

The best alternative to endless school crises, says an expert in education, is to follow the Catholic precedent and help black nationalists create their own

Private Schools For Black Children

By CHRISTOPHER JENCKS

THE public school system of New York City is on the brink of collapse. No compromise between the teachers' union and the school board is likely to resolve the fundamental conflicts between the school staff and the advocates of black community control. Until the basic political framework of public education in New York City is altered, strikes and boycotts—or both—are likely to recur on an annual basis.

Nor is New York unique. It is simply first. All the forces which have brought New York City to its present condition are at work elsewhere, and the New York story will certainly be repeated in dozens of other major cities around the country during the next decade.

The origin of the crisis is simple. The public schools have not been able to teach most black children to read and write or to add and subtract competently. This is not the children's fault. They are the victims of social pathology far beyond their control. Nor is it the schools' fault, for schools as now organized cannot possibly offset the malignant effects of growing up in the ghetto. Nonetheless, the fact that the schools cannot teach black children basic skills has made the rest of the curriculum unworkable and it has left the children with nothing useful and creative

to do for six hours a day. Ghetto schools have therefore become little more than custodial institutions for keeping the children off the street. Nobody, black or white, really knows what to do about the situation.

The traditional argument of both black and white liberals was that the problem could be solved by integrating black children into predominantly white schools, but experience has shown that many whites are reluctant to allow this, and that many blacks are not willing to move into white neighborhoods or bus their children across town even if the opportunity is available. Furthermore, studies such as the one done in New York City by David Fox have shown that most black children's academic performance improves only a little or not at all in integrated schools. Most people have therefore abandoned integration as a solution, at least in big cities.

Most educators are now concentrating on "compensatory" and "remedial" programs to bring academic competence in all-black schools up to the level of all-white schools. Unfortunately, none of these programs have proved consistently successful over any significant period. A few gifted principals seem to have created an atmosphere which enables black children to learn as much as whites in other schools, but they have done this by force of personality rather than by devising formulas which others could follow. Programs like More Effective Schools in New York City may eventually prove moderately effective, but evaluations to

date have not provided grounds for great optimism.

