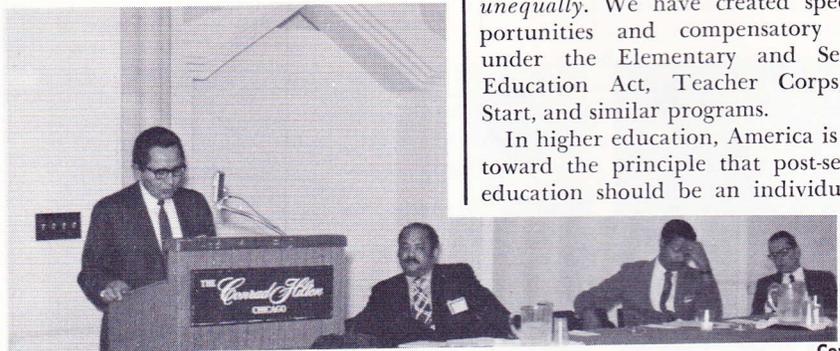
Keep up the good work.—High-school counselor.



The best conference I've ever attended. The exhibitors? Forget it! The program for wives? Forget it! They should attend the various programs. They might learn something!—Admissions officer, Private College.



No other conference I've attended has been remotely like this one. Preston Wilcox's speech gets the Flying Fickle Finger of Fate Award. He used his captive audience for a psychiatrist's couch, spitting out all his bile, all his hangups, every psychic trauma he suffered from infancy on. He meant to shock and he did. But what he also did was alienate a considerable percentage of his hearers, even of those who would like to sympathize with his cause. . . . If the blacks are going to take over ACAC, the organization is of no value to my institution. — Independent, secondary-school counselor.



EDMUND S. MUSKIE



Some years ago, on the day of my first inauguration as Governor of the State of Maine, a friend asked my father if that was not the proudest day of his life. "No," he answered, "the proudest day of my life was the day my son graduated from Bates College."

My father was an immigrant from Poland, who came to this country to find a better life for himself and his children. To him, the key to the promise of America was a college education.

His son was one of those lucky ones to whom the way was opened, even in the midst of the depression.

There are parallels between the world today and the world I knew as a poor young man, knocking on the college gates when our economy was staggering. But there are also substantial differences. The numbers of young people who want to go to college are far greater. The pressures for college degrees are more intense. And the differences between the affluent and the poor and disadvantaged are more exaggerated.

To whom may one more appropriately turn to remedy some of the contradictions than to the gatekeepers of our nation's colleges and universities? You help determine the life chances of millions of young people, and through them you help shape our society.

In elementary and secondary education our nation has created a new doctrine: that equal educational opportunity can come about only from treating the poor *unequally*. We have created special opportunities and compensatory services under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Teacher Corps, Head Start, and similar programs.

In higher education, America is moving toward the principle that post-secondary education should be an individual right

Preston Wilcox

even if they are destroying someone else's life and someone else's opportunities. I am talking about all the people who get very "up-tight" with the word ---- even though it is the best spelled word in this society. I have never run into anyone who couldn't spell that word.

You have to find a way to liberate yourself and that part of the educational process should impart a deliberate systematic attempt to involve one in his own liberation. If we examine the issue of racism in this society it becomes crystal clear what it has done to all of us. It is deeply ingrained in the way in which people think, feel, live, and even affects how they feel about themselves.

Antonia Pantoja called you "gatekeepers" whose major function is to determine who gets into society on your terms. Your rewards are largely based on who you keep out and not who you get in. You are advocates for the system of higher education rather than for the people who want to be educated. You do damage even to the kids you admit, because those of you who admit large numbers of white kids are denying them an opportunity to have a normal relationship with a black student. You are giving them a conception of this society that is not true. This society will never be a great society until black, brown, and Puerto Rican people say that it is a great society. The key to whether or not this society ever will be human rests really within the black communities of this country. If people don't sleep well in white suburbia it is because they have blacks on their minds.

