

effect on black youth is equally disastrous. E. A. Johnson, a Negro historian, wrote: "During my eleven years as a teacher, I have often observed the sins of omission and commission on the part of white authors, most of whom seem to have written exclusively for white children, and studiously left out the many creditable deeds of the Negro. The general tone of most of the historians . . . has been that of the inferiority of the Negro. . . . How must the little colored children feel when he has completed the assigned course of United States history and in it found not one word of credit, not one word of favorable comment for even one among the millions of his forefathers, who have lived through nearly three centuries of his country's history." I might add that this statement was made in 1891, and that very little has changed in our educational system in the intervening years.

It may be that some of our problems with disturbed and angry black youths stem from this situation. The pattern of meaning we call education is not relevant to the lives of black Americans who constitute the majority of the public school pupils in Washington, D.C., and a majority of the elementary school pupils in Chicago and other cities. Education does not tell these students who they are and how they got that way. It does not give them an image of their condition. It does not corroborate their reality. They do not live in the country described in the books. The books, the words, the pictures are about another people who live in another country.

Within recent years, there has been increasing public recognition of the dimensions of this problem. Several big-city school systems are now using supplements. But supplements are at best temporary and inadequate substitutes. The only solution is an adequate supply of total texts which give a balance portrayal of the role and achievements of all Americans.

Although publishers are beginning to offer balanced texts, the supply does not meet the demand or the need, and I believe the federal government must bring its resources and powers to bear in an effort to solve the problem. It would be useful, I think, for the Office of Education to convene a national conference of publishers, school administrators, teachers, and black and white scholars, including officials of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. There is a need also for additional funds for enrichment and supplementary programs for teachers and administrators as well as students.

Beyond all that, I think it is necessary for Congress to specify that all federally-funded and federally-assisted programs must use teaching tools and teaching materials that give a balanced picture of all the people.

Opponents of this view have raised the question of censorship. But in my opinion, they are 100 years too late. The problem now is not imposing censorship; the problem is ending a *de facto* censorship which stands between the American educational system and its historic mission of creating one people out of many.

Mr. BENNETT. America's current domestic crisis is a reflection of the failure of our schools to perform their basic function of preparing youths to live productive and mature lives in a multiracial society.

This failure is rooted in an ensemble of factors, including the serious distortions and omissions in textbooks and teaching materials. And it is my opinion, and the opinion of many writers and scholars in this field, that segregated textbooks—the segregated and segregating use of words, symbols, and ideas—are as dangerous to the internal peace of America as segregated schools and residential areas.

In a very real sense, segregated schools and residential areas are external reflections of segregated minds molded by distorted teaching tools in a white-oriented educational framework. If we integrated all our schools and all our residential areas tomorrow and if we continued to use the same textbooks, then all our schools and all our residential areas would soon be segregated again.

It should be apparent by now to most Americans that education cannot solve the race problem because education in America is a part of the problem. That fact was evident in recent weeks in northern cities where rioters demonstrated conclusively that hate, horror, and swastikas are the wages of miseducation.