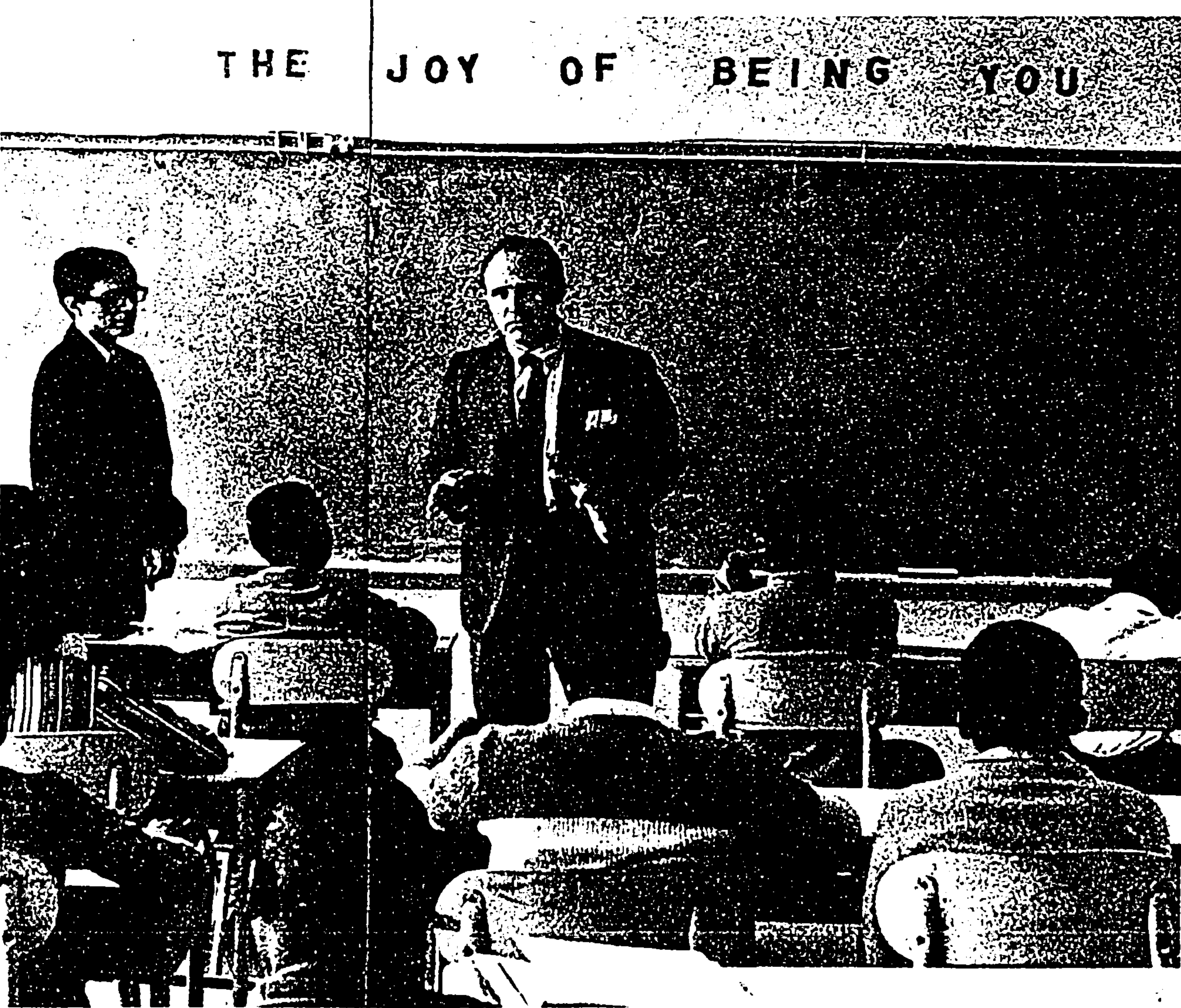
The widespread failure of both integration and compensation has convinced some black nationalists that the answer is to replace white principals and teachers with black ones. But experience with this remedy is also discouraging. The schools in Washington, D. C., for example, have predominantly black staffs, and yet their black pupils learn no more than in other cities. So, many black militants are now arguing that the essential step is not to hire black staffs but to establish black control over the schools. There is little evidence one way or the other on this score, but the schools in America's few predominantly black towns are not especially distinguished.

THE available evidence suggests that only a really extraordinary school can have much influence on a child's academic competence, be he black or white. Within the range of variation found in American public schools—and by traditional criteria this range is quite broad—the difference between a "good" school and "bad" school does not seem to matter very much. James S. Coleman's massive Equality of Educational Opportunity survey, conducted for the U.S. Office of Education, demonstrated this point in 1965. Coleman's work was much criticized on methodological grounds, but most subsequent analyses have confirmed his conclusions. Indeed, recent work at Harvard suggests that Coleman probably overstated the effect of school quality on student achievement. This means that

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GHETTO SCHOOL—At J.H.S. 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville during the teachers' strike. Clockwise from top, at a barricade outside the school, which remained open; a social studies class; in a corridor between classes; taking notes; an assistant principal addresses a math class while the teacher stands by.



New York Times photographs by DON CHARLES

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the gap between black and white children's academic achievement is largely if not entirely attributable to factors over which school boards have no control.

There are, of course, both educators and scholars who disagree with this conclusion, and who argue that the schools play a substantial role in perpetuating inequality between the races. Such skeptics must, however, explain two facts documented by the Coleman survey and never seriously disputed since.

FIRST, Coleman's work confirmed previous studies showing that even before they enter school black children perform far less well on standard tests than white children. The typical black 6-year-old in the urban North, for example, scores below five-sixths of all white 6-year-olds on tests of both verbal and nonverbal ability. These tests obviously measure performance on tasks which seem important to educators and psychologists, not tasks which seem important to the children being tested or most of their parents. But for precisely this reason they provide a fairly accurate indication of how well any particular cultural group is likely to do at such "white - middle - class" games as reading and long division. In the case of poor black children, the tests predict disaster.

The prediction, moreover, is all too accurate. Twelve years later, after the schools have done their best and their worst, the typical black 18-year-old in the urban North is still scoring at about the 15th percentile on most standard tests. The schools in short, have not changed his position one way or the other. This obviously means that his absolute handicap has grown, for he is 12 years older and both he and his classmates know far more than before, so there is more room for differentiation. Thus a first-grader who scores at the 15th percentile on a verbal test is less than a year behind his classmates; a 12th-grader who scores at the 15th percentile is more than three years behind.

