

CARTON 124

[MLK/POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RACISM]

APRIL, 1977

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April 1977

The ^{subject} ~~sub title~~ of my talk is the political-economy^{structure} of racial inequality. I feel this is a particularly appropriate subject since today is the ninth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, a man who dedicated his life to struggling against American racism.

② Attacks on anti-discrimination
A.A. — Bakke decision

Uned, employment, housing
measures, especially
Claren book

"reverse racism"

Outline

1. Bakke Case, background & significance
2. Historical development of the structure of racial inequality, esp. in U.S. labor force
3. Critical assessment of A.A. programs.
Are they worth defending? effectiveness?

Growing attacks on programs and gains won during struggles of the sixties

Cutbacks in social welfare programs

attacks on school desegregation

attacks on black & ethnic studies programs in colleges

Firing of black & the professors

Reductions in enrollment of black & the students

attacks on "special admissions programs & affirmative action as "reverse racism"

Race possibility of major setbacks, wiping out gains of last two decades of struggle against racial inequality

~~Equality~~

Martin Luther King dreamed of an America in which racial equality would prevail. He dreamed of a society in which no group would be subjugated and exploited on account of race. King began his career as a moral reformer who believed that American society was basically just and good, and that racism was a blemish that could be removed by appropriate cosmetic surgery. By the end of his life he had recognized that inequality was more than a moral issue; inequality was built into the very structure of American society and would require the organization of power to change it.

Today I want to address myself to the political economy of ^{racial} inequality in American life. In particular I want to look first at how ~~ine~~ racial inequality is structured in this society and secondly ^{to look at the usefulness of} ~~how effective are~~ reforms such as equal opportunity and affirmative action in overcoming or alleviating inequality. I think this second point is especially important today because all around us we see growing attacks on equal opportunity and affirmative action programs. In fact, ~~as I will discuss later~~, there is an important case coming before the Supreme Court that could very well result in the elimination of all affirmative action programs throughout the country.

My basic thesis in this talk is that in modern capitalist America racism functions as a means of ^{recruitment +} labor control and distribution. By way of an analogy we might say that racism is like a huge concentration camp in which black and TW people are locked in order to restrict their movement and make possible an intense exploitation of their labor.

~~How did this system develop?~~

I'd like to begin by discussing this case and its implications because I don't believe it is widely known outside of California.

What I'm referring to is the so-called Bakke case that has been tried in California ^{Courts} and is now ~~going to~~ ^{before} the U.S. Supreme Court on appeal.

In 1969, under intense pressure from BLK and TW student groups, the Univ. of Calif. Med. School at Davis, Calif., reluctantly established a special admissions program to "increase opportunities in medical education for disadvantaged citizens." Between 1967-69 ^{out of 300 new students} only 1 BLK + 2 Chicano ^{out of some 300 new students} had been admitted to this medical school. BLK + TW students were enraged by this discrimination because not only did it limit their opportunities for entering the medical profession but they also argued that the lack of doctors in BLK + TW communities contributed to the poor health records of these communities (at present only 16% of all U.S. doctors are BLK). Under the special admissions program 16 of the 100 spaces for entering medical students were reserved for BLK + TW students. Between 1970-74 under this program some 26 BLK and 48 TW students were admitted, and a few also came in thru the "regular" admissions program. Other schools in Calif. and throughout ^{the nation} — feeling the pressure of the BLK + TW student movement — set up similar special admissions programs. The students argued that special admissions — that is, A.A. — was the only equitable way to overcome generations of racial discrimination in higher ed.

Blk Enrollment in med schools — 4 —
increased from 2.7% in 1968
to 7.5% in 1974, then declined to 6.8%, 1976

40 special adm
cut back to 20
due to attacks on
special admissions &
econ. downturn

In 1973-74 Allan Bakke, a white civil engineer, applied for admission to The Davis medical school, and was turned down. He was also turned down at some 10 other medical schools.