Let me give some specific examples of how racism impinges upon the existence of an organization like this. Large numbers of the whites who have jobs as admissions counselors have them largely because they are not black. Most of you don't have to compete with a black man. Secondly, I would assert that large numbers of you have your jobs because you subscribe to a gentleman's agreement to promote white racism. You agree not to talk about it, you agree not to raise any trouble about it. This is a part of your contract. Suburban communities are rated according to the number of black people who are not there. Institutions of higher education are blinding students to the reality of racism by developing counter-racist thought and mechanisms. One pattern is to define the behavior of blacks and whites in different sociological terms. That is to imply that the same behavior as carried out by blacks is inferior to that carried out by whites. One of the situations that comes to mind is a tendency to

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Too much emphasis on minority-group problems, attitudes, etc. While I feel I am sympathetic to minority problems and have been for over 20 years and have a rather good track record in this area, much of the 1969 Chicago convention amounted to an on-going "rap session" without end. NACAC in 1970 should try for a more balanced topical approach.—*Admissions officer, Public College.*



I object to any quota system. It is inherently undemocratic. I don't believe it is possible to correct existing evils by using the same means that in fact created those very evils.—*Jean S. Aldrich, Bennington College.*



I am afraid many left with the attitude that blacks are dirty-mouthed and we had better learn to like it. It is really a shame Wilcox could not find the words to describe the plight of many of the black people: the social, economic, and personal indifferences shown them. He did not offer one positive recommendation but only one threat and vulgarity after another.—*James R. Nelson, Indiana State University.*



This has been a thoroughly disquieting experience after 25 years of admiration and support of ACAC. Still, I am reluctant to be critical without first-hand knowledge of the circumstances and/or committees (or individuals) responsible for allowing the obnoxiously pressured procedural tactics, including the unduly abusive and vulgar language used by speakers appearing presumably by invitation of the Association.—*Addison B. (Brad) Craig, Assistant Dean, Culver Military Academy.*



I always find it of little value to be insulted and falsely accused with no real opportunity to respond or have someone else respond for me. . . . The minority topic . . . is timely and important. However, it was presented without any concern for balance and without any chance for real dialogue. Hence, issues were oversimplified and people became alienated when they should have been working together.—*Richard W. Haines, Director of Admissions, Lafayette College.*



Sen. Muskie

for all and no longer a privilege of the few.

In the Congress, a remarkable series of laws passed over the last decade lead me to conclude that debate over whether some form of universal post-secondary educational opportunity is desirable or necessary has been substantially completed. The question was drowned in a flood of rising demands for the enlargement of existing institutions and the creation of many hundreds of new ones.

Forty-two percent of our 18-21 year olds are now enrolled in post-secondary schools. A 50 percent enrollment by the mid-1970's is probable and an 80 percent enrollment is not unthinkable before the end of the century.

Despite the miraculous growth in the size and number of educational institutions, however, American higher education remains largely the preserve of the white and the affluent. With all of our recent concern about the eradication of poverty and discrimination, with all of the commitments voiced by educational leaders, and with all of the public and private programs designed to help the disadvantaged, we have not begun to deliver on our promises.

One recent study of enrollments at the University of California found that students from families of incomes above \$25,000 are four times as likely to be eligible for admission as are students from families of incomes under \$4,000. Among those who are eligible for admission to that great university system, twice as many young people from high-income families attend as do those from low-income families.

Recent studies of the American Council on Education also tell us that the proportion of blacks among entering college freshmen has changed only slightly since 1966. Their representation in college is only about six percent of total enrollments, or one-half of their proportion of the nation's college-age population. When we look at the distribution of black students—not to mention Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and other neglected minorities—we find that nearly one-half of all black freshmen attend Negro colleges, while more than half of all the institutions in the United States have black enrollments of only one or two percent. At a time when gateways to advancement frequently require the possession of a college degree, only four percent of our black fellow-Americans have it. If our national goal is to build one society, one nation, we can't do it on the basis of today's performance.

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Preston Wilcox

label all blacks who end up in white institutions as Uncle Toms. When William F. White wrote "Organization Men" he was really talking about white Uncle Toms, because behavior is no different. Most white men in this society are Uncle Toms in that they are excessively loyal to the system, they learn to line up, and they learn to speak out without anticipating any action because they spoke out. White supremacy is a myth.

