

In addition, we have a great many small, independent, and relatively homogeneous school systems. They are not only homogeneously white. Increasingly, we are getting school systems that are homogeneously Negro. I don't know which is worse, an all-white or an all-Negro school system. Neither says much about an open society. Until we find a way to come to grips with this problem, we are going to have shortages in our plans.

Furthermore, we have the problem of the segregating effect of nonpublic schools. I doubt that anybody in this room would want to remove from the American system the option parents now have of choosing independent schools for their children. But when you look at New York City and other cities, the fact of the matter is that the option of parents to choose nonpublic schools for their children means in many cases the option to choose a segregated white school. Of course, most of these schools now have their token enrollment. They have their demonstration Negro children placed in the places of high visibility, like the receptionists in corporate offices on Madison Avenue. But we are still dealing with a difficult situation that must be taken into account.

Over and above this, we have the fact of wide overlap in this country between minority racial status and economic poverty. Tom Pettigrew was getting at this point earlier, when he spoke of the hazard in Title I of segregating children in terms of poverty, only to discover that we have at the same time segregated them in terms of race.

Lastly, we have another fact which we don't talk about as much as we should, although schoolmen are coming to talk about it more and more often these days. This is the fact and tradition of the political isolation of our public schools in this country. There was a time when it seemed awfully smart and absolutely necessary to separate the schools from partisan and often corrupt political arrangements, particularly in our large cities. But we have now separated them for something like 50 or 75 years, to the extent that they have become in many cases almost hermetically sealed, administratively and politically, from the ordinary decision-making and policy-forming practices of municipal and State government.

So, as we plan our strategies, we had better remember that they have to be something more than exhibitions of opportunistic ingenuity. As we select Title I projects to deal with the difficulties of segregation and to move toward desegregation and integration, we should choose our projects and plan them so that they will not only deal with the specific problems of culturally and edu-

cationally disadvantaged children but also attack the broad problems that I have been trying to sketch out. We can't rely on the simply opportunistic approach.

I think Henry Adams once called simplicity one of the most deceitful mysteries that ever betrayed mankind, and I suspect that we have a problem here in guarding against allowing the single target approach of Title I to confuse us into thinking that, if we hit that target, everything else will be taken care of.

We need, of course, to concentrate on the target. But we don't want to develop tunnel vision at the time we are keeping our eye on that one target. This won't be easy. It means, for one thing, that as we set up our Title I projects we shall need to make deliberate efforts to involve children of both races in every possible case. This doesn't mean that we would necessarily reject a project just because it happens to meet the needs of children of one race at the moment. But it does mean that wherever possible we will want to involve the children as well as the parents and teachers of more than one race.

Second, we will need to work on the periphery of our ghettos as well as in the heart of the ghettos. It may be that in some instances we shall not be able to desegregate schools in the depth of the worst of the ghettos. As it appears to me now, about the only way to do that is to ask all of the Negro children to move, at their expense of trouble and time and effort, to the places where the white children already are. Somehow, that strikes me as offensive. This is not to say that a bus is never a handy or useful instrument. There are, of course, times when it is good. But to rely on it as the sole means of dealing with the problem of the ghetto seems to me unjust and inequitable and in the final analysis unrealistic. But every one of our ghettos has a periphery, and the larger this gets, the more opportunities it presents.

Another thing we will need to do is set up joint projects involving groups of schools and groups of school districts. You have already heard allusions to that kind of activity this afternoon, and many of you are involved in it. This is one of the ways of drawing a larger circle to include the smaller circles which we are trying to serve and ultimately to eliminate.

We are going to have to find ways to bring together the new arrivals and the old arrivals in communities. We will have to find ways to ease the problems of transition as people move in and out of our neighborhoods. Another way of putting it is to say that we will try to make a virtue rather than an obstacle of the mobility of our population.