Nevertheless, at the suggestion of an official of U.C., Bakke filed suit ^{against Univ} charging that his rights were violated under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. He claimed that he was discriminated against on account of his race because blk & the students were given preferential admissions (Actually, he wouldn't have been ~~accepted~~ ^{admitted} even if only white students were accepted because there were more than 16 other white applicants ahead of him on the list.)

The case finally got to The Calif. Supreme Court which agreed with Bakke that he had been discriminated against. At that point many blk & the guys ~~accepted~~ urged U.C. not to appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court because if it were lost it would set a very dangerous national precedent. Nevertheless, U.C. which didn't want A.A. in the first place, decided to appeal the case and that's where it is now.

If The Supreme Court agrees with The Calif. court decision this will lay a precedent basis for undermining all A.A. programs, not just in education, but also in employment and housing; not just in Calif. but throughout the nation.

I think A.A. for women will also be affected by this decision.

Already in California there has been a flurry of lawsuits by white individuals and organizations charging that A.A. is reverse discrimination and citing The Bakke decision as precedent. (e.g. ^{business, soft contract} minority contracting & subcontract)

Historical Section

Begin

(e.g. collusion of v.c.)
There're many more details to this case but I think this gives you an idea of its essential features. This ^{+ implications} ~~case~~ ~~threatens~~ decision, if it is not overturned, threatens to be a major setback for blk + ^{minority} ~~rights~~ in this country. It also raises the question of the effectiveness ^{of A.A.} because to oppose the Bakke decision is tantamount to saying the A.A. programs are worth saving. I think a strong argument could be made for the effectiveness of A.A. in medical education, but in the broader field of general employment I think we must take a critical look at A.A. to determine just what has been its effect on the structure of racial inequality in this country.

- 6 -

But how is racial inequality structured in our society?
minority

Overwhelming majority of b/lk + ~~the~~ people in U.S.
are workers as opposed to being entrepreneurs
~~are~~ owners of productive property.

This suggests that the primary way in
which racism is structured is thru the demand
for labor. So let's look in particular
at the demand for b/lk labor historically
and see what this indicates about the
structure of racial inequality.

This will give us a basis for evaluating
the effectiveness of A.A.

Historical background: Racism and the demand for Blk Labor

(7)

3 Periods in dev. of political-econ. of racism. (1) Slavery period, to civil war; (2) Reconstruction to WWII; (3) Present period

Brief sketch of each period

1. Slavery Period

— Growth of capitalist plantation system based on exportable commercial crops (tobacco, cotton, etc)

— Object: Maximum profit for plantation owners, shippers, bankers and processors ~~in home country~~

— Plantations created huge labor demand which could not be met by available Indian & white populations. Spanish + Portuguese ^{however} showed that slave labor readily available from west coast of Africa.

— Why slavery? ~~Any~~ Plantations existed in a huge land of seemingly limitless opportunity for immigrants. A permanent labor force could not be kept on the plantations unless this was a non-free, enslaved force. Otherwise the plantation whrs would simply leave the plantations to get land of their own. After immigrants came to America to acquire property & wealth of their own, not to spend their lives working in somebody else's fields.

— Why racial slavery? Problem was how to control the slaves to plantation labor. Indians could escape & return to their own ^{assimilate} villages or move west. White ^{servants} could escape and assimilate into the ^{general} white population. But if slavery were restricted to

Africans, Their skin color could be made the mark of enslavement and African slaves, because they were black, could be kept from successfully escaping and assimilating into ~~the~~ ^{general colonial} population.