A second characteristic is a tendency to conceal the exploitive nature of the relationships between whites and blacks, between the middle class and the lower class. When people talk about hiring a black person, the first question that comes up is whether he is qualified. The assumption is that white people are qualified just because they are white. I look at your program and your presumptive interest in admitting large numbers of black, Puerto Rican, and *Chicano* students in the schools, and I see things about remedial education. I can't agree with that. I would submit that most of the black kids that get into your program will find themselves unable to deal with the conditions and even unable to understand them. So I am suggesting that the programs require a basic restructuring as the first stage of the change movement. White institutions that automatically set up black study programs are racist institutions or they would deal with the content of their own programs. They have failed to help white students resist the tendency to become white racists, a tendency which is ingrained in this society. If you listen to white radical students, what they are really saying is that they don't want to become white Uncle Toms or white racists; they want to learn now how to get the skills to plan and shape their own lives in a humane way. They want to get their mothers off their minds. They want to get their teachers off their minds. They want to get the American flag off their minds and to begin to shape this nation to include them as human beings.

A third kind of racist pattern is a tendency to compare black statistics with white statistics. You see reports on the number of black students who are in school, what their grade averages are, etc., without recognizing the differences in opportunities and the fact that the system and the evaluation criteria are based on white criteria and not necessarily human criteria. When I was a student I wrote a paper in which I used the word "racism." The professor had a long talk with me about what I meant. If I happened to get the highest grade on a test it was perceived as an accident. If I wrote a paper

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Our delegates to the ACAC conference in Chicago have given me such an account of the meetings there as to make me wonder whether they — or anyone else — should be asked to attend another. They are intelligent, sensible, and well-informed, so that when they tell me that the language to which they were subjected was actually larded with obscenity and the general tone of the meetings offensive beyond the point of necessity, I feel that protest should be made.—Mrs. Lawrence Y. Chapman, Headmistress, The Louise S. McGehee School, New Orleans.



There were a large number of "guests"—not NACAC members, but interested in influencing ACAC policy (free lobbying) and a terrific number of distorted statistics, wrong conclusions, and outright prevarication.—R. A. Roberts, College Counselor, Bloomington (Ill.) High School.



Perhaps the pendulum swung too far, with overemphasis on the black needs. Too much "shock treatment" in one speech may have hurt its cause.—John R. Coleman, President, Haverford College.



Senator Muskie's speech was the only worthwhile activity of the conference. . . . The Conference was a complete waste of time and money. I am from a very small college, have few problems with the blacks and other minority groups and, consequently, got little from the Conference.—Admissions officer, Private College.



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Sen. Muskie

I am convinced that your profession has the power to open the doors of opportunity to the fifth of our population living in poverty, the fifth who will either make us whole or drag us all to moral bankruptcy, though I understand that your performance depends upon trustees, administration, and many other officials.

I have been impressed by the research of Dr. Alexander Astin of the American Council on Education.

First, Dr. Astin concludes that low representation of blacks and other minority groups among entering college freshmen is attributable, in large part, to admissions policies which depend primarily on high-school grades and tests of academic ability. These grades and tests, in other words, place a premium on those who have already enjoyed the benefits of social and educational advantage. They say practically nothing about one's ability to grow and to perform at acceptable, if not always brilliant, academic levels.

Moreover, even as predictors of academic success, high-school grades and tests are subject to very considerable error. And, as in the case with much of our education system, the customer pays the cost of the system's failure. In this instance the cost is lifetimes warped by lost opportunities.

The most remarkable finding in Dr. Astin's research is the fact that the dropout rate of black students attending white colleges is lower than would be predicted from their high-school grades and scores on academic tests. Once admitted, so-called "high-risk" students tend to "make it." They may not be at the top of their classes but they compare favorably with average white students who meet the traditional standards and expectations of the higher education establishment.

Dr. Astin's research concludes that even the highly selective colleges of America can afford to admit much larger numbers of disadvantaged students without substantially increasing their dropout rates or lowering their academic standards.

Preston Wilcox

that had a particularly creative idea, I would have to have a two-hour conference with the professor to tell him where I plagiarized it from, because he did not believe that I as a black man had the capacity to think for myself.

The theory that the Negro family is matriarchal infers that the white family is patriarchal and that a patriarchal family is to be valued more than a matriarchal family. Number one, as I go into white suburbia I don't see patriarchal families. I mean the man is in the home but that's all. The whole issue of the superiority of patriarchal families over matriarchal families implies a kind of male superiority, which is another type of racism—because if you have to be a man by standing on a woman you are a racist. Behind all this is the fact that in most of our discussions we are silent on the issue of sex, even though most studies of white communities suggest the issue of intermarriage is one of the overwhelming concerns. Yet the Commission on Civil Disorders report was silent on the issue of sex. DeToqueville bases the success of this country on the essential superiority of the women. Society is organized to protect the white vagina for white men. It has nothing to do with all these other questions we talk about, land use, density, and what have you. In New York City right now they are talking about sex-education programs. What I'm fearful of is that white kids will be taught antisegregation and black kids will be taught birth control.

