STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal, published biannually, devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The journal is to serve as an advocate for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal, in response to their communities (academic and non-academic), should determine and propagate success models based on the realities of their constituencies. Contributors to Explorations should demonstrate the integration of theory and praxis. The journal affirms the necessity and intention of involving students, teachers, and others who are interested in the pursuit of "explorations" and "solutions" within the context of oppression as it relates to the human experience. Explorations provides an expanded communications network for NAIES members, disseminating national and regional information to a multinational audience.

Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editors or the publisher.

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The National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies (NAIES) is an organization dedicated towards finding solutions to some of the "Ethnic" problems which plague U. S. society. Some of these solutions are found when people from a variety of cultural, ethnic, and environmental backgrounds are brought together to communicate and discuss germinal ideas. To this end, the NAIES, in the recent past, has set up regional conferences in various parts of the United States. These regional conferences are a microcosm of the national conference. The regional conferences follow similar guidelines as set up for the national conferences. I attended one of these regional conferences at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, California, in November, 1979. A critique of this conference will illustrate how such regional conferences are about solutions.

The South-West Regional Conference of the NAIES was held at California State Polytechnic University. This regional conference was energizing and invigorating. It carried the essential spark necessary for solutions to take place. One key towards providing solutions was the variety of topics covered in each of the sessions. People from different ethnic and academic backgrounds were brought together under the umbrella of interdisciplinary ethnic studies to present a variety of ideas. An example of this is a session I attended which consisted of Asian American mental health issues and a sociological construct for understanding racial stratification. Presenting these ideas together, even though there appeared to be little relationship between the two papers, forced all the participants to think about how these ideas do relate. When people are intricately involved with such ideas which are from different perspectives, they/we are forced to broaden their/our horizons and formulate constructs which incorporate and deal with these issues. This is necessary if this organization and the people are about solutions. We need to understand ourselves first. This is exactly what this conference achieved. We did learn more about ourselves. One student presented a paper on the concerns of ethnic studies which was the search for truth and personal liberation. This is a fundamental key for understanding ourselves and our relationship to the universe. The sessions at this Far-West Regional Conference provided us with the opportunity to explore ourselves through our personal involvement with the participants and ideas presented.
One factor which added to the ultimate success of the conference was the size of each session. They were small in terms of numbers but large in terms of overall participation. The small numbers of participants was an asset and played an important role for creating a solution oriented conference. I noticed that at almost every session the involvement of the participants was high and intense, i.e., discussions were taking place between the audience and presenters. One of the participants commented that the level of discussions was the best he had ever been involved with. He stated that other "larger" sessions/conferences prevented, even alienated, people from asking questions just by the sheer numbers attending each session. This is one of the NAIES' greatest attributes, and that is people feel more comfortable participating in their sessions. This is the situation in which solutions are derived.

The regional conferences and national conferences have layed the groundwork for opening the doors to new discoveries. Every time the meetings are held, people learn about themselves through the presentation of new ideas, discussions, and being about solutions. Participants are taking these new ideas back to their respective workplaces and helping others experience a broader perspective concerning ethnicity and ethnic groups in the United States. These shared ideas are discussed among other people where knowledge and the struggle for personal liberation is spread to other populations. The regional conferences have formed a network within the national NAIES organization and both are working towards creating solutions.

It is imperative that this effort continue. This organization has provided all people with a place and a focus for the expressed purpose of finding solutions to the multiplicity of ethnic problems and towards the goal of human liberation. It is our duty, therefore, to continue to support this organization and become involved with the activities which keep the NAIES focusing on solutions. The future of this organization is in the hands of the people.
CONCEPT OF SHAME AND THE MENTAL HEALTH OF PACIFIC ASIAN AMERICANS

MASAYUKI SATO
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

One priority of the Health Task group of the Conference on Pacific and Asian American Families (1978) was the need for research into the psychological and emotional problems of Pacific and Asian American (PAA) groups and their possible remedies. Specifically, the report identified the importance of shame in the education and socialization process of PAA families in controlling behavior. As a cultural characteristic among PAAs, shame or "saving face" remains an important concept to the individual, the family, the community, and to the racial group as a whole.

Perhaps in response to saving face or avoiding losing face, PAAs generally have high academic achievements and low crime and delinquency rates. For these reasons, PAAs are sometimes referred to as the "model minority" in America. This myth remains quite strong and maintains that PAAs have no serious problems and are relatively trouble-free.

This paper focuses on the impact of shame on PAA's mental health status in terms of low utilization patterns of mental health services, under employment patterns, and religious orientation.

Although several authors (Ausubel & Kirk, 1977; Ogawa, 1973; and Ward, 1972) have written on the positive and negative impact of both shame and guilt as being very necessary and effective in the control of behavior, the concept of guilt is much more in evidence as a superior means of controlling behavior (Benedict, 1946; Freud, 1930; and Erikson, 1963). Ironically, PAAs are seen as model minorities by one group and seen as having an inferior means of controlling behavior by another group. More extensive reviews of the literature on guilt have been written by Mosher (1979) and by Sato (1979a). Doi (1973) has written on shame and guilt in Japan. Shame seems to be absorbed by guilt in Western cultures and by American traditions.

Shame, or the avoidance of bringing disgrace to the name or to the family, can be related to PAAs infrequently failing in college or dropping out of high school. According to a report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978), Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans have the highest college and high school completion rates of minority groups. In some cases the completion rates are much higher than the majority group.
A paradox may be appearing when one views the impact of shame working in a positive way as one rich resource motivating PAAs toward success in higher education and improving one's chances in achieving better employment and lifestyle. Shame can also be a factor in keeping smooth interpersonal relationships within the family by motivating the children to avoid doing anything that will be embarrassing to their parents. Shame can have a negative impact on the family as well. According to the President's Commission on Mental Health (1978) report on Asian/Pacific Americans, one important cultural barrier to service utilization of counseling and therapy is related to the concepts of shame and pride. The PAA client may feel that using mental health services is a shame-inducing process and he will experience extreme stress when asking for help. In a conversation with Dr. Aiko Oda (1978) she mentioned that too much shame resulting in inflexibility of behaviors is pathological. Psychiatrists and other professionals (Matsumoto, 1979 and Seid, 1979) have indicated that many PAA clients come to their attention only when the "illness" is quite advanced and very serious, thereby making the treatment quite difficult and long-term. The shame of not being able to handle problems within the family and having to seek outside help and risk losing face in the community is a powerful force among PAAs. There is great pride among PAAs when one achieves some success in education and employment, but the consequence of not seeking "early" outside help for personal and family problems may result in a severe pathology that may even require hospitalization.

For some PAA families it is quite possible to deny any mental health problem as well as deny the impact of such factors as shame and pride. Sometimes the family is taught to bear the burden and must tolerate or suffer quietly without expressing any emotions or resorting to outside help.

There are many studies of service delivery and treatment models among PAA groups which consider the impact of shame and guilt as possible cultural barriers. These include among others Duff and Arthur (1973), Ho (1976), Ishizuka (1978), Kim and Condon (1975), Kitano (1970), Marsella (1974), Peralta and Horikawa (1978), Sue (1977), and Tinloy (1977). Several colleagues working in PAA community mental health settings have also mentioned the importance of shame in working with PAA families and individuals (Kawazoe, 1979; Kusama, 1978; and Kim, 1979). In commenting on a paper on counseling Asian Americans (Sato, 1979b), Jesse Quinnsaat, an attorney in San Diego, mentioned that shame or "hiya" is especially prominent among the Philippine elderly and somewhat among the younger generation. Cayann Topacio (1978) listed the concept of shame or saving face as culturally important to the Koreans and Vietnamese as well. Beverly C. Yip adds that the Laotian and Thai communities have a similar concept. Many similarities exist among various PAA groups but there are many more complex issues within these groups that care must be taken to investigate and differentiate each group and respect the individuality of any given member of that group.
Very briefly, according to the Civil Rights Commission (1978) report on the chapter on earnings and educational levels, one indicator demonstrates that although Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino American males and females are much more likely to have completed college than majority males, they receive lower earnings as college graduates than majority males. In a conversation with Jerri Takahashi of Asian American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, he related that one must consider the powerful impact of society and institutions in dealing with the under employment patterns of PAAs.

The interaction of the structure and culture of American society with the Asian and Asian American experience may be found to be a unique ethnic experience. Warren Furutani (1979), a community leader, states in an interview that it is not Japanese culture that makes us "quiet" but rather the culture of oppression that existed in Japan which was brought over to the United States by Japanese immigrants in order to survive. This survival mechanism seems to be tied into not taking risks by keeping a low profile as a PAA. In some ways the covert and subtle patterns of racism and discrimination which affect PAAs are difficult to detect. As victims of mistreatment or denial of promotional opportunities, PAAs appear to have a difficult time "making waves" to complain. It is rare when a PAA employee will file a formal complaint or grievance against his/her boss and become a "target" (stand out). By standing out as a troublemaker, the PAA is risking the possibility of losing a secure job and even loss of face before the other employees. The impact of shame may perhaps be felt at any number of points in employment and upward mobility. One thing that is clearly shown is that there is continued underemployment and extremely low unemployment among PAAs. Perhaps part of this can be accounted for by PAAs generally maintaining jobs, although low paying, rather than be on welfare and not be able to provide for oneself (lose face and self-respect). There may be great shame involved for PAAs to have to get a welfare check or seek outside help for any problems they cannot handle within the family. In hindsight, a PAA may end up just feeling guilty for letting a supervisor get away with unfair treatment rather than risk losing face and be shamed by perhaps being terminated after fifteen years on the same job.

Lastly, in terms of religious orientation as well as in our legal system, the emphasis is on sin and guilt in contrast to shame and embarrassment. American religions, especially Christianity, have focused on sin, guilt, and confession (Menninger, 1973; and Mowrer, 1967). Dr. David Hirano, therapist and one of the pastors at a Congregational church in Hawaii, sees many PAA clients for therapy. Dr. Hirano sees the direct impact of shame inhibiting PAA clients from verbalizing their personal problems in therapy. It becomes very difficult to treat clients who do not "open up" and let out their deep, sometimes pathological, problems during therapy. Saving face in the Asian American Christian community remains a
strong factor, even among third generation Sansei Japanese Americans (Tonomura, 1978). Rev. Ted Ogoshi, another pastor in Hawaii, is incorporating the shame factor in his dissertation on ministry to Asian Americans. David Kuroda, L.C.S.W. and Assistant Director of Training in Social Work at a university affiliated hospital, considers shame among several other factors when working with PAA clients and regards it as an important area of research today. Dr. Masumi Toyotome, Missionary Strategy Agency, agrees that shame, or "hajī," is an important factor among Japanese Americans, but even more so among the Japanese in Japan. According to Dr. Toyotome, some related Japanese terms for shame include: burden of guilt or "tsumi no kashaku"; criticism or "tsumi no togame"; and the idea of forgiveness or "nasake."

The Asian American Protestant Ethnic Church appears to be growing in membership as well as the establishment of Korean, Samoan, and Vietnamese Christian churches. Social and safe, wholesome activities for the elderly and families with young children seem to be active components of the ethnic church. Although the primary focus of the church should be on God and the person of Jesus Christ, with praise and humility, at times it becomes very difficult to worship with deep personal problems. Sometimes it is tough enough to admit to a family problem but to add to that is to turn to the Lord for help and admitting that they could not take care of it within the family, intense shame may be felt through this confession or bringing the problem to the Lord. Spiritual help towards coping with personal and family problems can be very supportive towards better mental and physical health and life.

It is vitally important for the Asian American Protestant Church to provide a comfortable place for worship and fellowship with other PAA's. When there are serious problems regarding the family or individual, it would perhaps be ideal to be able to turn to the pastor or membership for support. It seems more common for PAA's to keep up the appearance that ''everything is fine'' or saving face and not sharing some possible personal or family problem.

Even more complex than admitting a problem exists which cannot be handled within the family and admitting some type of failure in coping by depending on God is the doctrine and beliefs within Protestant Christianity. Paul Pruyser (1962) is one of a few theologians to make an important distinction between shame and guilt. Pruyser makes that distinction based on the Biblical account of the confrontation of David by the prophet Nathan. Pruyser (1964) also writes about the atonement in relation to anxiety, guilt, and shame.

Bob Smith, (1976) writing on the psychology of sin, looks at the most commonly-used word for sin in the Greek New Testament which is *hamartia* and related forms. As used by Aristotle, *hamartia* is a lack of virtue, or weakness and defect, but does not include the concept of guilt. It is interesting to note that *hamartia* is
more deviance than the idea of sin and enmity against God. Leavenworth (1976) adds that shame or "aischune" is "a painful emotion caused by consciousness of guilt." Many questions are raised concerning the difference and similarities within the Biblical concept of both shame and guilt. It might be important to note that many studies on the integration of psychology and theology primarily focus on guilt and as an afterthought may mention shame. Some of these writings on guilt include Collins (1977), Dobson (1974), Leavenworth (1976), Meier (1977), Mowrer (1961), Narramore and Counts (1974), Nelson (1973), Oden (1969), Osborne (1976), Pruysier (1962; 1964), Sall (1975), Smith (1976), Stott (1974), Tournier (1962), and Wagner (1974).

Further research and review is needed in this area to not only clarify possible differences that may occur in the American emphasis on guilt and sin among PAAs but also whether a revision in a major doctrine or belief might be considered. Some questions that might be asked include: "When one commits a sinful act, one is found guilty or ashamed before God and/or men? and in some cases if one is not caught, he may feel guilty guilty but not ashamed until someone finds out." One is innocent until proven "ashamed." Both the Protestant church and the American legal system focus on the guilt of deviant behavior.

Zimbardo (1977) in his book on Shyness recognizes that both the Japanese and the Chinese experience the impact of shame as shyness and he describes Japanese society as the model of a shyness generating society. He sees both strengths and weaknesses tied into the shyness society of Japan and the Japanese in America. Important to consider again is the structure and culture of oppression in America and the distinction between PAAs and foreign born Asians.

Moteki, (1978) in conclusion, verifies the low utilization of mental health services by PAAs and relates this to the direct impact of shame...PAAs feeling that they risk a greater degree of emotional and social punishment by admitting emotional illness and having to seek outside help. Greater understanding of the concept and impact of shame may provide more insight and appreciation of the social psychological and cultural experience of the Pacific Asian Americans (Sato, 1979c; Wong, 1979).

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Critique by Helen MacLam

Masayuki Sato's article *Concept of Shame and the Mental Health of Pacific Asian Americans* serves the vital function of raising issues as the necessary first step in seeking answers. Sato has convincingly related some attributes of Pacific Asian Americans (eg., high scholastic achievement, low utilization of mental health services and underemployment) to the need to avoid shame or "save face."

However, reading his article is like eating delicious hors-d'oeuvres which tantalize the appetite without satisfying. I wish he had dealt more specifically with some of the implications of his statements. For example, what are the psychological and emotional costs to PAAs of high achievement and underemployment? Is the suicide rate or rate of psychosomatic illness higher for people in cultures which employ shame as a socializing/behavior controlling technique? Or is this an unknown factor because of their reluctance to seek treatment? How have providers of mental health services managed, if at all, to overcome the "shame barrier"? What kind of counseling have they used?
Perhaps a key question is whether or not there exists historically in PAA cultures any rituals or processes whereby one who has brought shame upon his group may be expiated. If there are such processes, can these be somehow incorporated in a contemporary healing setting, whether that be clinic or church?