Thus beginning as early as the 1660s & 1670s we observe the elaboration of legal codes restricting slavery to Africans, ~~and~~ also attempt to reduce all blk people to slavery. ~~that~~ ^{in effect} the state intervened to create a racially homogeneous labor pool to meet the labor demands of the plantation system. ^{in effect} ~~that~~ ^{blk people were to be confined to one occuⁿ} Also an elaborate racist ideology was created to justify or rationalize racial slavery on the basis of the alleged biological inferiority of blk people. ^{agric labor}

2. Reconstruction to WWII: Transition period

After Civil War (which was fought to insure the dominance of Northern industrial capital over southern agricultural capital) there was still a great demand for agricultural workers in the cotton fields ^{mainstay of economy}. This demand was met (after the brief Reconstruction interlude) by intensifying racial exclusion — by in effect building a social and political wall around blk people so that their only real economic option was agricultural work.

^{fact} — (1) No land reform or redistribution after Civil War, which would have created an independent blk economic base. ^{some blk could become landowners instead of farm workers}

- ② Disfranchisement - to eliminate black access to political power (which might have been used to reverse entrenchment of racism)
- ③ The institution of legal segregation and Jim Crow to restrict the physical and social mobility of black workers (laws enacted in 1880s + 1890s)
- ④ Discrimination by employers and trade unions to eliminate the pool of skilled black craftsmen (abt 120,000 in 1885), because skilled work, if open to blacks, would constitute a dangerous "leak" in the reservoir of agricultural labor.
- All of this supported by northern industrial capitalists who were exporting capital to the South and therefore wanted to maintain low wage levels in the South.

With the advent of WWI this system was modified somewhat:

- The ~~ending~~ shutting off of the supply of European immigrant labor forced northern industry to begin drawing on the pool of ~~agricultural~~ labor in the South to meet its need for workers (blacks become internal migrants). At some time demand for agricultural labor was declining due to ^{+ declining importance of agriculture to national economy} mechanization, — push-pull effect.
- However, by maintaining ^{legal segregation} racial discrimination as blacks moved North, this meant that black workers could be confined to the hot, heavy,

dirty, dead-end jobs which were also the lowest-paying jobs. ^{In effect blk workers were to be locked into a limited # of occupations & excluded from all others.} — This also meant that black wkrs could be made the "shock-absorbers" of economic instability: available to work in times of increasing demand, easily laid off in recessions. (~~First~~ Last hired, first fired syndrome)

3. Present period, since WWII

characterized by

~~the~~ Growth of civil rights movement and its success in attacking legal segregation and legal discrimination (1954 Supreme Ct, 1964 Civil Rights Act, 1965 Voting Rights).

Pick-up
Institutional racism
Section of

→ However what we observe today is that ^{desire} state intervention (legalized seg. & discrim) no longer necessary to ~~to~~ maintain racial exploitation. The so-called "normal" operation of institutional and market mechanisms are sufficient to maintain a discriminated blk & TW labor force. This sometimes referred to as institutional racism or covert racism. Institutional racism exists when decisions or actions are taken not ~~on~~ overtly racial grounds yet their effect is to enhance racial subordination.

Example: BLK or TW wkrs who are kept out of better paying jobs, not because of race, but because of "lack of qualifications" (due to poor education, due to growing up in slum with bad schools, due to parents inability to get decent jobs or move to other part of town with better schools, due to discrimination against parents. ^{→ overt racism}

Institutional racism is the modern consequence of generations of overt racism. In other words, if you put a wall of racial discrimination around a group of people so that they do not have access to decent jobs, education and housing then this group of people will have no social mobility, they will not be able to upgrade their skills and qualifications. So that after a few generations legal racial discrimination is no longer necessary to keep this group isolated. All that is necessary is for economic decisions to be based on formal qualifications and skills ^{alone}, and as result this group will automatically be excluded. Indeed institutional racism can co-exist with the rhetoric of formal equality. BLK wkrs ^{are} free to ~~compete~~ ^{apply} for any job — equal opportunity — but if they lack qualifications because of the ^{consequences} effects of years of past racial discrimination then blk wkrs will still be excluded from the better paying jobs. This is why affirmative action,

preferential treatment, is absolutely necessary ~~if~~ in order to create the basis for actually achieving some degree of equality. ~~Formal legal equality alone not enough to overcome generations of discrimination~~

Sum up

Essentially racism is a social mechanism for fostering and maintaining a pool or reservoir of discriminated labor ~~needed~~ within the framework of capitalist development. ~~Indeed racism was a critical prerequisite for the growth of the American capitalist system.~~ Racial discrimination creates a visibly identifiable pool of labor whose social mobility and access to jobs can be ~~str~~ strictly controlled, thereby making possible the superexploitation of this group of workers.