If one accepts the reality that we live in a racist society, he also must accept the fact that the same process conditioned him not to be able to make decisions about the lives of other people. Men in this society are conditioned not to make certain decisions about the lives of women, so in New York State we have the women leading the struggle now to have the anti-abortion law repealed. If the Pope understood humanity from my interpretation, he would have asked the nuns to talk to the women in the real world about the use of the pill. Not only does the Pope know nothing about the pill, he knows less about women. We are often called upon to make decisions just because we have the official power, even though we don't understand the position. If you really respect another person you don't get involved in his life; rather you get involved in helping him to get the skills to make the decisions about his own life. It's hard for me to believe that NACAC is very concerned about the nature of this society. You admit everybody to the organization that wants to join, so you welcome racists. You elect a

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One thing one could wish would be that the admissions people could find a way to work on the instructional system from within. They represent some of the better thinking about education but fail to get into the best position to use it.—R. B. Howsam, Dean, University of Houston.



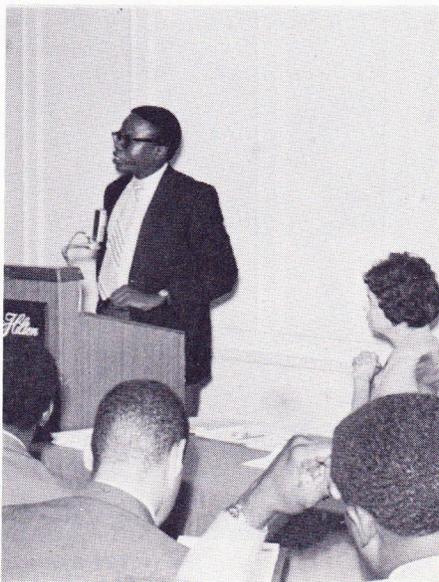
As one who has worked diligently for Negro rights during a quarter of a century I think I can fairly say that the Negro cause isn't going to need "enemies" as long as it has "friends" like Preston Wilcox speaking for it. In fifteen minutes this man can erect more barricades, create more tension, raise more hackles, arouse more hostility, numb more consciences, confuse more issues, utter more half-truths, becloud communication processes, and in other ways set back all the advances obtained by enlightened blacks and white liberals during the last ten years.—Gene Chenoweth, Director of Admissions, Butler University.



The members of NACAC are to be commended for allowing our invited guests to present their case. It is a real tribute to our organization to have kept the conversation going and the lines of communication open. As the meeting progressed, both sides in the issue made major concessions and drew closer together. The action of the Assembly, added to the efforts already extended by many persons and institutions of NACAC, added up to a contribution of major significance.—Russell R. Judd, Past President, NACAC.



Most of the meetings were an insult to educated and rational people. In addition the general body was never informed concerning the members of the CCA. There was something sinister about the anonymity.—Independent-secondary-school counselor.



Sen. Muskie

Minority students from disadvantaged backgrounds may tend to achieve at a slightly lower level than their white classmates, but there is ample evidence that many of them actually learn more, change more, grow more in the college process, than their more privileged white colleagues. This should not surprise us if we consider their motivation for achievement.

Astin points out that college admissions policy, as currently practiced, is designed to "pick winners" rather than to identify students who have the most potential for growth and change. Selective admissions, based on conventional tests, are in fact misdirecting the great resources of our institutions of higher learning from those who could profit most from them to those who are in a position to cash in on the advantages of affluence.

If by higher education we mean the development of capacity to realize potential, rather than simply nurturing those who have been prepared for the demands of the institutions, the Astin studies show that there can be enormous payoff in expanding college enrollments from among the disadvantaged.

Unless we turn our attention to fundamental change in college admissions criteria, we shall see a continuation of the situation in which the more selective schools compete among themselves for the limited pool of minority students who can pass the traditional admissions procedures. We need a massive nationwide effort to increase the size of the pool of minority students going on to post-secondary education. This, in turn, can happen only when admissions officers look at the potential for individual growth, rather than at academic achievement records in the high schools and at conventional measures of apparent academic aptitude.