The second fact which must be reckoned with is that while black children go to many different sorts of schools, good and bad, integrated and segregated, rigidly authoritarian and relatively permissive, their mean achievement

level is remarkably similar from school to school. By the sixth grade, for example, the typical lower-class Northern black child is achieving a little above the fourth-grade level. There is a great deal of individual variation around this average, both because black lower-class families vary considerably in the amount of support they give a school child and because individual children differ in native ability. But there is very little variation from one school to another in such children's average level of achievement. The black lower-class average is within one grade level of the over-all black lower-class average in 9 schools out of 10. This uniformly depressing picture cannot be attributed to uniformly depressing conditions in the schools Coleman surveyed. Many of these schools were predominantly white, and some had excellent facilities, highly trained and experienced teachers, relatively small classes and high over-all levels of expenditure. These differences show no consistent relationship to the mean achievement of black elementary school pupils.

The last word has certainly not been written on this subject. Indeed, a group at Harvard is planning another whole book on it. But at the moment I think the evidence strongly indicates that differences in school achievement are largely caused by differences between cultures, between communities, between socio-economic circumstances and between families—not by differences between schools.

None of this provides any adequate excuse for the outrageous and appalling things which are often done in ghetto schools. But it does suggest that even if black schools had the same resources and the same degree of responsibility to parents that the better suburban schools now have, ghetto children would still end up much less academically competent than suburban children.

It follows that the pedagogic failure of the ghetto schools must not be blamed primarily on the stupidity or malice of school boards or school administrators. It must be blamed on the whole complex of social arrangements whose cumulative viciousness creates a Harlem or a Watts. This means that, barring a general improvement in the social and economic positions of black America, black chil-

dren's school achievement is unlikely to improve much in the foreseeable future, no matter who runs the schools or how they are run.

Some will challenge this depressing conclusion on the ground that black children's achievement scores could be substantially improved if really radical changes were made in the character and organization of black schools. This may well be true, but such changes are unlikely. Nor is it clear that they would be worth the cost. Despite a great deal of popular mythology, there is little real evidence that improving black children's academic skills would help any appreciable number of them to escape poverty and powerlessness.

On the contrary, studies by Otis Dudley Duncan at the University of Michigan suggest that academic competence probably explains only 10 per cent or 15 per cent of the variations in men's earnings. Research by Stephan Michelson at the Brookings Institution likewise indicates that staying in school is not likely to be much help to a Negro who wants to break out of poverty unless he stays through college.

IN these circumstances, it seems to me that we should view the present urban school crisis primarily as a political problem, and only secondarily as a pedagogic one. So long as militant blacks believe they are the victims of a conspiracy to keep their children stupid—and therefore subservient—the political problem will remain insoluble. But if we encourage and assist black parents with such suspicions to set up their own schools, we may be able to avert disaster.

These schools would not, I predict, be either more or less successful than existing public schools in teaching the three R's. But that is not the point. The point is to find a political *modus vivendi* which is tolerable to all sides. (After that, the struggle to eliminate the ghetto should probably concentrate on other institutions, especially corporate employers.) How, then, might independent, black-controlled schools help create such a *modus vivendi*?

The essential issue in the politics of American education has always been whether laymen or professionals would control the schools. Conflict between these two groups has

taken a hundred forms. Professionals always want more money for the schools, while laymen almost always want to trim the budget. Professionals almost always want personnel hired and promoted on the basis of "fair" and "objective" criteria like degrees, examination results and seniority. Laymen are inclined to favor less impersonal criteria, such as whether the individual has roots, whether they personally know and trust him, whether he gets on well with his colleagues, and so forth. Professionals almost never want anyone fired for any reason whatever, while laymen are inclined to fire all sorts of people, for both good and bad reasons. Professionals want a curriculum which reflects their own ideas about the world, and this often means a curriculum that embodies "liberal" ideas and values they picked up at some big university. Laymen frequently oppose this demand, insisting that the curriculum should reflect conservative local mores.