Sato has mentioned the need for further research. Perhaps the results of such research will suggest solutions consistent with the purpose of *Explorations*. 
BACK TO THE BASICS:
A NEW CHALLENGE FOR
THE BLACK CHURCH

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Introduction

The development of the Black community in America witnessed the Black Church exercising the unique function of assisting Blacks to gain a measure of economic strength. The opinion is ventured by Fordham that one of the most powerful and influential institutions to evolve within the Black community in the post-Civil War era was the Black Church. It was more than a religious institution: it was a social, political, and economic institution all in one. Its early mutual aid societies cared for the sick, aged, and disabled; buried the dead of indigent families; provided financial support for widows and orphans; made loans; and provided many related community services. In two of his earlier works, DuBois held this same view that the Black Church was more than a religious institution. Defining the major functions of the church within the context of the Black community, he included the roles of setting moral standards, promoting education, working for social uplift of the race, building collective economic power, and providing opportunities for social interaction and recreation.

Across the generations, more than preaching has been on the agenda of the Black Church. Looking at its role during the Reconstruction Period, Fordham contends that the Black Church has been an institution that addressed itself primarily to the adaptive or utilitarian needs of its members and constituents.

In the early 1950s Brownlee wrote, "Blacks look upon their church to free the mind as well as to unfetter the soul in order to achieve industrial (economic) freedom." He further observed that, if the inner cities are to be saved, rather than to be deserted, much depends upon the thrust of the stability of the Black Church, in both its vision and its economic outreach into the community.

Two incidents in the development of Black communities 126 years apart validate the statement that the functions of the Black Church go far beyond that of being simply religious. In the first instance, which is related by Fordham, the Black community was expelled from
Cincinnati in 1829. Thereupon, the Black Church undertook a campaign led by the Reverend Peter Williams, rector of St. Phillips African Church in New York City, to bring economic aid to the expelled community. In a sermon in 1830 he urged the establishment of a settlement in northern Canada for these refugees from Wilberforce, stating that it would be wise and proper for free Blacks and the church to pool their resources to reserve a million acre tract being offered them in Canada. The St. Phillips congregation raised $6,000 for the initial price on 4,000 acres of this tract. In addition to the money for the land, the church donated clothing and other necessities for the exiles from Cincinnati who had emigrated to Canada.

The other incident occurred in 1955 in Somerville, Tennessee, when a group of approximately fifty Black tenant farmers registered to vote. They were expelled from the land they had farmed, and were forced, in the dead of winter, to pitch tents in a muddy field they were allowed to use to house their families. Their plight was headlined as sensational news, but only the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., through its churches, led by Dr. J. H. Jackson, its president, responded with the necessary economic aid to get the people into sanitary, warm shelters overnight. Moreover, the churches of the Convention rallied to Dr. Jackson's call for economic assistance and raised sufficient funds to build, within six months, fifty fully equipped houses for these farmers and their families. These houses were sold to the farmers on long-term leases at no interest whatever. The Convention also bought more than 500 acres of land for them to farm on a commercial basis. Within three years, more than one hundred houses had been built by the Convention for these families, and, in a span of five years, all debts were paid, and the farmers owned the properties outright.

The Issues Explored

It is this writer's contention that the Black Church in the 1980's should be classified as "the invisible institution that is in need of a second Reconstruction." It is this writer's opinion that the Black Church should begin the next decade with a strong return to the basic concerns and/or issues that are related to the survival and elevation of the Black masses.

After the Civil War and the Emancipation, ministers became concerned that there was no one to baptize Black children, to perform marriages, or to bury the dead. A ministry had to be created at once -- created out of the material at hand. The material at hand was, of course, those Black slaves who had been "called to preach." In answer to the criticism that neither men nor money were available for creating a ministry, the minister quoted above wrote that God could call the men, and the A.M.E. Church had the authority to commission them when thus called! This represented the fusion of the "invisible institution" of the Black Church which had taken root among the slaves and the institutional church which had grown up among the Blacks who were free before the Civil War.
The Black Church must, in the form of a prime national directive, return to the ideas which suggest involvement in such areas as mutual aid societies, credit unions, education, and corporate investments. These are the specific areas that this writer feels are basic necessities if the Black Church expects to become a viable institution in the twenty-first century.

It is important to acknowledge some of the immediate barriers facing the Black Church. In this regard, this writer agrees with Johnstone's assessment: First, organizations of Black ministers, whether denominational or nondenominational, are not entering the political arena to any substantial degree. They are not entering the political arena as independent organizations, but only as part of a broad community effort, and even then not all of them by any means.

Second, Black preachers tend to remain noticeably independent entrepreneurs. Most activities directed toward affecting the political and governmental structure of the community are carried on by individual ministers acting out of personal motivation, as representatives of their local congregations or as citizen members of various local community organizations.

A third factor that tends to minimize the impact of Black preachers beyond the walls of their churches stems from the nature and demands of their occupational role. Whether by default or design, many Black preachers must assume tasks that in many white churches are handled by laymen - such functions as handling congregational business affairs and building maintenance.

A fourth broad factor that tends to limit the potential of the Black Church centers in the diversity and lack of consensus among Black ministers. The differences along the militant-traditionalist continuum are both many and of considerable magnitude.

The Black Church must begin to address itself to the serious problems of modernizing its philosophy to meet the needs of a people who are mentally and physically enslaved in "human zoos" which are commonly referred to as inner cities, ghettos, and urban jungles. The Black Church has many opportunities to be creative and innovative in its attempt to practice a truly humanistic ministry.

Whenever a traditional institution attempts to bring about social and/or political change, there will always be certain dangers. The most salient dangers are fear of the unknown and refusal to participate. However, great dangers always accompany great opportunities. The possibility of destruction is always implicit in the act of creation. Based on this perspective, this paper concludes with some suggestions for creative change.
All "storefront churches" should be banned from Black communities. Most of these buildings should be condemned, because, in this writer's opinion and eyesight, most of these structures are moral, ethical and physical eye sores. Those Black preachers who call themselves ministers, but who are actually pimps who use and abuse uneducated Blacks (and some mis-educated Blacks) for their own personal gain, should be banned from practicing their trade in the Black ghettos. The increased financial resources (monies that would normally be spent in the storefronts) would be pooled into larger religious establishments. This writer is not implying that there are no religious pimps in the larger and more traditional Black religious establishments. Rather, the writer is suggesting that the phasing out of storefronts would be a wise and necessary investment.

Secondly, Black congregations should insist that their ministers be educated not only in theological areas, but in other areas such as business and economics as well. In addition to the Ten Commandments, preachers must preach that the Western world is competitive, aggressive, capitalistic, and that nothing is sacrosanct. The only thing that is respected in the West is organized power -- the ability to back up one's position with dollars, people, and force if necessary. In a sense, this writer believes that this was the message that Martin Luther King, Jr. was finally getting across to the masses of poor people just prior to his assassination!

Thirdly, the Black Church must assume a more active role in providing supplemental educational opportunities for Black people. For example, such classes as "Sexism and Racism," "Essence of Ethnicity," "The Black Family," and "Black Thought" should be in the educational program of all Black churches, including their Sunday School programs. This basic approach would revolutionize the Black Church by making it address itself to the serious problems of modernizing its philosophy to meet the needs of a people enslaved in urban jungles in an industrial society where the individual must be taught to manipulate his environment.

The Black Church is the only institution in existence that is capable of reversing a trend of thinking that has brought Black people to the very brinks of annihilation. First, the Black preachers are the historical leaders of most Black people and their words in the churches will be heard by more people than belong to any other organization. Second, most Black people, whether they go to church or not, or whether they have ever been there, are victims of beliefs which have their origin in the Black Church. Third, a change of religion will not eliminate the crises most Black people face because most Black people are going to die Christians.

The churches must sponsor an alternative educational system similar to that of the Catholic church -- the reason being that since Black people are not presently organized to make the existing educational system (the public one) work for us, we must begin to prepare a system which will end the destruction of whole generations
of Black minds. This means that Black preachers must be trained in areas which allow for a humanistic approach toward technology: ethnic studies courses, mathematics, biology, chemistry, economics, electronics, engineering, physics, and English. Religious ethics may still be taught, but Black children must also be taught that they can control their environment, their living space, and that they can discover nature's laws which govern life. (They must discover the laws, not change them.)

NOTES


3 Fordham. *op. cit.*


5 Fordham. *op. cit.*


7 Frazier. *op. cit.*, 29.


Critique by Charles C. Irby

*Back to the Basics...* is a provocative presentation which focuses on the role of the Black church as a socio-cultural, politico-economic institution in an historic context. Not focused in Williams' paper are the spiritual, religious aspects of the Black church, but the solutions proposed certainly lead toward a liberation theology. Williams' primary focus is on how the Black church, in a modern context, has drifted away from its original raison d'être, and he attempts to show what can be done to restore the Black church, as an agent or institution for the people, to a position which serves the people.
While the author's focus on the objects for analysis is clearly and sharply presented, the processes for attaining his proposed solutions are obscure. This obscurity stems from Williams' belief that the Black church "should return to the ideas which suggest involvement in such areas as mutual aid societies, credit unions, education, and corporate investments." But Williams provides no vehicle for attaining these goals beyond citing the Black church's historic role and its present circumstances in communities.

Williams' presentation is a good paper for *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* because he offers solutions for contemporary problems. However, to make this paper an excellent presentation, he should fill the wide gaps where only scholars (who already know) understand what is presented; and Williams should align his sights on what the Black church *is* doing in a modern context rather than devoting the present amount of space to what it is not doing. Attention to these matters could help in the identification of the vehicle(s) needed for restructuring the Black church to serve people.
The issues addressed in this paper relate to racism within the helping process. We will base our discussion on the premise that racism is an illness and should be regarded as such wherever it emerges in the helping process, whether or not this relates directly to the client's reasons for seeking help. The discussion will also be based on the converse, i.e. that concerns of clients about race relations, their interest in establishing positive interracial relationships or in effecting change on some level, should be regarded as healthy and positive, not as "symptomatic" of hidden pathology.

Presently, in social casework and other helping techniques, professional racial awareness and responsibility seem to be focused almost exclusively on understanding minority clients, in order to improve service delivery to third world people. If racism is not confronted directly as an illness, the burden of change will remain on the oppressed, whom we may attempt to "help" by inadvertently blaming them exclusively for their situation. We may continue to use strictly an individualistic approach, looking for origins of intra-personal maladjustment. We may, through what is considered in this paper the cultural lag of social Darwinist theories, judge oppressed clients as "losers" because they have not come out among the "fittest" in the struggle to survive, rather than including in our diagnoses the lack of equal opportunities necessary before judging the competition.

Many caseworkers believe that 'once we have contracted to represent society's concern to help persons who are experiencing some maladaptation or obstacle on their social living, we are carriers of social values and social standards.' This paper indicates that without recognizing that American social standards give mixed messages, i.e. social Darwinism vs. brotherhood and democracy, (whose ambivalence may reflect either the adolescence, part of a growing process, or the firmly schizoid nature of our society--a discussion of which could be the topic of a separate paper), caseworkers who want to "carry social values" may engage clients in a process as destructive and controlling as helpful. Here we emphasize the significant factor that racism, as it is manifested both inter-personally and institutionally, is a prevalent social standard. Yet our professional ethics, diagnostic skills and our experiences with oppression and clients should reveal to us that racism is an illness.
Racism as Pathology in Clients

In view of these considerations, as helping professionals we should also consider whether we will deal with the racist manifestations of clients, or we will confront racism only as it affects the issues that clients have come to discuss and as it apparently affects their progress. We should note that we deal with all manifestations of clinically recognized pathology in our clients, whether they are verbally or nonverbally concerned about or aware of them. It is easy to dismiss racism because of our own discomfort. We must decide whether we see ourselves as social Darwinists or representatives of change. Have we begun to draw distinctions between "treatment as a clinical process concerned with disease or disorder, and the kinds of help arrived at supporting the life process and dealing with problems of living, but imply no illness"?

It is important that we be judgmental about racism. In keeping with social work values, it is a casework responsibility to recognize racism as pathology and to deal with its manifestations in our clients. The therapeutic relationship is of particular importance. The client's trust in the worker will allow the worker, as in any casework process, to criticize. More positively, trust will mean that the caseworker can begin to serve as a role model, both in behavior and attitudes that can affect the client.

Behavioral modification has been used as a practice technique for those who are victims of oppression. We might consider the technique in relation to racist behaviors.

After the casework process's impact on the client's self-esteem and behavior towards others has evidenced some change, a group experience may prove to be very beneficial to the client. There, acceptance and support will be continued, while the client may have the opportunity to interact with black clients. Whether or not race relations form the rationale for the group, again, we deal with pathology, and help the group recognize, in their dynamics on a microcosmic level, the dehumanizing function of racism in the total community. Role-playing, exchanging roles, and psycho-drama, are techniques available in groups to help clients change stereotyped attitudes and understand white racism. Poetry reading, of black poets, can bring the white group members to a feeling-level in relating with blacks. Fears may be overcome through interracial dialogue, through discussing the real meanings of "militancy" and "black power." A comparison of the Platform and Program of the Black Panthers and the Declaration of Independence could be a helpful exercise. The long-range opportunity of developing interracial relationships not based on racial issues is a valuable potential experience offered through group work.
It seems that if in casework, or a related group process, we help our clients relate to the goals and values involved in their own self-development, we should be able to help them see the importance of these as group values and goals in the black community. This would provide common ground, empathy, perhaps lessening fears and defensiveness. Just as feelings of alienation, of exploitation, the need for self-esteem, self-assertion and growth form the helping nature of casework, these same goals are emphasized and must be understood on a group basis in the black movement. As we talk about communication and relationship skills with our clients, it is possible to use these skills to build bridges to the black experience.

If whites can value the themes of the following lines, why then are the concepts of separatism and black power still so deeply feared, unless they are not understood in the context of the universal human condition?

"I want to love you without clutching,  
Appreciate you without judging,  
Join you without invading,  
Invite you without demanding,  
Leave you without guilt,  
Criticize you without blaming,  
And help you without insulting.  
If I can have the same from you  
Then we can truly meet and enrich each other."  

The Desire to Eliminate Racism as Mentally Healthy

"To join in the challenge to combat racism...means sharing the powers of decision, relinquishing privilege, and becoming an ally to an unpopular cause." Clients, whose conflicts include the powerful involvement, personally or professionally, with some facet of race relations, are in need of support. The Rankian "guilt of difference," the client's lack of a nurturing support group, and their promotion of human interests in a society that de-emphasizes human feeling, may make them ambivalent about continuing their participation. This may be especially true for white males, who may feel the pressure for economic, prestige, and power gains more than white women, for whom it is generally more acceptable to be artistic, feeling, and service-oriented.