I did not come here today to place responsibility for bridging the gap between black and white, rich and poor, upon your shoulders alone.

Those of us in public office will have to provide major resources to finance this massive effort. But you can start this nationwide process by telling your community, your alumni, your governing boards and perhaps even your faculty and administrators, that there need not be a conflict between increasing college opportunities for the disadvantaged and the maintenance of sound academic standards.

One thing that a society seems to believe as it matures is that everything necessary to make it possible for people to achieve has already been established. If our American experience teaches us any-

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Preston Wilcox

kind of liberal leadership whose power is really based on the fact that they have a lot of racism among critical issues. I am reminded of the Report on Civil Disorders, written by a liberal group who talk about other people being racists and not themselves.

Any of you who are working in schools with a large number of black students and are not in trouble with your institution are probably not doing anything. The whites I know who perceive black people as human beings find themselves being treated as black people. The organizations that invite black people now are the niggers of the white community—the social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists—all those people whose functional role is to keep natives quiet while the military-industrial complex “does its thing.”

Before you talk about what you are going to do with black people and with each other, you have to get yourselves together. Don't tell me you're a nun when you're really a prostitute. Don't tell me you're on my team when you're really stabbing me in the back. Don't try to screw up my judgment about you just because you smile to my face. When you say things I expect your behavior to support what you say. Now if you are really serious (and, by the way, you don't have to be serious, you can ----- if you want to) it seems to me that you would have some criteria, based on some kind of human evaluation, as to who gets into your organization. What is a guy doing on his campus to truly integrate the curriculum? What is he doing to make the intake process in the college work on behalf of black students? What is he doing to develop criteria which are not stacked against the interests of black kids? What is he doing to help insure that black kids receive scholarship grants from the same sources that the other students do? As I see it now, large numbers of black students and black faculty are being brought to white racist campuses with Federal funds. They're not really an integral part of the economic system of higher education. Every year they have to write another proposal to make sure they get more money, so they spend eight months of the year trying to keep their job going for another year.

This quote from Tolstoi may sum up my whole statement in a few lines.

“I sit on a man's back choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am very, very sorry for him and wish to lighten his load—by all possible means except by getting off his back.”

Credit should be given to colleges who mostly have made many steps forward rather than vilifying all for not having completed a gigantic job.—*Independent secondary-school counselor.*



It is the first conference at which the presence of all segments of the population were felt. The number of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, etc. in attendance could only be interpreted by the sensitive as a sign that NACAC has become relevant for all persons. The private-club concept of NACAC has been given the *coup de grâce*. And rightfully. It is unthinkable that we who are ostensibly the servants of the young of this country, a country founded on principles of egalitarianism, could do less than provide a forum for the free exchange of ideas among all segments of society.—*John Eoyang, Conference Chairman.*



The theme of the conference was ill-chosen since it was totally concerned with education for the disadvantaged—meaning only the black, the Puerto-Rican, and the Mexican-American. Consideration of the problems of thousands of students were ignored and the panel discussions were always directed and dominated by and for blacks. Any attempt to ask questions relevant to needs of others were cut off or answered with abusive or vulgar language. I had expected the panels to provide a forum for discussion of many areas of interest. Some of the general speakers, particularly Preston Wilcox, were abusive and extremely offensive. If he had a message he certainly tuned me out when he resorted to spelling lessons and gutter talk to communicate. He came on loud, crude, insensitive, and uninformed and was a poor substitute for Julian Bond. A forum for different points of view was not provided and most speakers propounded a uniform theme. Surely ACAC represents more diverse opinions.—*High-school counselor.*

Sen. Muskie

thing, it should be that that is not true.

We are disturbed with the restlessness of people and the way they find to express their restlessness. The American revolution surely ought to teach us that a people will go so far and no farther in testing the ability of the society or system to meet their needs. The needs of the people are as unlimited as all the undefined, unidentified urges within the human spirit.

People will not be harnessed to the past. They will not accept a present that promises no future. We have found a way, a clumsy way at times, a crude way at times, to permit people to grow, but the urge for growth today is of a dimension, depth, and magnitude that we have never known before and it is the product of creative things we have done to unleash the human spirit. So what that spirit now says to us out of white bodies, out of black bodies, out of young bodies is: “let us go the rest of the way; let us grow to full potential.”

