

RACISM IN KANSAS CITY

A SHORT HISTORY

WITH A FOREWORD BY ALVIN BROOKS

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ANTI-BLACK RACISM STILL INFECTS AMERICAN SOCIETY. African Americans are more likely to be killed by police, to be pulled over, arrested, imprisoned, and executed than whites who commit the same crimes. They are more likely to be turned down for a job or offered a bad home loan than equally qualified whites.

The killing of unarmed black men in Ferguson, Missouri, and Baltimore, Maryland, triggered riots. A white terrorist massacred black worshipers in Charleston, South Carolina. Eight black churches were burned in the South in ten days.

Kansas Citians, like so many others across the nation, wonder, "Could it happen here?" The answer lies in this study of Kansas City's darkest moments—slavery, the border war, the Civil War, bombings of black homes, lynchings, the segregation of neighborhoods and schools, the civil rights struggle, the Black Panther movement, the 1968 race riot, assassinations in the 1970s, the infamous *Missouri v. Jenkins* U.S. Supreme Court case, and the racial inequities that still plague Kansas City today. Threaded throughout *Racism in Kansas City* are stories of Kansas Citians, black and white, who fought ardently against racist policies—and won.

Racism in Kansas City, in the end, offers readers a hopeful message: with awareness comes understanding, then a willingness to push for positive social change.

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FOREWORD

As I write this foreword to *Racism in Kansas City: A Short History*, our nation and our president are mourning the domestic terrorist attack on nine African Americans (six women and three men), who were murdered during a prayer meeting at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. A young white male racist gunned down these people with the intent and mission, in his own words, “to start a race war.”

This latest act of hatred based on the race of a people—African Americans—demonstrates that the issue of race in America has to be faced and addressed by all Americans with all deliberate speed.

Garrett S. Griffin, a young white “suburbanite,” has written with intelligent research and oral interviews a well-documented history of black-white relations in an urban city, Kansas City, Missouri. *Racism in Kansas City: A Short History*, although written about Kansas City’s past, can be fast-forwarded to our nation today. Griffin is skillful enough to integrate in his work the conditions that led up to the modern era of Kansas City. I’m able to identify with much of Griffin’s work, from 1950 until the present, and therefore can attest to its clarity and accuracy. Griffin took on the challenge of writing this short

history, which I'm sure surprised him as it unfolded before him. In this process, he learned about black-white relations and saw the disparities in Kansas City, which is a microcosm of America.

Racism in Kansas City: A Short History should be mandatory reading beginning with our middle school children and ending with parents and other adults. If together blacks, whites, and all others work toward eliminating those issues that divide us, no longer will so many be kept from benefiting from the "American dream." Griffin has set the stage for us...if not now, then when?

— *Alvin Brooks*

Times called the migrants “human rubbish” and “lazy.” City officials protested when the boats—turned away at Wyandotte—dropped off their human cargo in Kansas City and raised money to ship the newcomers off to Manhattan, Kansas. Worse, whites in Leavenworth took advantage of blacks’ lack of financial knowledge to con them out of the money they had.³²

Missouri officially declared slavery abolished in January 1865, but among more than “a hundred counties represented at the convention in St. Louis, only FOUR voted against emancipation. They were Platte, Clay, Calloway and Boone.”³³ Platte and Clay are those to the northeast and north of Jackson County, so half the Missouri counties that voted against freedom were in the Greater Kansas City area. Missouri’s Radical Republicans made no serious efforts to preserve black males’ right to vote,³⁴ and quickly lost political strength. Conservative and reactionary forces in Jefferson City succeeded in banning interracial marriages (1869) and mixed-raced public education (1880).³⁵ These edicts were tame compared to the barbaric laws that southern legislatures were passing, but tragic nonetheless.