Social caseworkers, rather than providing support to socially aware clients, may attempt to "resolve" their ambivalence by subtly steering them away from a helpful or more activist role in race relations. This occurs through what we have observed about the individualistic orientation of casework and its reflection of conflicting social standards.
The client and his/her behavior are "gauged consciously against that which society and the social agency hold to be conducive to the individual's and group's welfare." 7 Galper's experiences with psychoanalysis "contained some very radical political notions that encouraged and deepened (his) radical commitments. At the same time, the experiences contained some very conservative notions that made (his) movement toward radical commitments more difficult." 8 Although, as Galper points out, therapy's emphasis on the importance of the individual may seem to be a radical notion in a society that devalues human worth, the direction of the helping process may imply that the individual's ambivalence, anger, and alienation are harmful to both personal and social well-being.

However, it may be helpful to the client to sort out with the therapist displaced negative feelings from those originating from racist issues, per se. If, for example, after working through repressed anger towards a parent, the client's zeal for social and political struggle is considerably lessened, then the result is equally as important to the minority community, who do not benefit from hypocritical involvement, as it is to the client. Moreover, if the client's involvement with race relations causes harm to him/herself or others, and the harm is considerably greater than any apparent growth, we would want to search very carefully for the sources of motivation and negative feelings.

We will look now more specifically at some of the ways in which casework may tend to influence potential and actual helpers, change agents, or activists among clients away from the ultimate goal of eliminating racism.

1. **Flattening the client's anger**

Because anger can be harmful to the individual's health and enjoyment of life, and because it can lead to destructive behavior, efforts are made to deter the client from an angry or hostile attitude toward other people, inter-personal situations and politics. The positive side of anger as it relates to the energy required for change, the empathetic recognition of human suffering, the motivation to help someone besides oneself, is not usually demonstrated to the client.

2. **Emphasizing that unhappiness is not externally caused**

Some therapists, in their urgency to relieve clients of anxiety, fear, anger and mistrust, interpret these feelings as fantasies and illusions. Inherent in this interpretation is the idea that it is irrational to "become quite upset over other people's problems and disturbances." 9 Directing the client's energies totally toward introspection is a serious deterrent to social change.
3. Pointing to displaced anger

Focusing on the client's anger, hostility, paranoia, depression, or whatever other label that may develop, rather than dealing with the actual facts of exploitation, racism and the potential for genocide, underscores the status quo orientation of casework. Furthermore, interpretations that ascribe all the client's efforts to a Freudian need to triumph over an authority figure, often counter-productive and anger producing for a potential activist, may potentially disrupt the therapeutic relationship as the client begins to question the therapist's approach to people through insistence on this focus rather than on the pathology of racism.

4. Viewing the client as unable to fulfill his/her needs

As we have mentioned previously, a person who asks for help is considered weak, ill, the source of his/her own deprivation. A concerned or activist client's relationships with family and original groups may be seriously impaired because of the philosophies and goals expressed by the client. This, in turn, interferes with the basic needs of the client to love and be loved and to feel worthwhile to himself and others. The caseworker, rather than viewing these inadequacies as functions of the inherent unpopularity of siding with the black community and challenging white power figures, distracts the client from participation in change by insisting that it is a sign of his/her disability that primary group relationships have been disrupted. The strength of the self-assertion and humanistic intent involved may be overlooked, and the ties with the "significant others" that the client does choose may be ignored or seen as pathological.

5. Low self-esteem and suicidal tendencies

Perhaps nowhere do the projections of a cultural lag in casework manifest themselves so strongly as in the linkage of white involvement in the black movement and self-esteem.

Suicidal tendencies are often included in the label, as an extension of low self-esteem.

Though we may not formally admit to such an assessment, it is common practice that a white client who forms a friendship or an intimate relationship with a black is considered to have poor self-esteem. Neither is it unknown to practice that white clients who work in black "ghetto areas" are thought to reflect suicidal tendencies.

We, as helping people, are not accustomed to objectivity in this area, in spite of verbalized values about integration and affirmative action. We need to look at how racism has affected our own experience, how our fears and paranoia about the "ghetto"
may be projected in our evaluation of the client, and how our lack of experiences of friendship or intimacy makes us unable to understand objectively a close interracial relationship.

6. **Suggesting a change of environment**

The activist client, frustrated in his/her efforts to change the particular institutional setting where he/she works or lives, frustrated in efforts to combat racism, because of the individual orientation of the casework process, may be advised to move to a setting that is more in tune with his/her personal or professional philosophy.

7. **Non-judgmental approach**

Of all the aspects of casework that deter white involvement in race relations, perhaps the most significant is the attempt to develop a non-judgmental attitude.

However, such an attitude is not always desirable. Instead of judging "in the sense of estimating and concluding whether what (the client) is and does is or is not socially acceptable or desirable," 1 we, in keeping with professional ethics, need to view our client's involvement with race relations more positively. Otherwise, pressure towards conformity may occur in two ways: 1.) focusing on the unacceptability of activism, and 2.) allowing, non-judgmentally, for the racist behavior of other whites.

**Conclusions**

The casework process ideally will provide insight that will help reaffirm the client's involvement in race relations. For example, if the client's experience as an oppressed person within the family system becomes clearer, strengthening personal identity and individual difference may also include greater comfort with the risks of commitment and assertion of social values. Insight into one's personal experience with oppression, rejection, mediation, etc., in the family situation, that casework may provide, may tend to foster the client's identity and empathy with oppressed peoples, and the client's efforts may become more positive and purposeful.

The casework process can help the client overcome the guilt of difference, and develop skills in forming new support groups. If the caseworker has skills in a specific field of social action, a valuable form of support for some clients might be to discuss together effective ways of bringing about change in the social arena.

In helping clients achieve the healthiest balance for them between the inner and outer, individual and the social, the caseworker
could explore with clients other aspects of life and self-development, which inevitably would enhance their involvement with race relations. People who value and enjoy life, who can experience joy, spontaneity, and enthusiasm, will be more credible in all areas of race relations, because they will apparently be committed out of a desire to communicate humanly, to exchange and share with all peoples, rather than out of a pathological need to commiserate and a negative response to life. Such people represent the wholeness and well-being that is casework's goal to develop. The values of the helping process essentially and unequivocally parallel the process of growth toward inter-racial understanding.

"If, in our effort to help others overcome their isolation, we also overcome our own, then we profit along with those we help."12

We conclude that social casework has the value base and potential content to offer an effective arena for change regarding the dynamics of racism and to foster more positive inter-racial relationships. It is the responsibility of the helping process to confront racism wherever it occurs, to regard racism as an illness and efforts to overcome racism as an indication of mental health.

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**FOOTNOTES**


**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


POETRY CORNER

featuring

NEO-PIONEERS: THE AMERICAN INDIAN INDIAN SCHOLAR SISTERS OF ALASKA INDIAN MUSICIAN TODAY

by

SILVESTER J. BRITO UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE
NEO-PIONEERS: THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Coming from a crowded and "vacant" land
They must make a new life
In a hostile territory
With wild Indian tales
Of broken spears
Scalped Rangers
And honorless treaties.

Their will not be the Weapons
Of their Predecessory Adversaries,
Where musket powderd balls
Overcame the hunters' arrows;
But theirs will be
The tools of the white man.

With pen of the scholar
They will carve
A new life
From the turmoil
Of the white social order:
That changing frontier
Of theirs and the scientific world.

In the siege of adversity,
They will rally
To the drumbeat
Of the city'
With its man-made suns
And the magical machines
Whose thirst is never quenched.

But behold
They will also owe their souls
To the Big Ben
Which tells men
When to 'wake, eat
And fight the battles
In a new arena
Of the worded courtroom.
INDIAN SCHOLAR

Oh God; it hurts
When your college professor
Tells you how little you know
Of your people's history.

Dear Lord it pains
When the white professor
Knows more about your religion
Than the spiritual elders.

Then, Great Spirit,
The hurt turns
To defiance
And a confusion of the soul.

So with hurt and shame
You drop out of college
Spending your lost days
Between two cultures.

Somebody help me
Tell me the truth Grandfather.
Does that professor know
More than you can remember!
SISTERS OF ALASKA

Women of Alaska
Healers of men
Creating new horizons
For your native ones.

Sisters of Alaska
Natives of the land
Bringing starlight notions
And refreshing moments.

Women of the Northern Lights
From frozen shores
Shedding drops of inspiration
Upon intrenched souls.

Eskimo and Indian
Sisters of the north
Finding and stimulating
Worn down brothers of the south.

Women of Alaska
With vitality of life
Bringing new ways
That were our old ways.

Women of Alaska
Messengers of a new day
You refresh our minds
With a beauty of our people.

Sisters of my life
Delighted with your presence
Bridging ancient ties
In a world of new adventure.
INDIAN MUSICIAN TODAY

There are thoughts I want to play
But I cannot express them
In the Western form
For the metal flute
Will not respond
To the sounds of the loon
Or a mystic light.

I cannot find the song
That tells where to laugh
Or how it hurts,
For the beat of a fawn
Is missing
By a silver lake.

So I cannot play
From that center to my soul,
For in the American mode
The old flutes of my people
Are long gone.
Although the past decade has witnessed a surge in the number of publications focusing on ethnic groups and ethnic issues, the genre of study which may be called "ethnic history of America" is still weakly represented. As a relatively pioneering effort, the Dinnerstein, Nichols and Reimers book makes a valuable contribution, and it could be justifiably recommended for American history courses, American Society courses, and courses on ethnicity. The general periodization of history is good, and the important ethnic developments within each period are related effectively to the emergence and growth of the United States politically and economically as well as ideologically.

Also laudatory, is the authors' broad definition of ethnicity. Rather than conforming to recent trends in both scholarship and public policy, which have come to equate ethnicity with minority status based on race, the authors continue in the tradition of Warner and Srole, Gordon, and Moynihan and Glazer. That is to say, the book deals both with the "minority ethnics" and the "white ethnics." We are told, albeit briefly, about all major ethnic groups in American history, their unique social characteristics, and the terms of their contact with the host society. The main intellectual themes of the book appear to be that ethnic groups were important in the building of the country, and that interethnic processes are best understood in the dichotomized form of "natives vs strangers."

Yet several shortcomings merit mention as well. First, while the authors cover the discriminatory consequences of such ideological frameworks as racism, anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism, assimilationism is not featured. Yet perhaps nothing has been so universally consequential for ethnicity in this country's brief history as the English settlers' conclusion that the United States was their country, and that everyone else had to renounce their own heritage. Indeed, public pressures - both institutionally and policy-wise - to this end were pronounced until very recently. Which is to say, that this reviewer strongly disagrees with the book's interpretation which implies that the non-English people were all just dying to forget their own heritage and to assimilate. Rather, the goal-ideal was imposed, more often than not, coercively by an English-dominated core or host society.
Second, in the past decade there have been profound shifts in both ideology and public policy, respectively, toward multi-culturalism and the prohibition of discriminatory practices. The authors' attention is focused on the struggle against discrimination at the expense of the change in ideology. This is not to say that the coverage of the fight for social and economic justice should be lessened in such a book, but that the more or less exclusive focus on it has blinded the authors to the other important societal change which occurred simultaneously, namely the legitimation of multi-culturalism, or, in other words, the displacement of the formerly reigning ideology of assimilationism. Importantly, both changes were forced by the ethnics themselves.

This leads me on the last two points. The authors' statement on page 308 that "the renewed assertion of ethnic pride and identity is, no doubt, the last gasp of a dying swan," appears as a gross overstatement and manifests a seeming assimilationist bias. The choice, in regard to ethnicity, is not limited to ghetto culture on the one hand and anglicized Americanism on the other. One may not only compartmentalize identities, but the ethnic identity may be as modernized - as contemporary - as the core American one, whatever that is. In any case, I know of no empirical evidence which would attest that there has been a profound assimilation of any major ethnic group. Perhaps the confusion ensues, as usual, from the general tendency to confuse assimilation as a social process and as an ideology, and the failure to distinguish analytically between individual and group-level components of ethnic identity. Lots of individuals may indeed be "assimilating" (although we cannot seem to pinpoint what these people then have become), but groups themselves have persisted.

Lastly, the portrayal of the "white ethnics" in the last chapter, in reactive terms, is unfortunate. The East and South European communities played a significant role in the ideological shift which has occurred; and furthermore, empirical studies show the "white ethnic" in general to have, in the last several decades, a fairly liberal voting record in electing public officials, more so than native white Protestants. That is to say, these groups have often made possible the election of the liberals who were instrumental in responding to minority demands to end discriminatory practices. My own conversations with white ethnic community leaders and the reading of their press would indicate that the reaction is not to Black gains, but to the intellectuals', the liberals', and, in general, the new public policies' insistence that the former are all simply whites. And indeed, this particular interpretative problem exists throughout the book. When the writers talk about European immigrants, they point out the frequent prejudices and discrimination which the earlier English-Americans displayed. But when the discussion switches to minorities, the authors shift quickly to a basically racial conceptualization. For example, where exactly is the evidence that the Irish oppose Chicano goals and gains, or that the Polish oppose those of Blacks?
These, of course, are problems which permeate the whole field of ethnic study. Yet, if a second edition should be prepared, it would be hoped that the authors attempt to untangle such issues. It would make for a much better book. But even now, this is one of the best ethnic histories of the United States.

-- Tõnu Parming

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A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF MINORITY ELDERS IN SAN DIEGO:

These are seven monographs published by the Center on Aging at San Diego University (The Campanile Press, 1978). Each monograph is the result of a team of researchers investigating an ethnic group. These cross-cultural studies of minority elders in San Diego investigate samples of Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Latinos, Filipinos, Samoans, and Guamanians aged 50 and over.

With a common methodology, the researchers objectives are:

- To explore and describe the characteristic lifestyles and primary interactional networks of ethnic minority older people.
- To identify perceptions and attitudes of ethnic minority elders toward formal programmatic assistance and analyze the relationship between the characteristic lifestyles and the use and perception of formal assistance.
- To design and test a methodology adopted for appropriateness and effectiveness in obtaining information about ethnic populations, specifically the elders of these populations. (Valle and Mendoza, LATINO, p. 1)

The researchers blend traditional methods with modifications--Platica methodology--that are designed to purposively elicit and describe the ethnic populations being investigated. As part of their purposive design, each team of researchers tailored "The research instruments and contact patterns specifically to the linguistic and situational differentials to be encountered within each ethnic cohort" (op. cit., p.4). Interviewers were of the same ethnicity as their interviewees. Formal and informal community networks were utilized to gain interviewees; contacts were made through acquaintance networks, social and religious organizations, and other cultural brokers. Interviewer approaches can
be generally characterized as being less structured and less prescriptive than a strict experimentalist would desire; unobtrusive and contextual data were considered legitimate material. Interviewers were not restricted only to closed-ended, pre-selected questions. They could also ask open-ended questions, add observations, and were encouraged to consider subject comfort and rapport as important components in the interview process.

It is difficult to summarize the findings of seven separate monographs—the intergroup variances were often as significant as the intragroup variances, and, it would be too time-consuming to treat each monograph separately. What follows are general patterns that occur—together with a few interesting tidbits. Most minority elders are satisfied with where they live and with the quality of their lives. Most depend on themselves, their families, and friends for help. Most help other people. Most want more contact with their families. Many ethnic minority elders feel that the younger generation should adhere more closely to their own ethnic cultural values—especially to those values that promoted family affinity. Many elders also feel they should get more respect. Concepts of old age vary among the groups. Some see it as a state of mind, an ability to work, a physical or mental condition, or as chronological age.