The development of big-city public schools over the past century has been marked by a

steady decline of lay control and an increase in the power of the professional staff. Until relatively recently, this has meant that control was exercised by administrators. Now the teaching staff, represented by increasingly militant unions and professional associations, has begun to insist on its rights. This is, however, an intraprofessional dispute. It has done nothing to arrest the staff's continuing and largely successful resistance to nonprofessional "intervention" by parents, school-board members and other laymen. About the only thing such laymen can still decide in most big cities is the over-all level of expenditures.

The extent to which the professional staff gets its way seems to be related to the size of the administrative unit in which it works. Laymen usually have more power in small school districts, while the staff usually has more power in big districts. Until relatively recently, most liberals saw this as an argument for bigger districts, since they thought that the trouble with American education was its excessive deference to local inter-

ESTABLISHED FACTS

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ESTABLISHED FACTS

ests and its lack of professionalism. In the past few years, however, liberals and radicals have suddenly joined conservatives in attacking bigness, bureaucracy and the claims of enterprise. Most people on the left are now calling for more participation, more responsiveness, more decentralization, and less "alienization."

LIBERAL thinking on this question is in large part a response to black nationalism. More and more Negroes believe there is a cause-effect rela-

tionship between the hegemony of what they call "white middle-class" (read professional-bureaucratic) values in their schools and the fact that their children learn so little in those schools. So they think the best way to improve their children's performance would be to break the power of the professional staff. This, they rightly infer, requires Balkanizing big-city systems into much smaller units, which will be more responsive to parental and neighborhood pressure. (There are, of course, also strictly administrative arguments for breaking up systems as large as New York City's into units the size of, say, Rochester. But that would not do much for parental control.) So black militants want to strip the central board of education and central administrative staff of authority, elect local boards, have these boards appoint local officials, and then let these locally appointed officials operate local schools in precisely the same way that any small-town or suburban school system does.

This scheme has been attacked on two grounds. First,

given racial and economic segregation in housing, localism in education means *de facto* segregation in schooling. In New York City, for example, almost everyone agrees the so-called "Bundy Plan" would foreclose any serious effort to reduce racial and economic segregation in the schools. Furthermore, if big-city school systems are broken up, the more affluent neighborhoods will presumably pursue the logic of Balkanization a step further by asking for fiscal as well as administrative autonomy. This demand would be politically difficult to resist. Yet if it were met, the expenditure gap between Harlem and Queens would almost certainly become wider than it now is.

The second common objection to the Balkanization of big-city school systems is that it would produce more parental "interference." (The distinction between "participation" and "interference" is largely a matter of where you think parents' rights end and staff prerogatives begin.) Parental interference would, it is plausibly argued, make it even harder to recruit staff



PRECEDENT?—In a New York parochial school. The author suggests a parallel be-

members whose values are significantly at odds with the community's. This would make schools even more homogenized and parochial than they now are. Indeed, a local district which does not give its staff substantial autonomy is likely to have some difficulty recruiting even teachers who have grown up in the neighborhood and share the parents' values, simply because most teachers do not want parents constantly second-guessing them. Once the first flush of idealistic enthusiasm had passed, locally controlled schools in poor areas would probably have a harder time getting staffs than they do now. Like small rural districts confronted with the same problem, small impoverished urban districts would probably have to depend mainly on local people who could not get better jobs elsewhere.

These two arguments against local control of big-city schools naturally carry little weight with black militants. They have little patience with the liberal claim that the way to make black children learn more is to give them more white classmates and more middle-class teachers from Ivy League colleges. When liberals oppose decentralization on the grounds

that it would legitimize segregation, the black militants answer: "So what? Integration is a myth. Who needs it?" When professional educators add that decentralization would create working conditions unacceptable to highly trained (and therefore potentially mobile) teachers, the black militants again answer: "So what? Teachers like that don't understand black children. Who wants them?"

DIFFERENCES of opinion like this probably cannot be resolved by "experimentation"—though more reliable information about the consequences of various school policies would certainly help. For reasons already indicated, the solution must be political.

In seeking such a solution, however, we should bear in mind that a similar crisis arose a century ago when Catholic immigrants confronted a public school system run by and for Protestants. This crisis was successfully resolved by creating two school systems, one public and one private.