In the 1860s, the conservative Democrats began to play on fears of interracial mixing for political reasons—they capitalized on the obsessive terror among white men over sexual liaisons between black men and white women to slander the Republicans as the “party of miscegenation.”³⁶ Of course, voluntary sexual relationships between blacks and whites occurred since slaves were first shipped to the American shore. This fear of voluntary racial mixing birthed two myths: first, it was in the black man’s aggressive and deviant nature to rape, and second, white women were naturally repulsed by black men. The idea of sexual deviancy in black men still exists today (and many

political demagogues. Scientists got behind the notion, too, propagating biological and psychological theories to explain the black man's animal nature and his criminal appetites.¹

These new racist ideas swept over Kansas City. Soon the attitudes of many local newspapers changed from paternalism to fear mongering. Black families were no longer considered victims of poverty and the ghetto; they were the cause. Desperation and hopelessness did not bring criminality; now it was the other way around. As sociologist Kevin F. Gotham writes in *Race, Real Estate, and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2000*, "During the first two decades of the twentieth century, local social workers, public officials, and other elites began to associate the presence of Blacks living in a particular area of the city with deteriorating neighborhoods, poor schools, high crime, and other negative characteristics." Local sociologists and the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare released studies that "equated Blacks with moral laxity, instinctively mean character, disorderly conduct and criminality, and property devaluation."² This served as white justification for Jim Crow laws.

Poverty indeed grew worse, though mythical black animalism, laziness, immorality, and poor parenting had nothing to do with it. Besides getting shut out of good jobs and good schools, the population of African Americans was growing quickly. By 1910, the city's total population was nearly a quarter-million people, with 23,000 African Americans.³ The black population jumped 72 percent from 1900 to 1920.⁴ World War I drew many blacks to the North to work in war industries. After this, there was another wave of black migration from the

president of Rockhurst College. Their protests were backed by the findings of the National Commission on Urban Problems, the President's Committee on Urban Housing, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and other groups, which "agreed that the nation's housing woes were either directly or indirectly linked to the practices of the FHA."⁴⁹

Plunging property values, crime waves, dwindling populations, and shrinking tax revenues worried city councils across the country.⁵⁰ From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, total employment in the inner city plunged about 20 percent. "Urban Renewal had not halted decentralization trends but reinforced the exodus of people and industry, creating more urban blight and exacerbating the urban housing problem."⁵¹ As whites continued to isolate themselves, city services declined in black areas and white businesses relocated.

Again, progressive activists fought back. In 1955, Earl T. Sturgess, pastor at the Southeast Presbyterian Church, led an effort to prevent white flight from Benton Boulevard, selling "Not for Sale" signs to residents for their lawns.⁵² Civic and religious organizations persuaded the city council to ban blockbusting in 1964. The Kansas City, Missouri Human Relations Commission launched a public awareness campaign to prevent panic selling. Politicians condemned the tactics of the real estate industry. Neighborhood coalitions formed to maintain integration. There were petitions and protests at City Hall against blatant violations of the anti-blockbusting law. Though the good fight was fought, the division of city neighborhoods continued through the 1960s and 70s.⁵³

Yet success was found elsewhere. The half-million dollar, 3,000-capacity swimming pool in Swope Park had banned

blacks since opening in 1941. Blacks were confined to a section in the park called "Watermelon Hill."⁵⁴ The local NAACP sued the city in August 1951 when Esther Williams, Lena Rivers, and Joseph Moore were turned away from the pool (*City of Kansas City v. Esther Williams*). Carl R. Johnson of the Kansas City NAACP and Robert L. Carter from New York City represented Williams, Rivers, and Moore,⁵⁵ and Thurgood Marshall came to Kansas City to serve as the lead attorney.⁵⁶

The NAACP argued the local black pool was inferior, while city lawyers justified segregation by citing "the natural aversion to physical intimacy inherent in the use of swimming pools by races that do not mingle socially."⁵⁷ The city government feared a race riot, as thousands clashed violently in St. Louis in 1949 when the public pools were integrated. When the U.S. District Court ruled in favor of the NAACP, the city shut down Swope Park. The city appealed, but the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that unless equal facilities were built for blacks, the city was in violation of federal law. Swope Pool opened for both races on June 12, 1954. The riot police placed outside the pool proved unnecessary. Rather than revolt, many whites simply stayed away. Attendance dropped by more than 60 percent.⁵⁸

Progress was also seen in the world of sports. The Kansas City Chiefs hired the first full-time black scout in professional football history, Lloyd Wells, in 1963. Wells found and recruited many talented black players, and in 1969 the Chiefs became the first team to play a majority-black starting line.⁵⁹ Hal McRae also broke barriers as the first African American to lead a Missouri professional sports team when he became manager of his former team, the Kansas City Royals.⁶⁰