For a variety of reasons, the minority elder underutilizes government services, e.g., many are afraid to utilize medical facilities because of financial fears, or because of the fear that medical illness will be discovered, or because of alienation from the care providers. Many are proud and hesitant in asking for any kind of help, e.g., only 7.3% of the Latino elders are on welfare, and 1.8% are dependent on their families. Many think the government can and should help, though many are not sure what services need to be developed. Interviewers report different degrees of receptivity in their interactions with interviewees, e.g., Blacks report that their interviewees are relatively open in their interactions (note: the interviewers were Black females—chosen because it was felt that they would promote rapport better than others) while Latinos are often suspicious. It is touching to read how some Samoans wept as they recounted their leaving Samoa and their feelings of loneliness, and perhaps from the relief or gratitude that someone came to hear their story. It is difficult to delineate the reasons why differences in interviewer and interviewee interactions occur—though there are myriads of possible explanations.

In their conclusions, most of the researchers recommend:

a) The utilization of local talent, e.g., paraprofessionals and community organizations, for the delivery of services, and research. b) Use of bilingual and bicultural community service providers. c) Greater utilization of government programs by ethnic populations. d) Utilization and development of cultural brokers to help make programs better known and to encourage the
use of government programs. e) More accurate counts of minorities (all monographs record undercounts by official census reports). Undercounts have detrimental consequences on the allocation of funds and resources to minority communities. f) Involvement of minority groups and individuals in the planning, implementation and analysis of research and programs that affect them. g) Funding and training of scholars and researchers in ethnic studies.

Critique

Unless the same studies are done in the same area, with different samples, interviewers, and researchers, it is difficult to see how the methodology used in these studies can be tested for validity and reliability. If one were to use the same methodology elsewhere, it would be reasonable to expect different results from studying ethnic cohorts in other parts of the country--the demand characteristics of San Diego can skew responses. The authors of these monographs hope that others will try their methodology, however, they do not elaborate on the criteria by which their methodology should be measured. It seems that they will be basing their criteria on the self-report of others, in terms of efficacy of statistical measures.

Another disadvantage of this methodology is that it entails extra thinking and work; the researcher cannot enter the community with his or her statistical tools and survey techniques and assume that they will be universally applicable. In order to use the methods espoused in these monographs, one would have to know intimately the unique psychosocial and cultural dynamics of the ethnic group and then develop approaches that would optimize the responses and analysis of the feelings and thoughts of the respondents.

The category N/A (Not Applicable) is used frequently; but with different efficiency in these monographs. It would be helpful to the reader to be told if the N/A responses were given by particular individuals or whether these responses were distributed with equal frequency throughout the groups being investigated. One cannot help but question why the pre-trial interviews did not deal more effectively with this problem. One particular monograph should have offered better explanations for the large number and nature of many of its N/A responses. Along with better explanations, perhaps they could have broken down this category into more specific categories. This same monograph occasionally--and disconcertingly--separated its figures from its categories, e.g., each respondent had four choices: alone, with family, with friends, or with organized groups. The highest percentage (53.5 percent) indicated that they spent their time alone, while 15.8 percent, 17.8 percent and 12.9 percent respectively, chose the aforementioned categories. Perhaps they could have kept their figures next to their categories (as they usually did), e.g., with family (15.8%), with friends (17.8%).
While each monograph is designed to be a separate entity, for the sake of comparison, it would have been helpful to the reader if a compendium of all the tables in the monographs had been presented, along with similar regional and national statistics if available.

Since community organizations and "word-of-mouth" sources are used to get interviewees, an obvious question is raised: Are there significant numbers of ethnic minority elders who are not part of the community networks and would their responses be different?

Though they vary in the quality and quantity of their presentations, all these monographs are very readable, and they have simple and concise tables.

Compared to the conventional approaches and techniques we usually use, what the researchers of these monographs advocate probably gives us a better picture of the thoughts and feelings of the respondents. The use of open-ended questions, and unobtrusive and contextual measures, reveal information that may not have been apparent if more "objective" and clinical approaches had been used. Examples abound: those who interview ethnic minority elders frequently comment on how pride plays a significant role in the psychology and interactions of the interviewees. Service deliverers will have to deal with this aspect of ethnic and human behavior if they are to reach the populations who need their services. From reading these monographs, one discovers such information as the effects of written consent forms. In some cases the forms elicit suspicion and in other cases suspicion is allayed. We read also that it is rude to ask the age of such ethnic minority elders as the Latinos and Japanese. Instead, it is suggested that the place of birth be asked first and then the date of birth. We find that the date of birth is not necessarily in terms of calendar dates. Instead, it may be marked by significant events in the history of the ethnic groups.

A particularly appealing approach taken by the researchers is the egalitarianism and respect which the professionals show to the participants in their studies. Community members and interviewers are frequently involved in "professional" and administrative decisions.

It is gratifying to read that these researchers are not engaging in the practice so characteristic of so many researchers: stereotyping and overgeneralization. In recent years, our social science researchers are finally doing what they have been taught, hopefully, in school: a sample does not constitute a universe. Until recently, race and ethnic research has been functionally defined as Black and white research. Researchers have become aware that there are differences not only among Blacks but also among non-white ethnic groups. Research such as these San Diego studies can contribute to the social sciences by pointing out that knowing one's subject matter both descriptively and statistically is very important.
Discussion

This series of monographs contributes to the development of new survey and interviewing methods. Information is utilized from anthropology, sociology, social work, ethnology, and other fields. It humanizes social scientific approaches, e.g., community members are viewed as consultants and participants capable of taking on roles and functions traditionally reserved for academicians, professionals, and administrators. Traditionally, ethnic communities have been areas of exploitation for social scientists: research was often used for control purposes. Universities used these communities to train students, and professionals worked to develop credentials and then they left. The researchers in these studies reflect a growing breed of social scientists involved in ethnic research: they are innovative, concerned for their fellow beings, have a greater awareness of environmental parameters, and advocate for meaningful changes.

As one reads of the pride and self-reliance that is characteristic of so many ethnic minority elders, one can fervently hope that valuable individual psychological assets are not being sacrificed to greater states of dependency. While one can fully endorse the attempts of professionals and administrators to remove barriers and meet as many of the wants and needs of the people as possible, along with the need to develop indigenous systems, serious consideration should be given to encourage these populations to express and advocate for themselves. The concept of the minority elder as simply the consumer of services is unidimensional, detrimental, and demeaning. These monographs clearly show that many elders do not endorse the concept of old age as a time to sit back and play checkers. Most prefer to be active. By using cultural brokers, socio-technocrats, and organizations to interpret and meet the needs of the minority elder. We may merely further the ends of the technocrats other than meet the needs of the people.

These studies bring many issues to mind. These studies clearly show that minority elders are not exploiting public coffers. On the contrary, they are underutilizing services to which they have a right and for which they paid in earlier years. One also wonders in reading these monographs the role ethnicity plays in the responses given and the function of such variables as degree of acculturation, group size, class, and degree of group cohesiveness.

Such research as this does not merely describe the needs, wants, and dynamics of certain ethnic groups. What we are also getting are expressions of psychology and the human condition. Social scientists and administrators can learn that the responses gathered in this project are responses which, to varying degrees, reflect all population. The study of minority groups can increase the alternatives our society has available to it. The plight of the elderly is a concern about which we frequently hear. The study on Samoans shows that they consider it an honor to have an elder live with them. If we wish to foster such an attitude in other groups, perhaps an
understanding of the dynamics of Samoan culture may give us some idea on which variables to manipulate in order to have people honor their elders. Another example: our society is undergoing tremendous changes in this era, the study of ethnic groups can give us some alternative views on how people, with varying degrees of dependency on national social, political, and economic systems, can and have dealt with the lack of certain resources—such as fossil fuels. The study of minorities can increase the alternatives available to us and contribute to our national life.

--Michael Illovsky
Madison, Wisconsin

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It is extremely difficult to review in any kind of a literary way a book which makes no pretense at being a literary work. Historic Resources is a report and a resource listing of what does exist. In addition to "what is" there are well thought out recommendations for what should be. The report deals with five broad areas of concern—Historical Organization and Museum Artifacts, Newspapers, Manuscripts, Historic Structures, and Archaeological Sites—which are and have been influenced by the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. In each of the sections there is a broad outline rationale for the existence of the sub-division. In addition there is a brief description of the current research in progress in each of the five areas.

There will be little disagreement on description and historical background materials on the part of users of this resource volume. However, there may be room for discussion and dissension when one arrives at the section which outlines conclusions and recommendations. A series of eight recommendations for future action will certainly raise some questions. To cite one example, there is room for discussion in the case of recommendation number six. "The proliferation of small museums and historical collections should be discouraged in the interest of preserving the states existing resources." One must be very careful to explain the full text of the recommendation in order to avoid the denigration of those efforts which have already taken place at the local or organizational level. Secondly, the state may not be willing to take on the responsibility for preserving records or artifacts from scores of organizations which do not have a vital place in a state-wide institution. By so broadly stating the recommendation, there is an implication that everything is of equal worth to the Historical Society.
Historic Resources in Minnesota will certainly serve as a valuable resource to lend substance to future plans for the Society. It also serves as an excellent catalogue of activities which are now in progress. This report should be available in every school and library in the State of Minnesota for community and teacher use, and it also could serve as a model for other states to review and preview their own needs and solutions.

--Mr. Christian K. Skjervold
Equal Education Support Department
Minneapolis Public Schools


White Awareness has been created out of a personal and professional struggle and is designed to help whites understand and come to grips with personal, cultural, and institutional racism. The author was the child of refugees from Hitler's Germany. She was further influenced by the social movements in the United States during the 1960's. She has a vision of equality and a commitment to combatting the pathology of racism. Her practical orientation makes her concerned with action rather than self-indulgent or energy-wasting guilt.

Katz's basic premise is that racism is a predominantly 'white problem' because it contains power and control and because whites are overwhelmingly in control of our society. This power differentiates racism from prejudice which is a human failing but one that, without power, cannot systematically oppress others. Whites need to be re-educated physically, socially, and psychologically in order to be freed from racism among themselves.

The Handbook's training program is a starting place and not an end in itself. The program is from theory to training to practice, and is primarily designed for counselors, educators, teachers, and agents of change. The participant begins by defining concepts of bias, bigotry, prejudice, and racism, then examines racism in the context of such areas as education, health services, housing, politics, religion, economics, aesthetics, and language. In the process one identifies and articulates personal feelings, then defines ways in which one's attitudes and behavior are representative of and reflect society. Finally, one arrives at specific strategies to use against racism. The text includes exercises and instructions, identifiable goals, lists of materials needed, and notes to facilitators. The exercises are designed to break down the participants' resistance to them by their learning the benefits to be gained from being liberated from racism. Most exercises focus on black-white
relationships, but some are applicable to the Women's Movement and to Native American and other "Third World" groups. One imaginative exercise is for participants to design a racist community of their own. There are simulation games, too, like the circle break-in in which outsiders and insiders learn and demonstrate how racism operates. Participants are encouraged to express their feelings and analyze the dynamics of each situation. The book provides, besides its own material, supplemental lists of appropriate films, tapes, and literature to use in conjunction with the training, and a bibliography.

The program can be and has been adapted to various formats, from a three hour introductory session, to an eight hour day, or to a semester long course. But the emphasis is on a systematic approach and an objective measurement of results. Katz points to research that shows positive changes in the attitude and behavior of those who have participated and then become actively engaged in developing new school curriculum, for example, for in expanding governance in an organization, or in examining their institution's criteria for hiring.

The *Handbook* has an obvious weakness. While Katz is right to go beyond the individual in order to arouse groups to action, she does so by leaning heavily and simplistically on a concept of "white culture". The author adamantly discards any reliance on ethnic identification because, she says, this is a way of denying responsibility for perpetuating the racist system. By insisting that "the ability to make it in the system is dependent on one's color, not one's ethnic background or abilities" (p. 137), she has overlooked the remarkable success of Asian Americans, to name just one group (there are others), who have risen out of color prejudice at great sacrifice, but who are now at the top of the economic ladder, having achieved in 1977 a family income 132% over the national average. One questions, too, how closely the poor and white, like Appalachians, share a "culture" or "community" with Chicago Polish Americans or San Francisco middle-class Greek Americans, or just how responsible the poor and white are for racism.

The strengths, however, of *White Awareness* are those mentioned and, too, that it is lucidly written, clearly organized, and unpretentious. The *Handbook* can help any of us clarify our personal attitudes as well as the social sources of those feelings. Thus we are provided with a resource that contributes to our knowledge of how racism works and involves us in combatting it.

--Helen G. Chapin

*Hawaii Pacific College, Honolulu*

"If you rich and you want to get poor
Get a broke-down car and a no good whore
When you poor and you want to get rich
Get rid of the car and kill the bitch..."

Dave Luck, ex-hustler/Tavern Owner
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Song of Solomon can only be viewed as a tribute to the artistic and cultural genius of Ms. Toni Morrison. I, as reviewer and want-to-be-rich writer, am studious and intent throughout my reading of her novel. I am amazed, gratified and satisfied. I am fully amazed that she pulls it through; this wealth of characterization and plot. This is a novel of growing into manhood. It is at once the tale of man-to-man relationships and man-to-woman relationships in the Afro-American community where there is an essential struggle simply to be. There is in Song of Solomon mystery, romance and intrigue. The Song catalogues the fundamental struggle for integrity of the Black being in this American land. I am grateful, that Ms. Morrison does not enter into the fabric of this torn garment with stock-issue characters. I am thoroughly satisfied upon completion of the novel, that there is nothing left undone, there is no string untied. Song of Solomon is a masterpiece of fiction.

A word of explanation about the use of Mr. Luck's aphoristic analysis on the relationships obtaining between wealth, women and automotive equipment. Milkman (Macon Dead III), protagonist and anti-hero of this tortuously magnificent work, is the "poor little rich boy" son of a well-to-do (nigger-rich) colored realtor (Macon Dead II). Milkman "want(s) to get rich" on his own accord, so he misloves a woman (treats her like a whore) and gets an old car to ramble through ancestral homelands in search of gold. True to Luck's form, he "gets rid of the car" and imputatively though not disconnectedly "kills the bitch." Milkman's dream of flight and romantic fancy and his search for love and riches is at the core of the Song of Solomon, giving us a central vision through which to observe the lives of a community of characters.

Moreover, Pittsburgh is mentioned once or twice in the novel and it is at the Pittsburgh Airport that the mystery of the flying Africans in this Song begins to resolve itself.

There are a lot of things flying about in Song of Solomon; an insurance salesman atop Mercy Hospital announces his intended departure at the outset of the novel. A white female peacock mysteriously aflight in the midst of the ghetto. Musical notes, lilting and flying, weave a mythic reality in this family fable of African ancestor's a'flying away from the nest of oppression.
Most notably, there is the Milkman who upon learning, "...that only birds and airplanes could fly -- (he) lost all interest in himself."

(The Milkman)/Last of the Flying Africans:

"Cry-baby tipsy
Suck he momma's nippy..."

"Sugarman done fly away
Sugarman done gone
Sugarman cut across the sky
Sugarman gone home."
from Song of Solomon,
Pilate's song.