It seems to me that the same approach might be equally appropriate again today. Since such an idea is likely to shock most liberals, it may be useful to recall certain neglected features of the

parochial-school experiment.

The motives of the Catholic immigrants who created the parochial-school system were different in many important respects from the motives of the black nationalists who now want their own schools. Nonetheless, there were also important similarities. Just as today's black nationalist does not want his children infected by alien, white "middle-class" values, so many devout Catholic immigrants did not want their children to imbibe the alien values of white Protestant "first families." Just as today's black nationalist deplores the public schools' failure to develop pride and self-respect in black children, so, too, many Irish immigrants felt they needed their own schools to make their children feel that Catholicism and Irishness were respectable rather than shameful. And just as many black parents now want to get their children out of public schools because they feel these schools do not maintain proper discipline, so, too, many Catholics still say that their prime reason for sending their children to parochial schools is that the nuns maintain order and teach children "to behave."

Why, then, did not devout Catholics press for Balkanization of big-city school sys-



tween Catholic schools and Negro demands for local control.

tems? Why did they not turn their neighborhood schools into bastions of the faith rather than creating their own separate system?

The answer is that there were very few neighborhoods in which literally all the residents were Catholic. Even where everyone was Catholic, not all Catholics wanted their children educated in self-consciously Catholic schools. Some Catholics, especially those of Irish ancestry, were extremely suspicious of the Anglo-Protestant majority, were strongly attached to the church, and eager to enroll their children in church schools. But others, of whom Italian immigrants were fairly typical, felt as suspicious of the Irish who dominated the church here as of the Anglo-Saxons who dominated the rest of America. Such Catholics were often anticlerical, and they wanted to send their children to schools which would stick to the three R's and skip ideology.

Thus, even in the most Catholic neighborhoods, there was a large minority which thought priests, nuns and theology had no place in the local schools. This minority allied itself with the Protestant majority in other parts of the same state. These statewide majorities then kept

strict limits on local control, so as to prevent devout Catholics from imposing their view of education on local Protestant (or lax Catholic) minorities. In particular, most state constitutions contain some kind of prohibition against the introduction of church personnel and teaching into the local public schools. When they do not, it is only because the Federal First Amendment was thought sufficient to prevent the possibility.

THIS points to a difficulty with neighborhood control which black militants have yet to face. Blacks are not a majority in many of the areas where they live, at least if these areas are defined as large enough to support a full school system. Nor are black Americans of one mind about Balkanization and its likely consequences. Some black parents still believe in integration. They think the only way to get the social and material advantages they want is to stop being what they have always been, however difficult and painful that may be, and become culturally indistinguishable from the white majority. They therefore want their children to attend integrated schools, to study the same curriculum as

Two kinds of black parents: integrationists and nationalists

white children, and to have teachers from good colleges (most of whom will be white for the foreseeable future). What these families want is thus very similar to what the present professional staffs of big-city school systems want.

Other black parents feel that they can never become indistinguishable from whites, that attempts to acquire white culture only make black children feel miserable and incompetent, and that if such children are to succeed they will have to develop their own style. Such parents want their children to attend schools which try to develop distinctive black virtues and black pride, and which maintain the discipline which is so sorely lacking in the public schools. This cannot, I fear, be reconciled with what the present professional staff wants (or knows how to do).

FOR convenience, I will label these two sorts of black parents "integrationists" and "nationalists"—though the flavor of the distinction is perhaps better captured in the militants' rhetorical distinction between "Negroes" and "blacks."

Balkanizing big-city school systems would clearly be a victory for the nationalists at the expense of the integrationists. Schools in predominantly black neighborhoods would almost certainly end up with fewer white students and teachers. Local control would also make it easier for white neighborhoods to resist open enrollment, busing and other devices for helping black integrationists send their children to predominantly white schools. The curriculum might or might not be substantially revised once black neighborhood boards held power, but whatever revisions were made would certainly please the nationalists more than the integrationists.

Yet for this very reason state legislatures are unlikely to let black separatists exercise complete control over "their" schools. Just as legislatures earlier protected the rights of Protestant and anti-clerical Catholic minorities in devout Catholic communities, so they will almost certainly protect the rights of white and black-integrationist minorities in predominantly black neighborhoods.