Activists were inspired by bus boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama, and rallied into action after Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke at St. Stephen Baptist Church in Kansas City on April 11, 1957. Some 2,500 flocked to hear him.⁶¹ He gave the same speech he gave in St. Louis the night before, called "A Realistic Look at the Question of Progress in the Area of Race Relations." He cried out for a

new world in which men will be able to live together as brothers. This new world in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of all human personality. This new world, in which men will beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Yes, this new world in which men will no longer take necessities from the masses to give luxuries to the classes. This new world in which men will learn the old principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They will hear once more the voice of Jesus crying out through the generations saying, "Love everybody." This is that world. Then right here in America we will be able to sing with new meaning:

*My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,
From every mountainside,
Let freedom ring.⁶²*

Stirred by his call, Kansas Citians pushed harder for equality. In 1958, elementary school teacher Gladys Twine and a society

of black women called the Twin Cities formed the Community Committee for Social Action. They demanded that the five largest downtown department stores—Macy's, Jones Store, Kline's, Peck's, and Emery, Bird, Thayer & Company—end segregation at their dining counters. After a massive public awareness campaign, the Community Committee for Social Action announced a boycott in December 1958. The Reverend Arthur Marshall declared, "If they walked in Montgomery, surely we can stop buying in Kansas City."⁶³ The committee found allies in Lucile Bluford of the *Call*, the local NAACP, and many community and religious leaders, both black and white. The picketing and boycotts slashed holiday sales, and after the committee threatened a march downtown, the stores capitulated. Lunch counters desegregated in February 1959. These actions influenced lunch counter sit-ins across the country in the following years (including a quite famous one at a Woolworth's store in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960).⁶⁴

In 1963, sixteen activists (four white) marched into Fairyland Park in Kansas City (75th and Prospect) and refused to leave. The park was whites only except for one day a year. The activists were arrested and jailed. Then a black barber named Richard Robinson, his brother Charles, and nine friends sat down one morning at the Peerless Cafe (3115 Prospect) and refused to leave unless they were served. The Peerless Cafe closed that day and never reopened.⁶⁵ Alvin Brooks, head of the Kansas City Congress of Racial Equality, investigated restaurants and bars that lied about fire marshal limits to keep out blacks, or charged them double to enter.⁶⁶ The passionate Reverend Wallace Hartsfield of the Metropolitan Missionary Baptist Church led mass protests against downtown stores like

Kline's, Macy's, and Peck's in 1964.⁶⁷ And Kansas Citians journeyed to join the marches in the South. People like Sister Barbra Moore, a nurse supervisor at the old St. Joseph Hospital, and Father Al O'Laughlin of St. Peter's Catholic Church marched with Dr. King from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in March 1965 to push for voting rights, which were key to voting racist politicians out of office. Hostile southerners attempted to run over two of O'Laughlin's fellow priests.⁶⁸

The work of groups like Freedom, Inc. (the oldest black political organization in the country⁶⁹) and an emboldened black electorate launched Bruce R. Watkins to the Kansas City Council in 1963. Watkins worked for a clean-up campaign of the inner city and to get more blacks on the police force. At that time, white police officers still followed and harassed African Americans in the company of white women or in predominantly white areas. Two white policemen viciously beat a black man on the Plaza in September 1965, outraging the black community. In 1966, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance led a march to police headquarters to protest mistreatment.⁷⁰ That same year, Watkins became the first African American in the Jackson County administration; he returned to the city council in 1975, and had an unsuccessful run for mayor in 1979.

Freedom, Inc. produced many more successful candidates and campaigns. Leon Jordan, who would become Missouri's most powerful black politician, was elected to the Missouri General Assembly in 1964. Jordan's grandfather fought in the Battle of Westport, his father was a civil rights activist, and his wife, Orchid Jordan, later became a Missouri state legislator.