Milkman is the community given name of Macon Dead (III) whose father was Macon Dead (II) whose father was Jake son of Solomon who got the name Macon Dead (I) like this, "... ... All the colored people to register with the Freedman's Bureau. ... Free and not Free. Papa was in his teens and went to sign up, but the man behind the desk was drunk. ... He asked Papa where he was born. Papa said Macon. ... ... he asked him who his father was. Papa said, 'He's dead.' Asked him who owned him, Papa said, 'I'm free.' Well, the Yankee wrote it all down, but in the wrong spaces. Had him born in Dunfrie, wherever the hell that is, and in the space for his name the fool wrote, 'Dead' comma 'Macon'. But Papa couldn't read so he never found out what he was registered as till Mama told him."

Milkman is a character betrayed by his name. He is betrayed by his mother's barren need to tit-nurse him until in her lap, "... (she) wished to avoid seeing his legs dangling almost to the floor." Thus, his name Milkman, "...That's what you got here, Miss Ruffie. A natural Milkman if I ever seen one. Look out women's. Here he come. Huh!" Freddie from the community has peeped through the crack.

The names in the song of Solomon, "... ... Solomon and Ryan, Belali Shalut/Yaruba, Mediana, Muhammet too/ Nestor, Kalina, Saraka cake? Twenty-one Children, the last one Jake/ O Solomon don't leave me here/Cotton balls to choke me/ O Solomon don't leave me here/Bukra's arms to yoke me/ Solomon done fly, Solomon done gone? Solomon cut across the sky, Solomon gone home." are the keys to the unraveled mystery of Milkman's search and destroy mission to find himself.

Morrison gives us the key in her dedication: "The fathers may soar/ And the Children may know their names." We are reminded elsewhere that, "... ... the African child is made to believe from his infancy that the names he bears has something to do with the building and moulding of his character. Names are not, therefore,
chosen in a haphazard fashion. Great care and thought are taken when selecting them. ... ... It might be possible for the child to adopt certain traits of the person he is named after. For this and other reasons, the African gives his child a name not because it is pretty, but because of the character of the ancestor who carried it." (Mafukidze, T.S., "The Origin and Significance of African Personal Names," Black World, July, 1970).

Toni Morrison has taken equal care in her fictional account of an ancestral lineage which circles like a hawk in on it's prey, and it's prey is itself. Milkman is finally the last of the flying Africans. He defies the unconscious conditions of naming as arti­
culated by his cut-brother Guitar,"...let me tell you something baby. Niggers get their names the way they get everything else -- the best way they can. The best way they can."

By the time our protagonist and anti-hero Milkman emerges in the novel, he is narcissistically, pre-natally and neurotically hooked on the mystery of himself. His heroic moments are at the cost of the destruction of others. He is neither big Afroed nor wide of shoulder; he adopts a limp, he has no self-intention, his slowly arcing life reaches an apogee only in submission and tran­
scendence of the circumstances of life and death. His greatest moments are in combat with father, stranger or friend or in-sexed with woman, he is the perennial "little brother."

Little brothers in the Black community are males who don't quite make it to the top and who don't quite make it to the bottom. They are neither homeboys who make it on reputation or reality nor are they hustlers in correctional institutions who have that reverse fame going for them. They are 'just around.' Fixtures on a low horizon. Milkman, to his credit, grapples with his little brother­

ism.

Julius Lester once collected a selection of Black Folktales, circa 1969 for Grove Press. (see Lester, Black Folktales, Grove Press, 1969). In them as in Song of Solomon, there is the tale of "People Who Could Fly." (pp. 147). In Lester's tale it is a magic word uttered by a young African witch doctor captured as a slave which allows the brutalized and work weary slaves to, "... ...(drop) their hoes, stretch out their arms, and fly away, back to their home, back to Africa." Lester surmised that, "Maybe one morning someone will awake with a strange word on his tongue and, uttering it, we will all stretch out our arms and take to the air, leaving these blood-drenched fields of our misery behind."

Maybe Morrison has done it. If so, the word sounds curiously like the age-old ghetto street challenge, "You want some'a me." "You want me? Huh? You want my life?," like Uncas, last of the Mohicans perched on a rock, Milkman, the titty-baby, flies into manhood.
KILLIN' THE BITCH: Relations in *Song of Solomon*.

Solomon, the first flying African, flew away one day leaving in the wake of his fluttering arms a mysterious legacy of song, family, manhood and womanhood, relationships and ideology, circumstance and consciousness to be fulfilled.

Morrison has created a family of "Dead." Relationships don't work for the characters in *Song of Solomon*. Being the family of Dead, romance begins in death and ends in death, such is the *Song of Solomon*.

Milkman loves Hagar. Hagar tolerates Milkman. Hagar loves Milkman. Milkman does not love nor tolerate Hagar. Hagar dies.

Macon Dead (II) does not love his wife, Miss Ruthie. He tolerates her only as the mother of his children, daughter of the man whose wealth he coveted. He is dead to romance, living with the memory "of the whitest, softest, underwear on earth."

Pilate loves her brother Macon Dead (II) in a mysterious and surreptitious manner. Pilate loves the brave young Macon; who is straight and faithful, willing to kill to protect his beloved sister. She despises the brash and rich Macon, arrogant, penny-pinching and vain, who disowns his family and her legacy.

Ruth, wife of Macon Dead (II), child of naivete and colored wealth, loves her father, who has died. As a reflection of her father she loves her son Milkman, who loves no one. Sexually abandoned by her husband for more than twenty years, she suckles her son beyond the requirements of life. Love dies around her all the time.

First Corinthians loves Porter. Porter loves First Corinthians. He is older (much), lower classed (much), and terrorist and she is a woman whose "breasts have dropped of their own accord" who has watched her pubic hairs turn gray never having felt the caress of erotic love.

Guitar loves Milkman. Milkman loves Guitar. This is a man-love. A sexual camaraderie and sharing of life space, they are 'brothers of the cut' and of the streets. Guitar is out to kill Milkman. Milkman flies to the attack.

It is Hagar's demise of "nervous love" which sets the romantic tone of the novel.

For this reader, there is nothing in the novel so completely done as is the doing in of Hagar. Hagar and Milkman, lovers though cousins, have reached that stage where the student of love (Milkman, of few years younger and in the beginning far less wordly) abandons
the teacher of love (Hagar, the goddess who got in over her head). Milkman puts Hagar down. He has formed his own wings of love and is flying through the community with women lighter and brighter than his sexual mentor. For him, it has become a game. Hagar is not letting go that easily.

Every month, as regular as the moon and millions of menstrual cycles, her love comes down. When it does, she wants to take Milkman out. She stalks the community in search of him. Each time she finds him with another woman and attempts to kill him. Hagar is making her seventh monthly ritual murder attempt on the life of Milkman, "...The calculated violence of a shark grew inside her, and like every witch that ever rode a broom straight through the night to a ceremonial infanticide as thrilled by the black wind as by the rod between her legs; like the very fed up-to-the-teeth bride who worried about the consistency of the grits she threw at her husband as well as the potency of lye she had stirred into them; and like every queen and every courtesan who was struck by the beauty of her emerald ring as she tipped its poison into the old red wine, Hagar was energized by the details of her mission." This time Milkman lies passively awaiting his fate. But, "...try as she might the ball joint in her shoulders would not move ... Oh! she thought, when she saw his face, I had forgotten how beautiful he is."

As for the Milkman, at the scene of his supposed death, he takes heart. Relieved from death and steeled in the fire of fear, "Milkman sat up, swung his legs over the side of the bed and stood. 'If you keep your hands just that way,' he said, 'and then bring them down straight, straight and fast, you can drive that knife right smack into your cunt. Why don't you do that? Then all your problems will be over.' He patted her cheek and turned away from her wide dark, pleasing hollow eyes." Hollow eyes which finally, after self destructing in the rain and in a rage of mascara and mad money, lay, finally "...sand dry and quiet as glass."

**THE GUITAR WITH THE BROKEN STRING:** Man Love vs. the Territorial Imperative.

Robert Ardrey in his *Territorial Imperative* suggests that aggression is the fundamental human motivation; if so, that may explain what happens to Guitar in *The Song of Solomon*.

If Milkman's relationship with Hagar is most tragic, then it is his relationship with Guitar, his teacher and peer, which is most enigmatic.

Guitar is the other side of Milkman. Where Milkman is the pampered and frustrated child of middle-class pretentiousness, Guitar is the hard core wisdom of life nurtured in pain and the pangs of ghetto experience. Where Milkman is ignorant and selfish, Guitar is profound and committed; where Milkman is narcissistic and flighty-urban jigaboo, Guitar is grounded in the earth, keen
and concentrated. Where Milkman is on the prowl, Guitar is the prowl. Two of a cut, Guitar and Milkman form the whole of manliness in the novel; it is a manliness divided against itself.

Guitar as anti-theses to an anti-hero could become the hero of the novel, (and maybe he is), but this is a novel of non-heroics.

There is scarcely a clue as to why Guitar flushed Milkman out, pumps a well placed shot into Pilate and brings the novel to its leaping close. Functionally Black, Guitar is a member of an organization (The Seven Days): "They don't initiate anything; they don't even choose. They are as indifferent as rain. But when a Negro child, Negro woman, or Negro man is killed by whites and nothing is done about it by their law and their courts, (The Seven Days) selects a similar victim at random, and they execute him or her in a similar manner if they can. If the Negro is hanged, they hang; if a Negro was burnt, they burn; raped and murdered, they rape and murder. If they can. If they can't do it precisely in the same manner, they do it any way they can, but they do it." Guitar on (white) aggression: "...Their writers and artists have been saying it for years. Telling them they are unnatural, telling them they are depraved. They call it tragedy. In the movies they call it adventure. It's just depravity that they try to make glorious, natural. But it ain't. The disease they have is in their blood, in the structure of their chromosomes."

Milkman's "blood-brother" becomes his nemesis. Guitar falls victim to self-fulfilling prophecy. He is afflicted with the disease, for "...it did not matter which one of them would give up his ghost in the killing arms of his brother."

So where is the slight clue, that all this would ensue? That this dialogue would justify Guitar Bains' passion for the death of his friend, the Milkman:

"You took the gold." (Guitar)

"What gold? There wasn't any gold. (Milkman)

... ...

"You took the gold." (Guitar)

"You're crazy Guitar." (Milkman)

"Angry. Never Crazy." (Guitar)

... ...

"Is that why you tried to kill me?" (Milkman)

"Yes." (Guitar)
"Because I ripped you off?" (Milkman)

"Because you ripped you off?" (Milkman)

"Because you ripped us off! You are fucking with our work."
(Guitar)

"You're wrong. Dead wrong." (Milkman)

"The 'dead' part is you." (Guitar)

Guitar is dead wrong. There was no gold. Only myth and fancy. The us in Guitar's lament is the Seven Days, but isn't it all of us, and if Milkman has ripped us off he deserves execution. But he has not. So is there another motivation for Guitar Bains' willingness to do him in? Guitar who was there when the labor pains of his birth hit his mother, Guitar who knew more about Milkman than Milkman himself knew. Or is Guitar simply dead wrong, because he represents the militant tendency? That aggressiveness out of the flame throwing sixties which betrayed us all. Is this the destruction of the Black leather rhetoric and the back to Africa hype or is this just the way Morrison thinks of that particular relevance? We have all seen the non-violent militant lampooned and lambasted on our TV screens in the movie houses and everywhere else in popular American life. It is like trying to do in the boogie man with something just a little stronger than whistling in the dark. It is a primordial destruction of evil. Except that in our world and in Guitar's it could be that a White man's devil is the Black man's angel. This used to be a question, a position, an ideology. In the novel this position is represented by Guitar and the Seven Days. It is only this particular relevance which takes the work out of the subjective meandering of our anti-hero and into the core of life, into being Black and responsive to this American environment.

Guitar and the Seven Days come closer than anything in the novel to a recognition of the social struggle, the "condition of our condition" as Guitar put it, which surrounds the mythic telling of the story of the flying African and his morassed ancestral linkages. Guitar is the revolution. He is the militant. He is the voice of Black consciousness and, we trust, of Black Consciousness. So when he is 'dead wrong,' when he is shallow and treacherous, then, the revolution is shallow and treacherous, the militant movement is wrong, shallow and treacherous; a nest of vipers who turn on those whom they love and those only ones who understand their purpose. Milkman has just finally, "really understood." Guitar is across the boundaries of class and ideological perspective when his wire tightens around his neck.

The barest clue is that Milkman has to fly. Remember the 'white peacock poised on the roof of a long low building.' "...
Guitar opened his eyes and said, "Goddam! Where'd that come from?"
Milkman was relieved. "Must of come from the zoo."

That raggedy-ass zoo? Ain't nothing in there but two tired monkeys and some snakes."

Well where then?"

Beats me."

"Look -- she's flying down." Milkman felt again his unrestrained joy at anything that could fly. "Some jive flying, but look at her strut."

"He."

"Huh?"

"He. That's a he. The male is the only one got that tail full of jewelry. Son of a bitch. Look at that." The peacock opened its tail wide. "Let's catch it. Come on Milk," and Guitar started to run toward the fence.

... "What we gonna do if we catch him?" (Milkman asked.)

"Eat him!" Guitar shouted... ... 

"How come it can't fly no better than a chicken?" Milkman asked.

"Too much tail. All that jewelry weighs it down. Like vanity. Can't nobody fly with all that shit. Wanna fly, you got to give up the shit that weighs you down."

No, Guitar is not shallow. It is his job to take his partner out on the limb, to allow his surrender to life and mission, to let him fly. In this context, he, too, is surrendering to his circumstances and transcending them, riding them like Shalimar knew: "If you surrendered to the air, you could ride it."

Morrison has a woman's message couched in her tale of growing into manhood. That the first change, the first revolution, involves surrender. Women have known this. Men will come to learn. Surrender to things just the way they are and you master them. As Milkman mastered his fate and as Toni Morrison has mastered the art of the novelist.

--Curtiss E. Porter
Dept. of Black Community Education
University of Pittsburgh

In this comprehensive and well documented study on the minority education in America, Ogbu approaches the question of poor minority performance in school from a different but a powerful crosscultural perspective. His major hypothesis is that lower school performance on the part of blacks is an adaptation to their social and occupational positions in adult life, which do not require high educational qualifications (p. 213). The dominant white caste maintains the adaptation by providing blacks with inferior jobs. The adaptation is also maintained by certain structural and cultural features of the black environment which have evolved under the caste system. The job ceiling and other caste barriers influence the course of linguistic, cognitive, and motivational development of black children. He rejects categorically the explanation that attributes this academic retardation and asserts repeatedly that the parish caste-like status is powerful though subtle and hidden - determinant of behavior of black children. "What does affect black education is the fact that American society, through its political, economic, administrative, and other institutions, restricts blacks to menial social and occupational roles, low income, and poor residential status" (p. 214).

Ogbu draws illustrative material to strengthen his hypothesis from the discussion of America's other caste-like non-immigrant minorities (American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans) (Ch.7) and from crosscultural studies of West Indians in Britain, Maoris in New Zealand, Schedules Castes in India, the Buraku in Japan, and Oriental Jews in Israel (Chs. 8-13). Three distinctive features of the minority groups cited in this section are that membership is permanently determined by birth; that the social and occupational role of its members are determined by caste, not by education and ability; and that the group occupies a permanent place in society from which its members can escape only through "passing" or emigration. These criteria, according to the author, describe the caste like social structure of Blacks in the United States.