More specifically racial discrimination creates a pool of Bk and Wk who can be confined to (a) the hardest, dirtiest, hottest, worst jobs, or (b) to the lowest-paying and dead-end jobs, or (c) both of these. Thus racism enables employers to fill jobs that white workers seek to avoid, and to fill these jobs with a work force whose wages can be kept at the lowest levels because this workforce has no other options. (This, of course, means increased profits for the employers)

Moreover, by racially walling off

and isolating one group of workers and keeping their wages at the lowest levels. This ~~more~~ accomplishes several additional things for the capitalist system:

1. In times of increasing labor demand these ^{discriminated} workers can be mobilized and brought into the active labor force. When the demand slackens off they can be demobilized and sent back into their labor camps (which are sometimes called ghettos.) Thus the discriminated workers can be used as economic shock absorbers for the capitalist system: to supply cheap labor in times of increasing demand and thereby keep a lid on the pressure for higher wages (which would logically develop in a time of increasing demand) and secondly in times of recession the discriminated workers can be forced to absorb ~~a~~ a disproportionate share of the lay-offs, thereby mitigating potential class conflict between white workers and white employers. This disproportionate unemployment is structured into the system.

2. In periods of labor conflict when white workers are organizing unions or demanding wage increases the employers can mobilize ^{these} discriminated workers to ~~one~~ break up the organizing drive and to lower the general wage level (e.g. auto plants). This also has the effect of intensifying racial hostility between white & blk workers: transforms a class conflict into a racial conflict.

The ^{specific} mechanisms by which the ~~impact of~~ ^{is maintained} this structure of inequality on ~~black workers~~ can be summed up as ~~follows~~ ³ differentials

- occupational ~~exclusion~~ ^{differential}: Black and the whites are excluded from the "better" occupations
- Wage ^{or earnings} differential: where black and the whites compete with white whites, there is a wage differential meaning that black and the whites are paid less for the same work
- Differential unemployment: Black and the whites are saddled with higher unemployment than whites, meaning that black and the whites are compelled to take whatever jobs are available at whatever wages they can get.

This then is a rough outline of the structure of racial inequality, particularly as this relates to employment.

The question is: Have anti-discrimination measures such as A.A. had any significant impact on this structure of inequality? Has A.A. aided black & the whites in breaking out of the labor concentration camps ~~created~~ based on racism?

Critical assessment of A.A. with regard to employment patterns

1. Origins of A.A.

Back in the early 1960s civil rights leaders such as M.L. King, Whitney Young, and others pointed out that breaking down the legal barriers to racial equality was not enough in itself to assure that equality would actually be achieved. They argued that special efforts would have to be made to overcome the effects of generations of discrimination. (Give analogy of foot race in which some runners are shackled). With the ~~growth~~ ^{urban} rebellions of the late 1960s and the growth of a militant B/K and the student movement new impetus was given to the need for affirmative action ~~especially~~ since a key demand of student and community groups at that time was special admissions programs to increase B/K + TW enrollment in higher ed. & special training & hiring programs to ~~release~~ ^{open} up jobs for B/K & TW workers

The legal basis for A.A. was provided by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (updated by 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act) prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. To ^{monitor &} enforce this act a five-member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created.