If, for example, the local Ocean Hill-Brownsville board

wins control over the schools in that part of New York City, the New York State Legislature will almost surely go along with union demands for tight limits on the local board's right to discriminate against whites in hiring teachers and principals. (No such discrimination appears to have taken place in Ocean Hill-Brownsville's hiring of teachers, but the local board does seem to have had a strong and entirely understandable prejudice in favor of black principals.) State certification requirements are also likely to be strictly enforced, so as to restrict black local boards to hiring teachers who have enough respect for white culture and white standards of competence to have got through four or five years of college. New restrictions are also likely to be put on the curriculum, perhaps in the form of a law against teaching "racial hatred," so as to keep LeRoi Jones, etc., out of black schools. Such action would be defended on the same grounds as the rules barring religious teaching in public schools.

Restrictions of this kind are both reasonable and necessary in public institutions which must serve every child in a community, regardless of his race or his parents' outlook on life. They are, however, likely to mean that black nationalists end up feeling that, even though they have a majority on the local board, they do not really control their schools. Once again, whiteness will have cheated them of their rightful pride. Local control is, therefore, likely to enrage the professional educators, work against the hopes and ambitions of the integration-minded black and white parents, and yet end up leaving black nationalists as angry as ever. An alternative strategy is badly needed.

THE best alternative I can see is to follow the Catholic precedent and allow nationalists to create their own private schools, outside the regular public system, and to encourage this by making such schools eligible for substantial tax support.

The big-city school systems could then remain largely in the hands of their professional staffs. (A major change in the distribution of power between teachers and administrators would still be required, and

Would white Protestant America actually support black schools?

some decentralization of big cities would also be advisable on bureaucratic grounds, but these are negotiable issues.) The public system would continue to serve white and black integrationists. Separatists who found this system unacceptable would have the option of sending their children to other schools at relatively low cost.

The beginnings of such a parallel system can already be seen in some big cities. Black middle-class parents are already far more likely than their white counterparts to enroll their children in private schools. A number of private "community schools" have also sprung up in the ghettos during the past few years. The Muslims run several schools. These schools have found many black parents are willing to make considerable financial sacrifices in order to send their children to a school they think superior to the public one. What these ventures lack, however, is substantial political and financial support. Without this they are likely to remain isolated and relatively unusual.

Some will ask why an independent black school system should need or deserve white support when the parochial schools get no such support. The most relevant answer is that, without the unity and legitimacy conferred by religion, the black community cannot go it alone. It is, perhaps, an unfortunate historical accident that black America lacks its own church, but it does—and even the Muslims have not been able to remedy the situation. Yet black America still needs its own schools, free to serve exigencies of black nationalism. Given the inevitable hostility of both professional educators and laymen who believe in integration, black nationalists are unlikely to be able to create such schools within the public sector.

Is there any justification for funding black private schools without funding other private schools on the same basis? My answer is "No."

Indeed, it seems to me that the only way a black private-school system could hope to get tax subsidies would be to ally itself with a parochial school system in demanding Federal and state support for all private schools. Many traditional liberals feel this would violate the constitutional separation of church

and state. The Supreme Court has never ruled on this question, however; until it does, it seems reasonable to assume that there is no constitutional objection to Federal or state subsidies for private schools—so long as these subsidies are earmarked to achieve specific public purposes, and so long as the schools are accountable for achieving these purposes.

An analogy may clarify this point. Back in the 19th century, the Supreme Court ruled that the Government could legally contract with Catholic hospitals to care for public charity patients, and today only the most strict separatist would argue that the Federal Government cannot contract with a Catholic university or a Catholic hospital to carry out scientific research. Why, then, should it not contract with a Catholic school to teach physics to 16-year-olds or reading to impoverished 6-year-olds?

Private schools should, of course, be required to show that they had actually done what they promised to do, rather than devoting public funds to the construction of chapels or the production of antiwhite propaganda. But accountability of this kind is essential with all tax subsidies, whether to private schools, private corporations or local government.