The first part of this book introduces a new social structural framework for studying minority education in contemporary societies, clarifies the nature of caste like minority groups, and shows the false assumptions and explanatory failures of current proposed theories (the cultural deprivation theory, the cultural conflict theory, the institutional deficiency theory, the educational inequality theory and Jensen's heredity theory) that tend to blame the victims (Chs. 1-2). The solutions proposed to remedy the performance gap such as the school integration and the compensatory education strategies are reviewed, critiques and rejected as insufficient in themselves (Ch. 3), for they are based on a partial explanation of the problem and represent only part of the solution.
Ogbu argues that an adequate explanation of black school failure must take into account the influence of the caste system which requires an adequate conception of what education is and does in a given society (Ch. 4). Next, the author examines the structural and historical forces which have affected black access to formal education and job ceiling and other barriers to rewards of education, and in turn, how these processes affect the blacks' perception of school (Chs. 5-6).

Part two of this book describes the education of caste-like minorities in six societies, including the United States, and ends with a comparison and some generalizations about the educational experiences of the minorities in those cultural areas. Part three, the final chapter of the book, considers the policy implications of the alternative explanation of black school performance. In his conclusion, Ogbu argues that the principal causes of black academic retardation are schools which perpetuate inferior social and technoeconomic status among blacks and caste barriers that shape the lives of black Americans. Therefore, the lower school performance of blacks is not in itself the central problem but an expression of a more fundamental one, namely the caste barriers and the ideologies that support them. His emphatic statement on this problem reads as follows: "The elimination of caste barriers is the only lasting solution to the problem of academic retardation." (p. 357). To change this situation, there must be a total destruction of the caste system: that is the creation of a new social order in which blacks do not occupy a subordinate position vis-a-vis whites. Then both schools and blacks will begin to manifest changes compatible with the new social order, and academic retardation will disappear. Consequently, it will increase (a) black experience with equal chances for employment, promotion, wages, good housing, and the like; (b) their belief that they are judged for social and occupational positions as individuals on the basis of qualification; (c) their perception of equal chances to benefit from education; (d) their belief that more education and better education leads to better jobs; and (e) their belief that their chances in life depend, to the same extent as the chances of whites, on their individual competitive ability in school and society.

It appears that the author is optimistic about United States' ability to create a society free of caste barriers, based on three reasons: there is a constitutional basis for dismantling the caste system; some significant changes have occurred in that direction in the past few decades; and a growing proportion of the dominant caste is increasingly becoming ideologically committed to such changes. The apparent weakness of Ogbu's solution to the problem is that the creation of a casteless society is still hanging in the air. To a certain extent, this is an Utopian solution. The traditional Hindu society with all its constitutional backing has not been able to undo its caste system. The American society, especially stratified on racial lines, has not been able to achieve this goal, although it has been preached continuously by politicians,
civil rights leaders and ideologically committed religious leaders. The role of environment, prenatal factors and the poor diet that affects the intelligence of the children, are not discussed sufficiently to balance his arguments and, thereby, support his hypothesis.

The strength of this book lies in the author's comprehensive coverage of the main studies in the field of minority education, especially that of the black Americans. The originality, diversity, and richness of details of each of the topics discussed in this book reflect the author's superb knowledge and research background. Students as well as instructors, policy makers as well as social workers, and others interested in minority education will find this book useful, informative, provocative, challenging and enlightening.

—V. Thomas Samuel
Sociology and Anthropology
Grambling State University


This bibliographic guide is actually two guides in one volume, both of them quite useful to the student of Afro-American writing. Black writers have often published their work themselves or in limited editions through small and relatively unknown presses. The compilers of the bibliographic guides being considered here have attempted to make such volumes available to the student of Afro-American writing.

The guide to Afro-American poetry from 1760-1975, prepared by William P. French, Michel J. Fabre, and Amritjit Singh, may be where the student of Afro-American poetry should begin his research. Emphasizing "literary" rather than "folk" or "oral" poetry, the compilers indicate in their introduction that they "have tried to include all books and pamphlets of poetry by black authors born in the United States," as well as works by "foreign-born authors who have lived and published here."

The most valuable section of the guide is that listing of works by individual authors: for, used carefully, it can help prevent the student's overlooking significant work which he should consider. For major writers secondary criticism is also included, but is less valuable. Such criticism must be selective, but this reviewer has been unable to determine the basis for selection. The student would not be well-advised to depend heavily upon it.
Also valuable is a forty-eight page section of general studies, which lists bibliographies, critical works, and anthologies (including anthologies of "folk" and "oral" poetry), often with quite helpful annotations. The compilers have clearly looked quite closely at the material they have used. One does wonder sometimes why such critical materials as Robert Bone's *The Negro Novel in America* and such anthologies as Darwin Turner's *Black Drama in America* are included. Such cavils, however, do not negate the usefulness of this section, and the annotations frequently guide the reader to the most useful material.

Geneviève E. Fabre's contribution, *Afro-American Drama, 1850-1975*, begins with a competent, brief, historical introduction. Then in succession Fabre lists libraries with major holdings, periodicals, bibliographies, anthologies, and critical studies. Both the beginning student and the practicing scholar will find this section indispensable. One can hardly imagine the study of Black drama starting anywhere other than with these materials, especially the secondary criticism.

For the playwrights themselves, Fabre has annotated published plays, listed unpublished plays, and provided secondary criticism. The annotations are brief, accurate and useful. Combined with the criticism, they offer an opportunity not only to examine themes in specific writers, but also to compare and contrast writers as they develop similar themes. People who teach Black drama will use this section of Fabre's guide steadily.

Three indexes (author, title, and subject) comprise the final seventy-five pages of the volume. Such indexes are frequently the key to the usefulness of a bibliography. My examination indicates that readers will find them more than adequate.

Bibliographic guides are frequently dull, but useful books. The quality of the annotations means that this one is less dull than most, and the information provided makes it more useful than most. Although the price may mean that not every individual will want it for his personal library, any teacher or student of Afro-American poetry and drama will want to have it, and no public or university library can afford to be without it.

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This monograph (111 pages of text) is part of a larger research endeavor being conducted by the American Bar Foundation and sanctioned by the American Bar Association and the American Bar Endowment, among others. According to the American Bar Foundation: "Its mission is to conduct research that will enlarge the understanding and improve the functioning of law and legal institutions (pp iv)." This particular project was initiated to investigate the cost of separate tribal justice.

Towards this end, twelve reservations were investigated and analyzed. Five reservations had tribal courts while seven did not. Standing Rock (North and South Dakota), Devils Lake (South Dakota), the Uintah and Ouray Ute (Utah), Blackfeet (Montana) and the Navajo Nation (Arizona and New Mexico) represented the reservations with tribal courts while the Creed, Western Cherokee, Osaga and Pawnee of Oklahoma, and White Earth and Leech Lake reservations of Minnesota and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (North Carolina) were the non-tribal court reservations visited. Two targeted reservations, Red Lake and Nett Lake in Minnesota, refused to participate.

The method of investigation involved general observations of the functioning of justice within these tribes and comparisons made between those with tribal courts and those relying on non-Indian adjudication. Approximately a week was spent at each target reservation for these observations. No formal or standardized investigational technique was administered. Moreover, the investigation did not directly involve any of the major Indian legal organizations such as the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) or the Institute for the Development of Indian Law.

The author recognized the fact that it was difficult to address the issue of Indian justice without first discussing the general conditions of reservation life. Clearly, this is the best part of the book. Unfortunately, this section comprises less than ten percent of the text. Here, the issue of tribal sovereignty is presented including the initial 1831 "Cherokee Nation v. Georgia" and the 1932 "Worcester v. Georgia" U. S. Supreme Court decisions. He followed through with the Dawes Act (1887), Indian Reorganization (1934) and the Termination Policy of the 1950's (1953).

Correspondingly, Brakel introduced the reader to the development of tribal justice tracing this phenomenon from the Major Crimes Act of 1885 to the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act noting, correctly, that these actions actually served to restrict tribal autonomy. Brakel then related these issues to the development of tribal courts concluding: "Perhaps the most significant fact about the origin and development of the tribal courts is that they are white American creations, and quite recent ones at that (pp 9)."
Next, the report presented the observations made during these visits to the target reservations. This section comprises the bulk of the text and takes on a rambling fashion. Brakel mentioned that reliable statistics on Indian legal needs and the quality of justice are unavailable but, according to the data available, a high volume of cases heard in tribal courts involve personal offenses, many alcohol-related. Even then, he pointed out that these statistics usually represent police discretion and tribal politics.

The report analyzed tribal courts according to an "ideal type" white model. And from this ideal white model, Brakel concluded that tribal courts are inferior to white-run systems. He claimed that tribal judges are undertrained without professional schooling and, that on most reservations, there are no trained prosecutors or defense attorneys. Moreover, judges are usually selected by the tribal council and, therefore, subject to tribal politics.

In summary, Brakel concluded: "It would be more realistic to abandon the system altogether and to deal with Indian civil and criminal problems in the regular county and state court systems (pp 103)." He based this conclusion upon certain disclaimers, notably: (1) that there is no real difference between Indian and white justice, (2) that Indians are not treated more fairly in Indian courts than they are in white courts, (3) that tribal courts do not offer a more informal and individualized justice, and (4) that Indian courts do not facilitate Indian culture.

Besides, Brakel went on to make certain subjective judgements relevant to tribal judges: "In addition to being professionally inadequate, the tribal judges are politically and socially insecure (pp 95)." About the tribal court system itself, he stated: "The present performance of the tribal courts can hardly be said to indicate the vitality of Indian tribal culture. Terminating their operation does not mean the end of Indian culture, realistically defined. Finally, in contrast with tribal leaders or spokesmen, the average reservation resident has little interest in seeing the tribal court system maintained or expanded (pp 100)."

The basic flaw in Brakel's argument is his assumption that non-Indian courts and civil and criminal adjudication operate according to their ideal mandate without the problems of self - or political interest. Another major misconception was his contention that tribal courts are white American creations and always have been. This is an especially dangerous assumption since the author, like many others, expand this premise by claiming that Indians do not maintain the same quality of white justice as do whites themselves.

Brakel's ignorance of traditional Indian courts is unfortunate since much has been written on this subject. Priests and Warriors, by Gearing, and A Law of Blood, by Reid, are but two well documented...
manuscripts on aboriginal justice prior to white contact. Numerous other sources depict the customary justice of Plains and other tribes as well.

Finally, Brakel's ethnocentrism obviously blinds him to certain realities concerning local white courts located near reservations. Anti-Indian biases are quite evident in all the areas analyzed for this report. Perhaps the American Bar Foundation and the American Bar Association should familiarize themselves with some of the Native American legal and criminal justice agencies and organizations and their studies to get a more realistic picture of what "Indian justice" entails and what steps need to be taken to improve legal-service delivery to these people. Clearly, it is not enough for the white-dominated American legal community to merely dismiss Indian courts as inferior to white courts and then suggest that they be dismantled.

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It was George Orwell who saw, more clearly than most, that "newspeak" was often used by government and public institutions in communicating with their public. He warned that such jargon would separate government from the governed.

In Gerald Vizenor's brilliant, humorous, sad and biting series of vignettes on Indian life in mainstream America collected together in Wordarrows, we see Orwell's concerns made manifest. For nowhere, it seems, does "newspeak" or "bureaucratese" flourish so well as between non-Indian public service professionals in public institutions and the Indians whom they are hired to serve. Even when there is good will and a genuine effort to reach out to the community, non-Indian public service professionals do not seem to be able to communicate well with their Indian communities. If good will does not exist, the non-Indian public service professionals seem to take offense at just about everything Indians say or do, and compound the problem by retreating behind a smokescreen of their own special jargon to avoid real issues. This use of jargon disenfranchises Indians and further increases the social distance and perceived status differences between Indian and non-Indian. An Indian person's cultural background and life experiences have not prepared him/her for decoding jargon. A perpetual cycle of alienation is thus formed and maintained between public service institutions and the Indians they serve.
A tactic that has sometimes been used by institutions to eliminate some of the language and cultural barriers that exist is to hire Indian people as go-betweens and mouthpieces. Vizenor encapsulates through Clement Beaulieu, the main character in *Wordarrows*, Vizenor's own personal experiences and feelings as one such go-between.

From the urban scene in Minnesota to reservation areas to the reporting of the murder trial of a young Indian man in South Dakota, Vizenor charts for us the natural progression of the cycle of alienation. Throughout it all, the author uses the phrase "new fur trade" to illustrate the cultural word wars between Indian and non-Indian.

An additional theme in *Wordarrows* is the oral tradition of tribal people and the symbolism of word arrows and its relevance and application to that which transpires in the situations they encounter in the dominant society. Vizenor describes some selected aspects of the oral tradition of Indian people and the extent to which that oral tradition has been the most changeless and enduring of the cultural elements that define "Indianness." The oral tradition has helped the people to survive the original fur trade, colonialism and suppression. We are led to believe that the "new fur trade" with its bureaucratic jargon will be enveloped into the oral tradition, also, and long after the jargon is gone, the oral tradition and Indian culture will still be strong and vital.

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Jesse Green, a professor of English at Chicago State University, has brought together in this volume, with appropriate explanatory materials, selections from the published and unpublished writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing. The collection deals with several things: autobiographical materials (about 120 pages); description of Zuni life and beliefs (about 220 pages); and materials about the relation between Zuni and White America (much of the autobiographical section, a brief description of visits to the East by several Zunis, most of the brief foreword by anthropologist Fred Eggan, and much of Green's more than 60 pages of introductions.) The volume is handsomely illustrated, with six photographs and over 60 drawings of aspects of Zuni and its life; it also has maps of Zuni and the Southwest and a selected bibliography which is evenly divided between works by or about Cushing and works about Zuni. Unhappily, it does not have an index.
Cushing's story is fascinating. A young man with little or no formal training who had educated himself about Indians, he was a member of the first ethnographical expedition of the new Bureau of American Ethnology, in 1879. Unlike the other members of the expedition, Cushing realized that he could hope to learn much about Zuni only by living there. He moved into the pueblo (without permission from its inhabitants), learned the language, and gradually got himself both involved with Zuni life and accepted by the Zunis. Apparently, he eventually took an Apache scalp, was initiated into the Priesthood of the Bow, and took the Zuni side in conflicts with other native peoples and the White society. In fact, it was White pressure which forced his recall from Zuni, four and a half years after his arrival.

Although Green has included some selections from unpublished materials, the material about Zuni is well-known to anthropologists. Cushing never wrote the comprehensive work on Zuni which he had planned, but his work, although there is some controversy about it, remains among the best writing on this group of people. Green rightly points out that Cushing's familiarity with the language and deep absorption in the culture enabled him to see connections between different elements which others have missed and to posit a basic explanation of the structure of their culture. Cushing also was obviously doing his best to present his materials from a Zuni point of view. It is interesting to compare his studies and his translations of a few Zuni myths and tales with a volume of such translations prepared and published by the Zunis themselves with the approval of the Governor of the Council. (Alvina Quam, translator, The Zunis: Self-Portrayals (New York: New American Library, 1972.) The latter seem more episodic and less related to an overall structure.