A second legal basis for A.A. was provided by Executive Order 11246 issued in 1965 which prohibits racial discrimination by all employers who have contracts with the federal govt, including work sites operated by these employers but which may not actually be under federal contracts. The scope of this order can be seen in the fact federal contractors employ some 20 million wks, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the national workforce. (Holt 1968) Under this Executive order an Office of Federal Contract Compliance was established in the Dept. of Labor to monitor compliance activities.

Significantly, it was not until 1968 — when the protest against racism was at a peak — that guidelines for implementing A.A. were drawn up. At that time all federal contractors were required to draft a written A.A. compliance program which, in the words of the guidelines, "shall provide in detail for specific steps to guarantee equal employment opportunity, keyed to the problems and needs of members of minority groups, including, when there are deficiencies, the development of specific goals and time-tables for the prompt achievement of full and equal employment opportunity. Each contractor shall include in his affirmative action compliance program a table of job classifications... the evaluation and utilization of minority group personnel shall include... an analysis of minority group representation in all categories" (Glazer, 46-7)

Thus employers were required to assure equal opportunity not only in hiring but in upgrading as well. ~~Contractor~~ ^{with 100 or more employees, or with govt contracts} Employers were required to file regular reports with the EEOC indicating the racial & sexual composition of their workforce.

In 1971 the guidelines were modified to require employers to explain situations where minorities or women were being underutilized in any job classification. Underutilization was defined as "having fewer minorities or women in a particular job classification than would reasonably be expected by their availability." (Glazer 79) In effect, then, ~~employers~~ A.A. come to mean that employers were to develop ~~programs~~ programs for achieving proportional representation of minorities and women in their workforces, calculated on the basis of census figures.

Critique of A.A

Has A.A been effective? Has it had any impact on the structure of racial inequality? To answer this I would like to look at the three ^{mechanisms} indicators of inequality in employment that I mentioned earlier: occupational differential, wage differential, UN employment differential.

Occupational differential

1. Has there been any shift of blk and TW wks into the "better" occupations from which they have historically been excluded?

2. How has A.A affected the rate of shift?

With regard to the first question we can say that especially since 1960, there has been a definite improvement in the share of better jobs held by blk and TW workers, although we are still far from parity. Blk & TW wks have been moving into the white collar jobs category, which includes professional & technical wks, managers, clerical & sales wks.

Parity = ~~fair~~, proportional share of ^{occupational} jobs based on participation in labor force

	1950	1960	1965	1970	1974	Feb. 1977
White collar occupations	26%	37%	43%	60%	65%	67-80%
Blk & TW share of parity						est. (E+E)

(Kullback, 89) Also p. 77

2. The rate of occupational change toward parity was greatest between 1965 and 1970, which coincided with the ^{initial} enactment of anti-discrimination legislation and the adoption of affirmative action guidelines. This period also coincided with a peak in the mass struggles against racism in education, employment & housing.

Between 1970 - 1974 the rate of occupational gains declined considerably ^(except in professional category) (and the most recent figures I have seen - (Feb, 1977) - suggest that the rate continued to decline between 1974 & 1977)

Possible explanations

1. 1970s have been a period of ^{relative quiescence} ~~stagnation~~ for mass movements against ^{racial discrimination} ~~racism~~ - which means there has been less pressure on employers to hire & upgrade blk & tw whrs and (b) less pressure on the govt agencies to enforce A.A. guidelines.

2. 1970s have been period of ~~the~~ economic stagnation and recession meaning that unemployment has risen for all categories of whrs and gains that were made in the late 1960s are being undermined in the 1970s

Thus A.A. was at best a holding action in the 1970s - meaning that blk & tw whrs may have suffered an even greater decline in occupational gains had there been no affirmative action programs

Wage differentials

Additional problems with occupational shifts—
~~Does not always mean~~

A shift in the racial composition of certain occupations may be the employers way of holding down wages

Examples: More blk women hired for clerical jobs, but employers have held wages down since they know blk women have few other employment opportunities
Historically, blk women excluded