EVEN if a coalition between the church and the black community were put together, is it realistic to suppose that white Protestant America would actually support black schools? My guess is that it would, so long as the financial burden remains within reason. Remember, I am not proposing that white legislators should help create a private system for blacks which would be more expensive than the one now attended by whites. I am only proposing that black children who attend private schools should be eligible for at least part of the tax subsidy which is now available if they choose to seek an education in the public system. Far from increasing the overall tax bill, then, a scheme of this kind would actually lower it. In particular, it would help slow the rise in local property taxes, by providing black parents with state and Federal incentives to withdraw their children from locally supported schools, thus

cutting local costs. Many local white taxpayers would probably greet such a development with considerable enthusiasm. It would also reduce some white parents' anxiety about the public system's being "overrun" by black children. (It would not actually diminish integration-minded blacks' interest in desegregation, but if it reduced over-all black enrollment it might make desegregation seem a little less threatening and more practical.) In addition, the creation of an independent black school system might strike many whites as a relatively easy and painless way to buy political peace and sweep the whole racial problem under the rug. I doubt if it would succeed in doing this, but it might at least help shift the focus of racial conflict away from the schools and into other more critical arenas.

At this point, somebody always says, "Well, what about private schools established by white supremacists to escape integration?" The answer to that question is already clear. The Supreme Court has held subsidies for such schools unconstitutional, and neither legislatures nor Congress should provide them.

Indeed, I would go further and argue that the state should not subsidize any school which is not open to every child who wants to enroll—regardless of race, religion or ability. Not many non-Catholics want to attend parochial schools, but some already do and others will. Their admission should certainly be a precondition for public subsidies. Similarly, black schools should be required to admit white applicants in order to get tax support. No rush of applicants need be anticipated.

ONE final objection to the establishment of independent black schools should be mentioned. Many whites fear that such a system would preach black nationalism and racial hatred, and that this would make racial reconciliation even more difficult than it now seems.

This is a reasonable fear. The same objections were raised against the Catholic schools for more than a hundred years. Yet despite all sorts of horror stories about anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice in Catholic schools, a 1964 survey by Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi of the University of Chicago demonstrated fairly conclusively that Catholics who attended parochial schools were no more intolerant, narrow-minded or socially irrespons-

ble than Catholics who attended public schools. Indeed, the survey suggested that, all other things being equal, parochial schools had a more liberalizing effect on Catholics than did public schools.

And similarly, the Greeley-Rossi survey suggests that the black schools would not have to be especially affluent to do an acceptable job. While the parochial schools spent far less per pupil than the public schools, used less extensively trained teachers, had much larger classes, were housed in older buildings, had smaller libraries and relied on a curriculum even more medieval than did the public schools, their alumni did at least as well in worldly terms as public-school Catholics.

All other things being equal, parochial-school Catholics ended up with slightly more education and slightly better jobs than public-school Catholics. The only really significant difference Greeley and Rossi found between the two groups was that parochial school products were more meticulous and better informed about their religious obligations. This suggests that fears for the future of black children in black-controlled schools may also be somewhat exaggerated.

THE development of an independent black school system would not solve the problems of black children. I doubt, for example, that many black private schools could teach their children to read appreciably better than white-controlled public schools now do. But

such schools would be an important instrument in the hands of black leaders who want to develop a sense of community solidarity and pride in the ghetto, just as the parochial schools have worked for similarly placed Catholics.

Equally important, perhaps, the existence of independent black schools would diffuse the present attack on professional control over the public system. This seems the only politically realistic course in a society where professional control, employe rights and bureaucratic procedures are as entrenched as they are in America. The black community is not strong enough to destroy the public-school bureaucracy and staff. Even if it did, it now has nothing to put in its place. What the black community could do, however, would be to develop an alternative—and demand tax support for it.

Some radicals who expect black insurgency to destroy the whole professional hierarchy in America and create a new style of participatory democracy will regard this kind of solution as a cop-out. Some conservatives whose primary concern is that the lower orders not get out of hand will regard it as an undesirable concession to anarchy. But for those who value a pluralistic society, the fact that such a solution would, for the first time, give large numbers of non-Catholics a choice about where they send their children to school, ought, I think, to outweigh all other objections. ■



PRIVATE—A second-grade arithmetic class at the Concord Baptist Church's school in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. Since its opening in 1960, it has accepted white and Oriental children, though this year it is all-black (some pupils are Catholics). Tuition is \$30 a month.