An important point raised by the difference just noted and materials presented in Green's book is the extent to which representatives of one culture are entitled to penetrate and reveal the secrets of another culture. Clearly, Cushing's assumption that he had a right to do just this is not idiosyncratic; it is part of the uncritically accepted scientific conception of the world. Zuni and the other pueblos have survived for hundreds of years in spite of Spanish- and Anglo-American pressures in part because they have managed to avoid complete exposure of all of their secrets; they have managed to retain something of what might be called group privacy. Green's book does not discuss this issue as thoroughly as it should be discussed, but he notes it and provides much material for understanding it in this instance.

A related point is the extent to which one can change cultures. Even as he was becoming more and more a Zuni, Cushing clearly retained the important elements of his Anglo-American culture, including his assumption that he was learning about Zuni culture in order to tell non-Zunis about it. It seems that his Zuni collaborators were not aware of the extent of this dual allegiance. When the Governor, who had adopted him, came visiting in the East in 1886,
years after Cushing had left Zuni, he reproached Cushing with having "neglected to sacrifice and pray to the gods" and asserted: "you are still a Zuni." (p. 416.) Cushing apparently felt strong conflicts over his return to a non-Zuni world; evidently, he was sometimes troubled by dreams "about returning to the true way and his true self." (Green's introduction, p. 9.)

In brief, the book is a fascinating introduction to the life of an interesting and proud people, to the biography of a most intriguing anthropologist, and to several fundamental issues about the relations between two cultures. While more can be said about the latter than this book attempts, it should be of value to many readers of this journal.

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Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers is an undertaking which has long been overdue. However, in this volume by Julian Samora, Joe Bernal, and Albert Peña, the expectations outweigh the realities.

The theme of the book is that the Rangers have outlived their usefulness and seriously questions whether or not they were ever necessary.

The Rangers' history is reviewed, and their feet of clay exposed. However, little new information is brought to light. During the historical review of Ranger activity, Walter Prescott Webb's book, The Texas Rangers, is cited repeatedly as one, if not the most important, factor in creating the mythology which has sustained the Ranger image. Yet, while Webb is credited with creating the image of the Ranger as a "brave, fearless, just and gentle" lawman, Webb is also utilized to demonstrate that this image of the Ranger is unreal. One has the feeling that the writers are attacking Webb on the one hand, yet giving him every opportunity to defend himself, on the other.

In discussing the contemporary activities of the Texas Rangers, we learn that Mr. Bernal and Mr. Peña have both been involved in confrontations with the Rangers. This personal intrusion into the theme of the book gives the entire work a suspect quality, and one feels much the same as one does while reading the memoirs of former President Nixon. Salt anyone?
The writing is uneven and does not flow well, which appears to indicate that the three writers did indeed share in the writing. One wishes that they had communicated more often during the final draft. One of the more annoying mannerisms is the paraphrasing of a source, only to follow immediately with a full quotation of the source. The writing style is also uneven, and is probably a result of the co-authorship factor. These are little things, but they interfere with the reader's concentration, especially when one begins to anticipate a quote or tries to guess which one of the three authors wrote this chapter.

Overall, the writers make a strong case for disbanding the Rangers, and this was their purpose. However, there are too many mechanical and stylistic problems to make this book anything more than a volume of propaganda. Unfortunately, little else has been written in this vein from a Chicano viewpoint, thus, we should see a great deal of this book in Chicano studies classes.

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Number Our Days had its genesis in a research project on ethnicity and again at the University of Southern California where author Barbara Myerhoff is chairman of the department of anthropology. Her study of a group of elderly Jews living on and around the beach in Venice, California and who were members of the Aliyah Senior Citizens' Center, was undertaken reluctantly after Professor Myerhoff encountered resistance among the elderly Chicanos she had intended to study. The study absorbed four years of her life and ended in this record of surpassing warmth and intelligence of the past and present of a people in the tag ends of whose lives the remnants of an entire culture reside.

Having been enjoined by the Chicanos to "study her own kind," Professor Myerhoff finds herself friend and sometimes family member (Josele Masada decided she was his long-lost granddaughter) to the elderly Jews, as well as emissary from an outside world usually blind and deaf to their existence. The old people were mostly from the same Eastern European world of shtetls as her own grandparents, and in their advanced age, Professor Myerhoff sees prefigured her own future. Perhaps it is in part because she never really resolves the question of whether what she was doing was "anthropology or a personal quest" that Number Our Days has the wonderful immediacy of good fiction along with the insights into another culture we seek in good anthropology.
Shmuel the tailor becomes Professor Myerhoff's key informant. Although he is one of the "most educated and interesting people in the community," Shmuel Goldman was a difficult choice, nonetheless. His critical and judgmental intelligence had alienated him from the group of Jews with whom he shared common roots and traditions. Myerhoff's friendship with Shmuel engenders suspicion among many Center people who respect Shmuel, but distrust his atheism, his anti-Zionism and his hostility to formal organizations. Professor Myerhoff's forays into the world of the Center are enhanced, interpreted, often even directed by Shmuel's knowledge of Jewishness and by his sensitive understanding of the dynamics of the Center. He is a guide to the shared past of the Center people as well. He goes back more and more, he says, in his thoughts and dreams to his youth in Poland, and in telling Myerhoff of those memories, he gradually unfolds for her the roots of "Yiddishkeit," of the fold culture that barely survives today, and will almost surely die with the generation of Jews of whom Myerhoff writes. Describing his life in the small town in Poland that was his home and that of generations of his family before him, Shmuel laments the destruction of that place and way of life by Hitler:

It is not the worst thing that can happen for a man to grow old and die. But here is the hard part. When my mind goes back there now, there are no roads going in or out. No way back remains because nothing is there, no continuation. Then life itself, what is its worth to us? Why have we bothered to live? All this is at an end. For myself, growing old would be altogether a different thing if that little town was there still. All is ended. So in my life, I carry with me everything -- all those people, all those places .... If my life goes now, it means nothing. But if my life goes, with my memories, and all that is lost, that is something else to bear.

The loss of Yiddishkeit, of a time and place that will die with the memories of Shmuel and other members of his generation, all past eighty now, is not the only tragedy of the world Myerhoff reveals to us. Nor is the accelerating loss of faculties, powers and competencies of these aging people who were the 'one-generation proletariat.' They came as immigrants in poverty, out of oppression, to rear a first generation of Americans to become successful professional and business people. The sad irony of that miracle was the creation of an unbridgeable gap between themselves and those children who, because of their parents' struggles, live in different worlds. Still more poignant is the loss in our world of meaning and purpose that we must feel keenly when we read of the Aliyah Center Jews. Profoundly removed from the narcissism that characterizes modern American culture, the Center Jews continue to live by the values that informed the lives of countless generations of Jews before them. Shmuel the atheist says, "For me, acts more than beliefs make a Jew. Judaism means you know yourself, your
traditions, your history, you live them. To be a good human being, in the Jewish way, to believe in life, to believe in humanity, to follow the Ten Commandments, that is enough to be a good Jew."
For the Center Jews, that means to do in retirement and old age what they've always done. Their belief in life, in humanity emerges in the continuation in their materially narrowed lives of the rituals and traditions that tie them to God, to their own dead and to "all the Jews who are doing these same things even if I can't see them." It emerges in the philanthropy that is more important to them than anything the money might but them; and in the continuing sense of obligation to the world around them and to the generations to follow. Rebekah, Shmuel's wife, continues the labor movement activities of her working years in efforts on behalf of Chicano migrant laborers. When Professor Myerhoff asks her, "Do you enjoy that work?," Rebekah answers, "Who could enjoy standing in a parking lot on a cold day, arguing with strangers? You don't do these things to enjoy. It has to be done, that's all."

It is in that tradition of humanity and responsibility to others that Myerhoff gives us the book. Shmuel dies, but he has told his story to Professor Myerhoff, and because of her it is not lost.

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Jay Dolan confines this study on immigrant Catholicism in New York City largely to the half-century between 1815 and 1865. He does, however, briefly note significant ties among events occurring in the secular world of Europe and America which influenced the nature of the migrations and the attitudes of the immigrants. (For example, the Germans of '48 brought with them political leanings that their predecessors had had). It is important to keep in mind that it was the era following the American Civil War when the great waves of immigrants, including large numbers of Catholics from southern and eastern Europe, poured into the United States. The half-century of which Dolan writes was the time when Catholicism survived early nativist attacks and when it become firmly established particularly in the eastern United States of which New York was a prime example.

As the title suggests, Dolan devotes this study to Irish and German Catholics. Early on, he discusses the transfer of loyalty
to the church from the homeland to the new country, and he makes appropriate note of the importance of language especially to the Germans in this transfer. He notes, too, that while there was considerable poverty among the parishioners of the "ethnic villages," there was still considerable mobility among the immigrants within the broader community. This was not a mobility out of the city but rather from street to street or from one location to another on the same street.

Poverty was among the experiences shared by the Irish and Germans with the Irish having the largest number of poor. Tenement living was a reflection of this destitution characteristic of the area between the Bowery and Second Avenue, for example. The financial problems which the parish churches constantly confronted resulted in part from the improvident status of their membership, the majority of whom were skilled and semi-skilled laborers. Beyond that was the fact that probably fifty percent of the Catholic immigrants to the city were not churchgoers and not contributors to the churches' coffers.

Churchmen depended on pew rentals, an unfamiliar practice to the Irish, the usual charges for special occasions such as weddings, loans from well-to-do parishioners, and gifts from such as Swiss restauranteur John Delmonico, until Archbishop John Hughes, with help from several Catholic orders, brought relative order into the fiscal condition of the church. With the orders came lay orphans asylums, schools, aid to the poor—in short, good works, fundamental duties of Catholics in the work-a-day world.

The author chronicles well the church's position on temperance, the Irish wake, and social reforms. Intemperance bore much of the blame for the poverty of some immigrants. Particularly churchmen harangued the Irish on the evils of pub-hopping. Father Felix Varela, founder of Transfiguration Church which served Sixth Ward Irish, also organized the New York Catholic Temperance Association in 1840. Varela and traveling temperance leader Father Theobald Mathew received thousands of "pledges" from parishioners. Apparently many a pledger relapsed, for the neighborhood saloons continued to flourish. The Germans were not about to give up their Biergartens. They found both spiritual and temporal values in guaffing their special nectars. Beer and wine contributed to "Christian discourse" and beer was described as being "healthy and nourishing." Unable to change the custom of the Irish wake, the church joined what became an elongated funeral ceremony, and the parish priest became a regular participant.

The church, as represented by the archbishop, opposed Catholics taking part in American reform movements of the time. It was Archbishop John Hughes' position that those movements flew in the face of God's plans for the salvation of souls. But that did not relieve Catholics of the responsibility of being aware of the poor and the meek. Indeed, if all of them did good works as they should do, the poor would no longer suffer, and at best there might be no poor at all. Not all clergy shared the view of opposing reform movements.
An important adaptation to the American scene was the use of "missions." Missions, something akin to Protestant "revivals," took the sacraments to those who either did not attend church or were infrequent communicants. They also aimed at conversions. Missions featured much singing, candlelight processions, and sometimes rousing preaching. The author relates that the stentorian voice of Redemptorist Father Henri Eiesen describing Hell-fire penetrated a nearby firehouse and brought the engine crew to the church to put out the conflagration. Protestant revivals measured success by the numbers who went forward to be received and baptized. Catholics looked to the numbers who took communion and who went to confessionals, often especially provided at the mission's location.

If there are heroes in this volume, they are Father Felix Varela, Cuban exile and minister to the Irish poor, and Archbishop John Hughes, Irish prelate who sometimes preached on the good life to be found in living on the land rather than in sin city. They were opposites, these two. Father Varela would literally give the shirt off his back to the poor. A hero of Cuban resistance against Spanish rule, he is scarcely known in his adopted land where he labored in behalf of the down-trodden throughout his life. The archbishop believed in centralized church authority, did not believe in lay boards, and strongly supported Pope Pius IX against the liberal upsurge of the mid-century. He displayed indifference toward the plight of Italian Catholics, reportedly disliked blacks, and staunchly opposed reform movements. Still, the Catholic church in New York was much of his making. And the battles he lost, such as the one to get public aid for parochial schools, took second place to the victories he won.

The Immigrant Church is a most readable book. Dolan's prose is clear and concise. Occasionally, a jumble of street numbers, population figures, and the prices of horse-drawn carriage tickets, as on pages eighteen and nineteen, interrupts the flow of words. But generally the story moves smoothly, the summary statements at the end of each chapter are well-drawn, and the Becker transitions from paragraph to paragraph throughout the volume surely will make Dolan's English composition instructor proud of him.

Jay Dolan writes with sympathy and understanding for both the immigrants and the church. The immigrants, though often as poor and beset with tribulations as in the lands of their provenance, nonetheless became staunch Americans. Inevitable they changed somewhat while clinging to many customs of their past. The church here is not quite the same as the staid 1900-year-old lady of Europe. Her clergy faced and responded to new world challenges and those of people on the move. Anyone interested in immigration and church history should read this neatly-drawn volume especially as background to the study of the immigrant flood which came to America in the generation after 1865.
The foreword by Professor Martin E. Marty, the concluding essay on sources, footnotes, and an index add to the virtues of this study.

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Paul Wrobels study of a Polish-American community provides valuable insight into one of America's largest white ethnic groups. Recent studies of Polish-Americans, such as Neil Sandberg's Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: the Polish American Community in Los Angeles (New York: Praeger, 1974), have been few and often lacking in insight, even if providing some information. Wrobels study provides a window for outsiders to look at St. Thaddeus parish on the northeast side of Detroit, a neighborhood reflecting "the cultural attitudes and values of its residents, especially their need for order and cleanliness." (p. 46.) He takes care to emphasize that his study is only a start, describing and analyzing one particular community to provide the basis for future comparisons. Wrobels study is a third generation Polish-American, with the assistance of his wife Kathleen, used participant-observer techniques for the study during the three years they and their children lived and worked in the neighborhood. This was supplemented with semi-formal interviews, census materials, parish records and city directories to gain an overview of the area.

He studied a Catholic parish because, for urban working-class Polish-Americans, life is focused on family, parish and neighborhood, with the parish and neighborhood viewed by residents as forming a unit. Since a proper Catholic education is considered essential for their children, the parish school provides the key to a viable community, stemming the flow of people to the suburbs and attracting new residents.

In his discussion of St. Thaddeus' people, Wrobels makes an important point regarding assimilation of white ethnic groups. He notes that the focus of most studies of groups, such as Polish-Americans, have looked at them in terms of the remnants of their European culture and how much of this has been abandoned in favor of American cultural traits. Instead Wrobel emphasizes that white ethnic groups need to be studied in their own right, so he looks at Polish-American culture as distinct with its own norms, lifestyle, value system, attitudes and behavior. Further, the Polish-American culture is not dying out but is being transmitted through
socialization to new generations. One example he gives would be the playing of polkas at dances. True the polka came from Europe but as he notes,

...the folklore that surrounds the polka in this country, ...the cultural significance of lyrics, the radio stations which feature this music, and even the intense competition among groups, is something very Polish-American. (p. 119)

In describing Polish-American culture, Paul Wrobel attempts to deal with some of the stereotypes of Polish-Americans. He shows that the husband/wife relationship is not the domineering male and submissive female relationship often depicted. Instead, the marital roles show a flexible division of labor. Part of the misconception comes from outside observers who are unfamiliar with Polish-American culture; and, as Wrobel cautions, part comes from the assertions of Polish-Americans themselves. For like the Italian-American woman, the Polish-American woman is reluctant to discuss her actual power in the family. It is enough to use the power without a public announcement of it which could lead to conflict in the home.