Textile industry — 4-fold increase in number of blk wks in textile industry between 1960 and 1970. But wages for blk textile wks are abt $\frac{1}{5}$ lower than wages for white textile wks. (Perle, 74-76)

What this ~~means~~ ^{implies} is that an occupational shift means a relative gain but so long as there is a wage differential between blk & white wks in the occupation then the employer can use this to keep his overall labor costs down, and this therefore acts to limit the potential income gains to be made when blk + pw wks shift to new occupations

(auto industry)

+ earnings

WAGE differentials: According to a recent EEOC report ^{median weekly earnings} the ~~average~~ differential between full-time blk + white workers ~~has been~~ decreasing at a rate of ^{about} ~~just under~~ 1.6% points per year between 1967 and 1974.

Black wages as a proportion of white wages

1967	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	(p. 30)
69.9%	72.0	73.9	75.4	77.2	79.6	80.9	

Median annual earnings for nonwhite males (95% blk) $\left[\frac{1957}{53\%} \mid \frac{1968}{61\%} \right]$ 0.7% point/yr

This would seem to suggest that anti-discrimination measures are having some effect in closing the wage gap. If we control for education ^{+ occupation}, then we discover that blk whrs who have a college education and are in professional + technical occupations are even better off, earning about 95% of what whites with same ed and in some occupations earn. On the other hand if we go down the educational and occupational ladders. The ^{wage} ~~occupational~~ differential increases to about 70.5% in the lowest categories.

However if we look at family income, as opposed to individual wages, the situation is altogether different. In 1965 blk family annual income was on average abt 54% of white family income. By 1969 this ^{ratio} had increased to 61%. But between 1970 + 1973 the trend reversed with blk family income ^{dropping to} only 58% of white family income in 1973 (Pewco, p. 53)

Source Franklin & Repnick Pol Econ of Russia
p. 38

Between 1974 and 1976 the trend again reversed itself with blk families ~~having~~ average income ^{climbing to} ~~at~~ 62% of white family income in 1976 (NUL report) State of Black Am, 1977

These fluctuations seem to be related to our third differential, the unemployment differential

Unemployment differential

also known
in female-
headed
households
27% in 1965
34% in 1974

For the past several decades the official blk unemployment rate has averaged between 1 1/2 and 2-times as large as the white unemployment rate. For example in February of this year the official white unemployment rate was 7.5% and the official blk unemployment rate was 14.7%.

Now The ratio of blk to white unemployment fluctuates from year to year and this can affect average family income. Thus in years when black unemployment is increasing relative to white unemployment there will be a tendency for the average income of blk families to decline relative to white families, even if the wage differential were eliminated — simply because relatively more whites were unemployed in the blk community and this will reduce family incomes. Looking at the official past figures what we discover is that ~~between~~ between 1970 and 1973 blk unemployment increased relative to white unemployment (1.8 to 2.1) and this

corresponds with a decrease in the relative income of 3/4 families; and between 1973 and 1976 blk unemployment decreased relative to white unemployment (24 to 19) and this corresponded with ~~a relative~~^{an} increase in blk family income relative to white family income (MLR, p. 8)

I should emphasize that these are relative unemployment figures I'm referring to because the absolute unemployment rates for both whites & blk have increased greatly since 1969

These also govt statistics — which don't include ~~that~~ what N.U.C. calls "hidden unemployment rate" — wks who are discouraged and no longer seeking work so that they are not even counted in the official govt unemployment figures.

Conclusion

What do these changes tell us? I think they tell us that anti-discrimination and A.A. programs have had some ~~progressive~~ ^{progressive} impact ~~on the~~ ^{on} the structure of racial inequality as far as the occupational and wage differentials are concerned. However, A.A. has had NO ^{consistent} impact on the unemployment differential — and this is because A.A. does nothing to increase the total number of jobs available; ~~A.A. simply says that those jobs~~ ^{now does A.A. change seniority} systems which are one of the ways ~~that those jobs~~ ^{seniority} which are available ~~should be shared equally~~ ^{which are available} — unemployment differential is maintained. ^{How can family income} ^{get not affected by A.A.}

So, in response to my original question as to whether A.A. is worth saving, I would reply, yes, but ^{quality that} with two provisos.