I think this is the message of so much of today's music which isn't really new, it is as old as the tribes in the less-developed countries on the earth today. What we feel in America today is the great ferment of freedom these young singers captured tonight. So, shall we hang on to old institutions without change? Or shall we exercise the genius of self-government, self-criticism, self-appraisal, that is supposedly the hallmark of a free people, to find new ways, new directions, new goals, that will enable us to see the great, broad horizons for which the human spirit seeks instinctively, an irrevocable unstoppable force?



The 1969-70 Assembly session on Saturday

THE CONCLUSION

By Friday the membership was seething. CCA representatives were posted in the audiences of all the panel sessions in an effort to divert the discussion from scheduled topics to the ubiquitous 16 points. Delegates, faced with another forced reading of resolutions, were leaving the panel discussions and some were heading for home, complaining about rudeness and vulgarity on the part of hecklers and tiresome arrogance on the part of immature student-panelists. Every indication was that the disadvantaged had succeeded only in disseminating their disenchantment.

Thus, few ACAC'ers were prepared for the turn of events on Saturday. Without hecklers, the session in the International Ballroom, "Confrontation: Schools and Colleges Face Each Other," was received like a breath of fresh air. Lynn Steele of the Urban League presented the CCA's 16 resolutions in a low key for reasonable consideration. He was followed by a closing session, presided over by Past-President Russell Judd with President-elect Robert Kirkpatrick as moderator, which seemed to complete the turnabout in attitudes with speakers Hilary Rodham of Yale Law School, Charles J. Hamilton, Jr., and Alfred D. Price, Jr., of Harvard Law School.

After the conference Alfred Price wrote: "While we were supposed to speak on some lofty-sounding topic, it seemed to Charles Hamilton and me that the conference participants had been harangued to death. By Saturday morning it seemed necessary for someone to bring them back to life, to tie up the many loose ends, and to finish the conference off on a more positive note."

At the end of this panel, Mrs. Anvilla Schultz, President of the Southern ACAC, announced that her Southern Association formally approved in principle the CCA's 16 resolutions.

A CCA representative then took the stage and asked those present for a show of hands if they favored in principle the CCA resolutions as individuals and not as officials of their institutions. The resulting show of hands in favor was unanimous among the 900 present.

James Moore, Chairman of the CCA, then spoke of the black students' dire need for help in a speech that contrasted in its reason and empathy with the hysterical threats and accusations of Thursday. There remained only the official action by the Assembly in the afternoon, which was presented with an 11-point version of the CCA's 16 resolutions by the Wisconsin ACAC delegation which they passed by a vote of 75 to one.



The 1969-70 Assembly session on Saturday



The last panel: Charles J. Hamilton, Jr., Alfred D. Price, Jr., Hilary Rodham, and President-elect Robert Kirkpatrick.

The Wisconsin version was entirely acceptable to the CCA, in effect eliminating only items and phrasings that would make implementation an impossibility to admissions officers. The resolutions as passed by the Assembly read:

"We, the Assembly of NACAC, recognize and agree with the basic philosophy of the 16 resolutions as proposed by the Council on College Attendance, and we pledge ourselves to work toward the implementation of this philosophy in our own state and regional Associations.

Also, we move

THAT each NACAC College and University Member, through its admissions officers,

1. should strive to have a minimum of 10% of its undergraduate student body composed of minority students, and of that number at least half be high risk.
2. should strive toward proportional representation of minority group persons on every level of instructional activity.
3. should have in its admission policy a statement as an affirmative action clause indicating what the school's admission practice is for minority students.
4. should make appropriations out of its normal operating budget for the recruitment and financing of minority students.
5. should seek to take full advantage of all federal aid programs for minority students.
6. should use financial need as the only factor in determining financial aid for minority students.
7. should use a twelve month year in assessing financial need should an academic program extend beyond the normal academic year.
8. should determine the admission of minority students through a special committee, the composition of which should include black/brown students and faculty who are sensitive to the needs and problems of minority students.
9. should eliminate the use of aptitude-test scores as a major factor in determining eligibility for admission for minority students.
10. should assure minority students at least two years in which to adjust to university environment.
11. should extend supportive services to all minority students to insure successful college careers; and

THAT the President of NACAC be instructed to appoint a special Human Relations Committee (of which one third would be black/brown) to write guidelines for the interpretation of the preceding statements."