The harm which stereotypes can cause is also examined, for the men of the parish were well aware of the larger society's negative views of blue-collar Polish-American men. They had internalized some of these views which led to a low self esteem. Interestingly, it was this point which was seized by the media, placing Wrobel in a precarious position with the larger Polish-American community. His epilogue deals with his difficulties and should serve as an eye opener for social scientists who hope to publicize scholarly studies.

One criticism of Wrobel's work is of his discussion of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's massive study, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Dover Publications, 1958). Wrobel sees the work as "misleading and not representative" (p. 21) based on a lack of interest in Polish-Americans as a group worth studying in their own right and on preconceived notions which saw the group in a negative light. This is an overly simplified view of Thomas and Znaniecki's work which, in seeking to find negative aspects, succeeds. One of the reasons for which Thomas chose to study this group was to dispute simplistic views which saw the Polish immigrants as inferior because of their heredity, as examined in The Discovery of Society, by Randall Collins and Michael Makowsky (New York: Random House, 1978). Instead, he looked at the group in terms of people undergoing the pressures of social change and this, not an inferior nature, let to high rates of social disorganization. He mastered the Polish language, established a network of contacts within the Polish-American community and made frequent trips to Poland, where he met Znaniecki, to add to his understanding of their culture.
Thomas and Znaniecki saw disorganization among Polish-Americans and, as Wrobel suggests, possibly overemphasized it. However, they also saw that the Polish language press and Polish Catholic parishes, instead of retarding assimilation as some nativists claimed, integrated the Polish-American community and prevented further disorganization. That Wrobel quotes Thomas and Znaniecki's observations on the importance of the Polish-American parish (p. 34) indicates that, despite his criticism, he found material of value in their work.

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Louis Chu's *Eat a Bowl of Tea* is the most recent addition (and a most welcome one) to the series of Asian-American classics that the University of Washington Press is reprinting in paperback format. Other titles in this series that come to mind are the uncompromisingly naturalistic memoirs of the Filipino-American Carlos Bulosan, *America is in the Heart*, and the gripping novel about a Japanese-American who resists the World War II draft, John Okada's *No-No Boy*. Louis Chu's novel, which had first appeared in 1961 to unappreciative and uncomprehending notices, is every bit as essential to the canon of Asian America as the works of Okada or Bulosan.

Like Bulosan and Okada, Chu portrays an Asian America that is not merely a dainty morsel in America's white dominated melting pot; rather, it is a hard communal tile of distinctive character and color within the total mosaic of American society. There is no attempt at facile assimilation here, no effort to fudge away ethnic distinctions and idiosyncracies.

Perhaps this ethnic identity emerges most startlingly in the very medium of the novel, its language. Its dialogue, for instance, is a realistic and aggressive Chinese which has been rendered with skill and originality into a stylized kind of English. There is no bleaching away of Chinese linguistic patterns, and through Chu's dialogue we know that the characters are speaking, cheating, and hating in Chinese. The authenticity of voice and inflection here is worlds away from the coy exoticism of Earl Biggers' *Charlie Chan*. For the initiated reader, the pleasure and shock of recognition in Chu's dialogue are similar to the effects wrought by Hemingway's rendered Spanish. Here, for example, is an exchange between the male gossipmongers of the Wah Que Barber Shop who act as a comic chorus for the book:
Ah Mow continued rather casually, "Uncle Loo, what is the latest news?"

"Wow your mother," said Chong Loo curtly. "What do you think I am? A newspaper reporter? Why are you always asking me for the latest news?"

"I just thought. . . ."

"Go sell your ass, what do you think I am?" (p. 110)

The rhythms of easygoing banter and loose-mouthed insult are naturally captured, even to the point of the abbreviated imprecation, "your mother." For Chinese vilification, like its Spanish counterpart, often attains a point where it becomes unnecessary to spell out the niceties of a curse: Chong Loo's "your mother!" invites Ah Mow's imagination to fill in the blanks with the various traditional atrocities. Although Chu's dialogue is earthily mimetic of the proletarian circumstances of his speakers, his descriptive prose can be a well-honed instrument to record the actualities of Chinatown, and his narrative is a supple medium capable of finely wrought evocations of mood. In the following passage, for instance, the stress in the protagonist's mind combines with the storm of the elements to transform metaphorically the Catherine Street of New York into Sunwei Village in China:

A strong breeze lifted and dropped the front and side pieces of the rolled-up awnings of some of the stores. It began to rain.

Suddenly the surroundings took on an unfamiliar appearance. He was a stranger in a strange town. The black hand of darkness seemed ready to swoop down from the clouds to grab him. His emotions gave way to a vision. The winds began to howl around him. He began to walk faster and faster. . . . But he could not shake off this darkness. Neither could he shake off the clouds. Nor the lightning. He began to run but it was no use, for he could not distinguish the roads and the causeways between rice paddies from the mass of blackness that surrounded him. Many times he lost his footing and stumbled onto the submerged fields. . . . Another roar of lightning struck the skies, and there was no end to the downpour, like a cascade rushing down a valley of Five-Fingered Mountain. In a moment he was drenched. There was no place to escape. All the doors in the villages were locked and barred. (p. 207)

*Eat a Bowl of Tea*, unlike the sombre works of Bulosan and Okada, is a comedy of manners, a comedy that pirouettes satirically around the situations of impotence and cuckoldry. Set in New York's Chinatown during post-World War II, its protagonist is Ben Loy, who is
a waiter and therefore the most apparent representative of the Chinese for most Americans. But Louis Chu takes us beyond the scullery doors into the life of thoughts and feelings behind the waiter's persona of ingratiating and efficiency. Ben Loy, whose father owns a successful gambling establishment, has recently been sent to his ancestral village of Sunwei to acquire a bride. There, his mother (separated from her husband by anti-Chinese Immigration laws) soon matches him up with the naive and comely Mei Oi. Although the marriage is consummated in China to the couple's mutual delectation, Ben Loy finds himself impotent when they settle into New York. Perhaps his past bouts of venereal disease (contracted from New York's nightingales) bring this on; perhaps it is his proximity to his stern and convention-bound father. Mei Oi finds herself in a delicate dilemma, for she must prove her worth as a Chinese bride by becoming a mother. A brash seducer presents himself; she makes a "green cap" (i.e., a pair of horns) for her husband and becomes pregnant. Although he finds himself the butt of humorous gossip, Ben Loy accepts the situation; his father, however, slashes off the ear of the gallant interloper in a fit of fury. This precipitates the denouement, breaking up the old family and forming a new one, in the classic pattern of comedy. In the end, Ben Loy relocates to San Francisco with his wife and her child. There, "for the first time Ben Loy knew and enjoyed emancipation. New frontiers, new people, new times, new ideas unfolded" (p. 246). In this newly found locus amoenus, Ben Loy undergoes the ancient herbalist therapy of regularly "eating a bowl of tea," and mirabile dictu regains his virility. Thus the new country combines symbolically with the old way to gestate a renewed and vital generation of Asian America.

Louis Chu, then, has written a classically patterned comic roman du moeurs playing ironically with the themes of marital appearances and realities, familial expectations and actualities. Chu's adroit handling of plot, situation, and character is equalled by his intimate knowledge and finely attuned sensibility as a long-time observer and dweller of Chinatown. For, although born in China in 1915, Louis Chu graduated from a New Jersey high school and attended Upsala College, the New School, and N.Y.U.; he also owned a record store, hosted a Chinese radio show, and remained a prominent resident of Chinatown until his death in 1970.

This edition of Eat a Bowl of Tea comes with an introduction by the writer-scholar Jeffrey Chan that is expertly informative and elegantly suggestive. The University of Washington Press might have done a more conscientious job of editing obvious typographical errors like "the ding of many voices" (p. 59) or "the president began in his native...dialogue" (p. 218, where dialect is patently intended). But, on the whole, the publishers have performed a signal service in making this quintessentially important novel readily available again to readers of and about Asian America.

--C. L. Chua
Moorhead State University
Moorhead, Minnesota

Whether this novel is touting motherhood or not, the author certainly makes it clear that being a mother is not a simple or an easy task. The setting is Nigeria prior to, during and after World War II, but there is much here with which any woman can identify, particularly if she is, or has mated.

Nnu Ego, in her effort to fulfill traditional expectations during times of rapid social change, finds herself not only struggling for physical survival, but also struggling to understand why her life is so difficult.

She grew up as a favored child of a chief. Her misfortunes begin when she fails to produce offspring immediately during her first marriage. If one measures a woman's success by her ability to reproduce, her fortunes vastly improve when a second marriage proves fruitful.

Buchi Emecheta has written a novel that is engrossing, if not a technical masterpiece. Because of her attention to detail, the reader is able to feel the rhythms and nuances of life in both the Ibo village and in that teeming metropolis, Lagos. The author's best work is her presentation of Nnu Ego's frustrations and apprehensions.

Through this traditional Nigerian woman's experience trying to adapt to modern times, one can see the confusing complexity of the role of women from another cultural perspective. The surprise is that the 'woman question' in a different time and a different place is so similar to here and now. Perhaps it should not be a surprise after all, because the source of the "question" is not a particular culture, but rather a particular physiological apparatus which permits roughly half of the human race to give birth and denies that privilege to the other half.

All these years we've heard about 'penis envy,' a theory no doubt postulated by a man, but perhaps the real reason for the almost universal suppression of women is womb-envy. For if women were in control of themselves, they could not only decide whether or not to have children, but how many children to have, and by whom.

It is not difficult to understand why in days when under-population was more of a threat than over-population, that that part of the human race with greater physical strength would move to control their potential resources. It is equally understandable that now that over-population is becoming a serious world problem, women are allowed, yea, encouraged, to find ways of amusing themselves away from home and the cradle.
As usual, with all changes in traditional social behavior, those who were most uncomfortable with tradition accept the new order with alacrity. Those for whom tradition was more advantageous, are most recalcitrant.

Each reader of The Joys of Motherhood will decide whether or not the title of this novel is cynical. As the joyous mother of an only child, my own opinion is necessarily biased. I look forward to reading Ms. Emecheta's three previous novels, The Bride Price, The Slave Girl, and Second Class Citizen.

--Janet Cheatham Bell
Editor, High School English
Lexington, Massachusetts
ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

APRIL 24 - 26, 1980

8th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies. UW-La Crosse, La Crosse, WI 54601, 3rd Annual Meeting of the National Association for Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies. The Association general meeting will be on Friday, April 25, 1980. Mark your calendar early and plan to attend.

NAIES ELECTION

The by-mail election of new officers and executive council members will occur during February and March 1980. New officers and council members will take office at the annual general meeting in April. Official election results are announced at that meeting. Let me encourage everyone to send in their ballot. The organization is at a crossroads and the election very important. Watch for your ballot in early February mail.

NAIES - ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Please note the ad announcing the publication and availability of two of the Society's working papers. NAIES is serving as the U.S. distributor for these publications. We hope you can find a use for these publications in your teaching or research.
**CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**March 27-29, 1980**

**April 9-12, 1980**
73rd Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, San Francisco, California, Hyatt-Regency Hotel. Contact: OAH, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, IN 47401.

**May 1-3, 1980**
6th Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, San Francisco State University. Contact: Dr. Norma F. Pratt, Dept. of History, Mt. San Antonio College, Walnut, CA 91787.

**November 6-8, 1980**
CALL FOR PAPERS: Second Annual Meeting SAMLA/MELUS/Atlanta/80. *Ethnic Writing In The South*. Papers, comments, or questions should be addressed to Chairperson, Edith Blicksilver, Dept. of English, Georgia Tech, Atlanta, GA 30332. 10 pages. Deadline May 1, 1980.

**November 7-9, 1980**
Annual Meeting of the Social Sciences History Association, Rochester, New York, hosted by SUNY-Brockport. Contact: Papers and panels, Nancy H. Zingale, Chair, Program Committee, Social Science, College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN 55105.
PUBLICATIONS

MINORITIES, VIOLENCE AND PEACE RESEARCH

The Research Institute of The Johns Hopkins University, Bologna Center, announces the availability of *Minorities, Violence and Peace Research* (No. 20 Occasional Paper), by Ekkehart Krippendorff, Professor of International Relations and American Politics at the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Free University, Berlin.

Address inquiries to: Research Institute, The Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies, Bologna Center, Via Belmeloro 11, Bologna, Italy.
1980 - *Explorations* begins a new decade. Surprise! In terms of the longevity of professional and scholarly journals, and statistically, the journal should have folded. Instead, *Explorations* moves ahead with optimism and starts the new decade with a sense of pride and accomplishment. If *Explorations* survives until January, 1990, we will know that Ethnic Studies has survived.

The journal will continue to publish the best papers from the NAIES annual conference. It will continue to publish unsolicited papers from scholars in the field. It will continue to publish material submitted by members of NAIES. It will continue to add new subscribers. It will continue to serve as one of the few networks of communication in Ethnic Studies, at all levels. Its impact and influence will continue to grow.

All the above will happen not because the Editor and editorial staff are doing their job; it will happen because our membership and subscribers are supportive. *Explorations* is truly the organ of the membership of NAIES. Any time a member or subscriber has something to say, or something to communicate to others, about a program, or any matters of concern, they should let us know, *us* being the editorial staff.

*Explorations* will continue to break new ground in 1980 and in the decade ahead. Please continue to be of help.
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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The National Association for Asian American and Pacific Education is proud to announce the development of the ASIAN AMERICAN RESEARCH SEMINARS (NAAAPE/RS). Funded by a grant from the National Institute of Education and housed at the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA, the project is aimed at developing the quality and quantity of educational research on Asian and Pacific Island Americans (APA).

In order to accomplish its goal the Project will:

1) Provide a communications network among postdoctoral and predoctoral researchers.

2) Provide senior research consultants/mentors to postdoctoral and predoctoral researchers.

3) Provide assistance to researchers on the specific and unique problems in conceptualizing and conducting research on Asian and Pacific Island populations in the United States.

4) Provide a human resource talent pool of APA social scientists interested in educational research.

5) Encourage and assist minority researchers, particularly those from APA backgrounds, to publish articles, present papers at scholarly meetings, and generally participate in educational policy decision-making.

6) Organize regional and national seminars to promote direct communications among scientists about critical issues in educational research on Asian and Pacific Island Americans.

NAAAPE broadly defines educational research and encourages participation from the broadest spectrum of research scientists interested in educational problems. This may include, but is not limited to social policy analysts, anthropologists, economists, historians, linguists, and sociologists, as well as educational and psychological researchers.

For further information, to be placed on the mailing list, or to offer suggestions, please write to: Kenyon S. Chan, Ph.D., Asian American Research Seminars, Asian American Studies Center, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024, or phone (213) 825-0315.
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