Watkins helped push forward legislation to end segregation. In April 1964, the people of Kansas City voted on a ban on racial discrimination in public facilities. Freedom, Inc., Watkins, Jordan, and others rallied 18,000 black voters. It was one of the largest voting drives in city history.⁷¹ Supporters parked a hearse and coffin outside their headquarters with a banner that read, "LAST RIDE FOR JIM CROW... VOTE 'YES' APR. 7TH."⁷² The law passed with a mere 50.9 percent majority after a fierce battle between civil rights activists and the white business class.⁷³ Segregation, while not overthrown, was now illegal in Kansas City.

In 1966, a new voice for social, political, and economic equality sounded from Oakland, California, in the form of a black socialist organization that spread quickly across the United States. The Black Panther Party, founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, was largely inspired by the ideology of Islamic minister Malcolm X. The Black Panthers, founded the year after Malcolm X's assassination, aimed to promote self-defense and use of Second Amendment rights, to unify workers against capitalist exploitation, to embrace black pride, to make African Americans politically powerful and economically self-sufficient, to end illiteracy, hunger, and poverty in black communities, and to fight and die at any time for freedom. Marxist ideas of giving power to the common people attracted many. So did the idea of revolution. In 1967, with violence increasing against non-violent protesters and little being done to alleviate discrimination and poverty, hundreds of riots raged across the nation. Eighty-three people perished during the worst rioting in U.S. history.⁷⁴ Many had been killed in urban race riots in 1966, 1965, 1964, and long before then as well. The Black Panther

joined demonstrators at Central High School. The demonstration began peacefully, but then marchers entered Central Junior High School, screamed that school was out, and threw textbooks out the window.¹¹⁰ Word began spreading among students that the entire Kansas City Police Department had mobilized and white policemen were surrounding Central. The situation grew tense; during the 1960s the police force was 94.5 percent white. Their preparation and training to crack down on a rebellion often translated into the abuse of black citizens.¹¹¹

Two policemen maced students when they attempted to continue the march from the school grounds.¹¹² According to some sources, agitated students shattered the windows of cars in the Central parking lot and completely overturned others, though Harry Ross, who led the Manual students, said, "...the kids at Central was just making a lot of noise, really, I didn't see them tearing up nothing.... I didn't see no car they had turned over."¹¹³ Regardless, Central administrators cancelled classes and ordered the restless students to head home, but the situation escalated. Police threw tear gas; students threw bricks and rocks.¹¹⁴ The growing crowd surged past police and marched for Paseo High, and "vandalism erupted sporadically up and down Indiana where rioters stomped on cars and threatened residents with baseball bats."¹¹⁵ At Paseo High, things also spiraled out of control. One student remembered, "We [ransacked] the cafeteria and broke out a couple windows on the first floor—no—a whole lot of windows on the first floor and then after that... everybody went out in front and they jumped on this white girl."¹¹⁶

Police, with dogs and in riot gear, formed a defensive line on 31st near Troost and blasted the approaching crowd from

Central with mace; the same was done from a passing police cruiser. Screaming students broke and ran, then regrouped, joined the students at Paseo, and angrily decided to seek an apology for police conduct from Mayor Ilus Davis, who had supported anti-discrimination policies throughout the 1960s and had a positive relationship with much of the black community. But not all. One student said after the riot, “The mayor ain’t gonna listen to us until some shit happen[s]—other than that, he’s going to stay locked up in his office.” The student continued, saying: “When you’re down at City Hall and he gets on the elevator...if [there are] any niggers on that elevator he’s gonna tell you to go on down, let them off and then make a special trip back up to get him.... He don’t want nobody on there with him.”¹¹⁷

The mayor soon met the students at Parade Park. Determined to proceed, the young Lee Bohannon and other leaders convinced the mayor to walk with them downtown and discuss their grievances there.¹¹⁸ When Davis tried to move with them, two policemen grabbed him, said, “Mayor, you’re not going anywhere,” and escorted him to a police cruiser. Then, according to David Fly, “all hell broke loose,” as students surged forward and ran out of the park.¹¹⁹

Some youths pelted the police with rocks as they headed for City Hall. Traffic on I-70 froze as the demonstrators flooded the lanes “like a screaming black river.”¹²⁰ The news was all over the radio and spread by word of mouth, prompting black residents to leave their homes and businesses, swelling the size of the march. Some whites shut down their businesses and watched anxiously from their windows. Other whites joined the walk. As the city government and the governor of Missouri called up the

Missouri National Guard mid-morning, the crowd had reached around 1,000 people. Joel Rhodes ("It Finally Happened Here: The 1968 Riot in Kansas City, Missouri") writes that "leadership shifted periodically between ministers, established civil rights leaders, and young militants"¹²¹ like Bohannon. No one could control the angriest youths. They ran and shouted and cursed, smashed police car windows, hurled rocks and bottles, and raided delivery trucks. About forty were arrested.