1. It is clear from the ^{data} evidence that the greatest employment gains ~~were~~ ^{were} made during periods when the mass movements against racism ~~were~~ ^{were} strongest and most militant. A.A. alone is not enough. What we need is to rebuild the mass ~~movement~~ ^{struggle} against racism. ^{And} It seems to me that this Bakke case can provide ^{a strategic} ~~an important~~ focal point for rebuilding the mass movement. Already in Calif there have been a number of demonstrations and rallies — some as large as 5,000 people — to protest the court decision in this case.

The Bakke case and A.A. are national issues which ^{potentially} affect ~~personally~~ all blk and tw people, ~~and~~ of ~~women~~ all social and economic classes, as well as women of every race. The potential for mobilizing a wide spectrum of people on a national basis is very great. Calif cont, Georgetown v. cont is may

2. Desegregating the available jobs is not enough. Another crucial issue must be expansion of educational and employment opportunities. Expansion of jobs, especially, is the only way that increasing unemployment and declining family incomes can be dealt with. Programs such as Public service employment and CETA must be greatly expanded above their present ^{funding} levels (\$4 billion of PSE = 600,000 jobs \$1.7 billion for CETA?) (7 million unemployed). ~~These~~

^{At some time} Expansion of these programs must be coupled with training programs and changes in the seniority system so that new whrs are not locked into dead-end jobs from which they will be ~~first~~ the first fired if lay-offs come.

What I am suggesting is a ^{with campaign} ~~movement~~ based on three points: 1. ^{need to} overturn the Bakke decision 2. The need to defend A.A. and the gains made in the last decade 3. The need for expanded educational & economic opportunities in the coming decade. Such a ^{campaign} ~~movement~~ could draw support from blk & tw student groups, ^{political} professional groups, labor union caucuses, community groups, ^{ideas} civil rights orgs, women's orgs, and progressive white groups. Mentioned April 26th cont in p.c.

Such a ~~movement~~ ^{campaign} could not only ~~affect~~ ^{impact on} the structure of racial inequality in this country, but it could have broader implications as well. Some people say that the struggle for A.A. divides the workingclass. But I think history shows us that it is racism that divides the American workingclass, and so long as racial inequality exists white whrs will see it as being in their interest to maintain the racial differential rather than to unite with blk & the people to struggle against an oppressive capitalist social order that exploits all. ^{Dr. King's analysis} I firmly believe that the struggle against racism is the key to the struggle for a new social order in America; and now more than ever it is especially urgent to re-energize the struggle against racism. ~~The kind of anti-campaign suggested here could help revitalize the movement in the context of building a new social order in which labor is not a commodity to be exploited but is the essence of human growth & creativity.~~

Organizing/mobilizing strategy

Mobilize already interested orgs.

National/regional conferences → form National Coalition

Congressional blk caucus - hearings on A.A.

Raise issue at other conference/mtg's over summer

Petitions campaign

Support April 26th Conf called by blk/whrs

NACUP

F. Douglass
Where there is no struggle, there is no progress
where there is no struggle, there is no progress

Assessment of A.A.

Occupation shifts: Brown & Glenn, 110 Bullock 89, 91
Perlo 71-76, 77-78

problem:
Occupation shifts may
be used to hold down
wages, Perlo 74-75
also ^{textile} auto workers, 76

E+E 46

Kate of Promotions, Perlo 84

Has there been change?