By the time the mob confronted the squad of riot police surrounding City Hall, a podium had been set up from which Mayor Davis and some demonstration leaders pleaded for calm. "A young black woman in her thirties, with tears streaming down her face, told the students they would gain nothing by burning and looting as others were doing in cities across the nation."¹²² But the more militant speakers taunted the police and called for violence. Marchers swore at and spat on officers, who formed a perimeter around the crowd. When a bold youth climbed atop a cruiser at about 1 p.m., police pulled him down and struck him. One officer maced a student. The shouting crowd hurled bottles, cherry bombs, and rocks, and one man screamed, "The niggers don't have no country, but before we're through this is going to be nigger town!"¹²³ Then the police fired tear gas into the mob. Enraged demonstrators split and ran from police pursuers, looting and vandalizing white businesses and parked vehicles downtown. Policemen caught and beat marchers, and unleashed their dogs. White priest David Fly and black priest Edward L. Warner were clubbed.¹²⁴ Youths knocked out a policeman and stole his gun.¹²⁵ The city plunged into violence.

Blacks armed themselves with rifles and handguns, and shot at police officers from street corners, cars, windows, and rooftops. The mayor declared a curfew. Bruce R. Watkins, Louneer Pemberton, and others were “driving around trying to cool things.”¹²⁶ Rioters beat or stoned white residents. Some lit Molotov cocktails and firebombed buildings. Flames swept the streets. Businesses were not burned at random, but out of vengeance from years of pent-up anger. Black businesses were not targeted. One rioter said:

It's like that tire store. Most of their trade is with Negroes. He overcharges \$5 a tire so we got him. That ----- drug store. We burned them out because they don't have enough Negro employees. They follow you around like thieves—not all Negroes are thieves—so we got them.... That auto parts place. A lot of us have old cars and have to buy parts there. They charge twice as much as they should. We burned them.¹²⁷

A student said:

It's some store owners you really hate, but you can't do nothing until something like this break out...¹²⁸

And his friend added:

You go to the store and if you stay there too long, [they say] Hurry up, boy, Hurry up, git and [they] grab on you and [say] What you got in your pocket, what you got in your pocket.... You go in stores and they say, watch him, watch him, as soon as you come through the door...¹²⁹

The heart of the battle was eight blocks on either side of Prospect Avenue, between 27th and 39th. Between 7 p.m. and

midnight alone on April 9, firefighters battled seventy-five fires. Dozens more were neglected and flared out of control. A fire alarm went off at the fire department "at a rate of one every two minutes."¹³⁰ In the two days of crisis, 312 buildings burned to the ground.¹³¹ Black youths emptied clips and threw rocks at firefighters to prevent them from reaching the infernos; several firemen were shot and wounded. A fire truck was set on fire. Rioters got their hands on tear gas and opened fire.

Seven hundred policemen and 450 national guardsmen fought in the battle. One unit fired tear gas through the windows of Holy Name Catholic Church (23rd and Benton), where a dance had been organized to distract African American youths from joining the rioters. Police authorities claimed they did not know it was a dance, but assumed the gathering was part of the disturbances. According to David Fly, the police "blocked the wooden basement doorways so that no one could get out of the building," and described a "horrible scene" of screaming youths.¹³² When news reports informed the public that Fly, an Episcopal priest, had been part of the march, anonymous callers told his cathedral they would kill him and his family.¹³³ Father Timothy Gibbons said that inside Holy Name "it was impossible to see. Everyone was blind, choking. Kids crowded up under the bandstand. Some hid in the closet. It was a terrible job getting them out."¹³⁴ Dozens were injured.

Overall, police and white business owners shot eleven blacks the first night, slaying one, Leonard Whitmore. There were forty-four Kansas Citians wounded and 175 arrested.¹³⁵

The violence ended as night deepened, and hundreds, possibly thousands, of rioters retreated to their homes on the east side. Of course, the rioters made up only a tiny fraction of

Things unraveled in June 1995, when the U.S. Supreme Court threw out Clark's integration plan. By a five to four ruling, the Court decided *de facto* segregation could not be solved using such methods as court-ordered property taxes. States, cities, and districts were not violating the Constitution if racial isolation existed after the end of legal segregation. Clarence Thomas wrote, "...*de facto* segregation (unaccompanied by discriminatory inequalities in educational resources) does not constitute a continuing harm after the end of *de jure* segregation. 'Racial isolation' itself is not a harm; only state enforced segregation is."⁵⁰ After this, state funding was reduced in Kansas City and property taxes lowered. The district court handed control back to the KCMSD. The district was left to deal with some lavishly expensive schools, some only half-full, on a budget reduced by hundreds of millions of dollars.⁵¹

The turmoil continued. Superintendents came and went rapidly (twenty-seven from 1969 to 2011). Over the course of the experiment, the percentage of whites in the KCMSD *dropped* to 24.1 percent. White flight continued on as usual, and today the KCMSD is only 9 percent white.⁵² Underutilized schools were shut down. Abandoned schools now dot the city, slowly taken over by weeds. The Paul Robeson Middle School for Classical Studies on Holmes Road is a lonely sight to behold. Southwest High School closed in 1998. Westport High, Southeast High, Horace Mann Elementary, the Douglas School, all empty.

The Missouri Board of Education stripped the district of accreditation in 2000 due to poor test scores. The KCMSD was able to show enough improvement to gain provisional accreditation later that year. But between 2000 and 2010, 18,000

more students fled for suburban, private, and public charter schools. With only 17,000 students—most all impoverished and black—and a budget deficit of \$50 million, the district shut down 28 schools in 2010, about half its facilities. Seven hundred jobs were eliminated. The next year, the KCMSD again lost accreditation. Fewer than 25 percent of grade school students were reading at grade level in most schools. The district failed eleven of Missouri's fourteen performance benchmarks. Worse, unaccredited districts had to pay to bus students to neighboring districts if families wished to leave.⁵³

In 2007, the district handed over the seven schools east of I-435 to Independence. Gwendolyn Grant, president of the Urban League of Greater Kansas City, praised the transfer of schools because it reorganized the sub-districts to allow more African American representation on the school board. Grant wrote:

Free at last, free at last. Thank God almighty, we finally have an opportunity to wrest educational control of our children from the benighted....

If these changes take effect, African Americans in Kansas City will be able to elect a majority of the school board and thereafter, control the educational destiny of our youth. Although blacks in leadership positions on the school board is not a panacea for black children, it is time for African Americans to govern this dysfunctional school district.

The KCMSD has had a majority black student population for nearly 40 years. During that period, majority

Progress will continue if we put on hold premature notions of racial transcendence, and study our dark history of racial hostility and the causes of poverty and crime with open minds. We whites need to abandon our myths of innate black laziness, aggression, and immorality, and seek out diverse neighbors and colleagues. Progress will continue, as always, with ordinary people working together to eradicate racism and poverty in their communities using all the tools of the past, from petitions and peaceful protests to strikes and civil disobedience. America desperately needs local and national policies that end exploitive banking and business practices; improve wages for workers; establish public work projects to end unemployment and rebuild our inner cities; lower or eliminate the cost of college; end the war on drugs, which focused on and imprisoned so many blacks; expand access to physical and mental health care; fund public schools equally; promote curricula that examine race relations beginning in elementary school; support diverse police forces that go through bias-reduction training and are armed with nonlethal weapons, while jailing abusive officers; consider conscious and subconscious biases during jury, judge, and lawyer selection; invest in public transportation, public housing, black businesses in impoverished areas, and so on.

Jonathan Kozol wrote in *The Shame of the Nation*, "No matter how complex the reasons that have brought us to the point at which we stand, we have, it seems, been traveling a long way to a place of ultimate surrender that does not look very different from the place where some of us began."¹⁵⁰

Let's hope he is wrong. Let's hope we never surrender.