How has A.A. affected the rate
of change? problems: economic
lack of mass pressure, lack of
aggressive enforcement

Wage differential: Gap closing: EEO Rpt, ²⁷ p. 30-32
by category (low vs high earned), overall (30) by occupation (31) by education (32)

Note family income gap not closing due to
higher unemployment & sub employment, Perlo p. 53-60
Brown & Glenn 119

NLR rpt income gap closed some in 1976

Unemployment differential: Brown & Glenn 121-2

MLR, p. 8

E+E 36, 30 ratio: 1.96 2/77

Perlo, 93, 106-7

I have suggested the Affirmative Action is an important reform because it provides a way of breaking out of the labor concentration camp created by racial discrimination. I'd like to look now a little more closely and critically at A.A.

Audience Comments

A, A history

1. international dimensions of struggle — impact on struggles against racial inequality
2. South as new frontier for investment & surplus capital and consumption in 1980s — now the system in recession ~~and~~ a threat

Contradictions in cap. system

1. rising productivity
proliferation of new technologies
tactics arise out of objective
process of cap. development
not subjective needs

~~2. tension between~~

Look at Black Books reflection
for article by Dick Diop

Bob!

I'll meet you back here at 6:00 pm.!

Lennal

July 23, 1977

Dear Bob --

Enclosed is the article on the Bakke case. I've also enclosed some possible art that might be used with it. I think it would be good to run this in the September issue as the Supreme Court will be hearing the case in early October and the article should be in circulation by then.

If you decide to run an announcement about the Port Chicago study I'd like to see a copy of it for approval before going to press. The Navy is beginning to become uptight about my research and I don't want to give them any excuse for denying me access to materials in their files. Keep the announcement as innocuous as possible.

Hot and humid here, and I'm sure Washington will be worse. Looking forward to returning to the gray pearl of the Pacific.

Regards to all.

Rob - the tall

P.S. After July 31 can be reached c/o Stanley Parker, Solebury, PA 18963
(215) 297-5701. Send me a packet of the Cuba issue.

Many Donlap, WUE
Equal Rights Advocates, Inc

6/10/77

A Rare Mosk Comment on Bakke Case

Sacramento

The author of the state Supreme Court's "reverse discrimination" decision says the issues in the case might have been affected if the University of California said it discriminated in the past against minorities.

In a rare television interview, Justice Stanley Mosk defended UC's handling of the Bakke case and said he didn't think the university had been guilty of past discrimination.

In its ruling, which is now being appealed by the university to the U.S. Supreme Court, the state court said the 14th Amendment prohibited a quota for minority admissions at UC Davis medical school.

But Mosk said the legal issues of the case would have changed if UC had justified a minority admissions program by saying it had discriminated against minorities in the past.

"Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, minorities are entitled to a preference if they have been previously discriminated against in employment," Mosk said in an interview broadcast on television station KVIE Wednesday night.

"You can analogize employment to school admission and argue that if they had previously been discriminated against in admission, they would be entitled to some kind of preference.

"There's no evidence that they have been discriminated against at the University of California," Mosk added.

He did not say he would have ruled differently based on evidence of past discrimination, but said such evidence would have "some significance legally."

Mosk wrote the 6-1 decision that said a UC Davis medical school program that reserved 16 of 100 places in the entering class for minorities discriminated against Allan Bakke, a rejected white applicant.

Bakke said he was more qualified than some minorities who were admitted under the special program. The court agreed and ordered him admitted. But that order has been stayed while UC appeals the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which is scheduled to hear arguments in the fall.

Mosk said he thought the university "put on a first-rate case and did its very best to justify a quota system." But he said the court majority "had very little difficulty" reaching a decision.

"The court saw quite clearly that this was a case of racial discrimination, and it was our feeling that discrimination against a person of any race is just bad," he said.

He said the court's suggestion for an admissions policy that gave preference to disadvantaged students of any race "gives the university plenty of leeway."

UC's appeal disputes that claim, however, saying any racially neutral policy will lead to a sharp reduction in the number of minority students.

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