



The Painful Path Toward Inclusiveness[†]

LEE LORCH

ABSTRACT. The conduct, locations, and non-locations of our meetings impact heavily upon specific components of the membership. The Business Meetings can influence policy. Some have reflected concerns over issues which the leadership had passed over: overt racism, lack of welcome to women, absence of democratic procedures, etc. These worries even led to the coalescing of formal organizations in the period 1969-72: The Mathematicians Action Group (MAG), the National Association of Mathematicians (NAM), the Association for Women in Mathematics (AWM). NAM and AWM remain busy yet, their primary issues still pressing. It took years of effort to establish the principle that meetings should be held only where all members are welcome, comfortable, and safe. For Blacks, this was resolved only several years after the first demands in 1951. By 1994, thanks to such earlier precedents, it was recognized promptly in the case of homosexuals.

This paper reminisces on these and related matters as experienced by the writer as participant. It recalls business meetings which have led to significant changes in policies previously set by the AMS Council.

I am delighted to have been invited to reminisce on our meetings. In a way this is an appropriate place for me to do so. I went to my first AMS meetings while a graduate student at the University of Cincinnati.

During Thanksgiving 1935 I hitchhiked from Cincinnati to Lexington, Kentucky, for this purpose. There I encountered Fritz John and his wife, recent refugees from Nazi Germany. They invited me to sleep on the couch in their living room, which I was glad to do. Leon Cohen was also then at the University of Kentucky, and also very friendly to a beginning graduate student. Their friendship, which was to become long-standing, still evokes a warm glow.

That Christmas the AMS winter meeting was in St. Louis. Again I hit the highways, now to make my first visit to the city where my parents had met

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and married. En route, J. L. Doob (whom I had come to know while using the Columbia University mathematics library) picked me up. As you know, he later became President of the AMS. In this capacity, he designated me as his representative to the Mathematical Sciences Conference Board on the occasion when another commitment prevented his personal participation. This was the only time any AMS President has appointed me to any committee or function. The membership has twice elected me to serve as a member-at-large of the Council, following my nomination by petition, so I don't feel neglected by my colleagues.

Back to St. Louis. In those days even the winter meetings were what we would now regard as quite small. There was room enough for the American Economics Association (AEA) to hold its meetings also at Washington University at the same time. By chance, I picked up the flyer announcing an AEA luncheon for 85 cents at which there were to be three speakers. The following morning there was a correction. The three speeches were cancelled and the price raised to \$1.00. I have always wondered whether the initial listing (or threat) of three speeches had been intended as a ploy to prepare the way for the then high price for a luncheon.

Another experience with a meeting luncheon has stuck in my mind. Still a graduate student, I ventured to an AMS meeting at Columbia University while home in New York during a vacation. Of course, students didn't go to the associated luncheon, held at the faculty club. On the way back to the afternoon session, a couple of us passed by just as D. J. Struik, whose wonderful talk yesterday at this meeting evoked a standing ovation, was descending the club steps. I asked the usual stupid question: "How was the lunch?" A happy smile lit up his face: "Far better than I expected; the food was mediocre."

Not all events connected with AMS meetings were that cheerful or that light. Some of the things of which I'll speak now will require a willingness to face ourselves as we were. To prepare for this, I have chosen a few lines from the official poem read by its author, Maya Angelou, at the inauguration of President Clinton:

"History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, but if faced
With courage, need not be lived again."

The welcome, or, rather, lack of welcome, to minorities and women lasted over a long period of time at our meetings. Unless we are willing to face this in these days of backlash, we'll be living this all over again. Here are some examples from the AMS and the Mathematical Association of America (MAA).

This was first made a matter of record in 1951 when I was teaching at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, a leading historically Black university. The Southeast regional meeting of the MAA took place with Vanderbilt University as host. There was an official banquet at which the national President of the MAA was the speaker. Using rather vulgar language, the chair of the local arrange-

ments committee, a Vanderbilt professor, said that no tickets would be available to Negro members. I'm using the polite version of the word he employed.

On April 20, 1951, my department sent a letter to the Board of Governors of the MAA and (well aware that the AMS behaved no better) also to the Council of the AMS, describing the situation and making certain suggestions. Then, with a covering note, I sent it to *Science*, there being no AMS or MAA outlets for letters then. They appeared on August 10, 1951. (See Attachment 1.) It was reprinted (together with quite a bit of related material) as an appendix to the book *Black Mathematicians and their Works* [1].

The April letter's first paragraph formulates what would appear to be minimum obligations owed by any organization to its members. Further on, it explains why such conditions need to be made explicit and then continues by citing precedents in place in other professional organizations. Finally, it establishes that the by-laws we requested were entirely practicable even in terms of the law and practices of that time. (See p. 91, [3].)

Unfortunately, neither the AMS nor the MAA has ever pioneered in facing these issues. Other major organizations, such as the American Psychological Association, including at least one which was entirely southern-based (Southern College Personnel Association), were already behaving much better than we were. However, the demand from the Mathematics Department at Fisk University, supported by colleagues elsewhere, did bring some action. Policy statements were adopted calling for meetings to be run so that all could participate. That was a step forward, but a rather gingerly one. The concept of participation seems to have quite different meanings for different people. The statements included wording to the effect that where accommodations are provided for some they will be provided for all. But what does that mean?

This necessitated a second letter on December 17, 1951. (See Attachment 2.) It recorded that the Fisk Department was pleased at the anti-discrimination affirmation by then adopted by the MAA, but pointed out that implementation was lacking and repeated the need for the procedures already requested in the April 20, 1951, letter (Attachment 1). This time the letter added some AMS history to emphasize the need for definite, unambiguous, enforceable policy.

It records, e.g., that "When the Society met at the University of Georgia in 1947, not one Negro was present." After I wrote that letter, I learned that there was more to the story than that. Actually, one had wanted to participate. This was J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr., present in this room, who, many years later, was elected to the AMS Council and, more importantly, to the National Academy of Engineering.

In 1947 Wilkins was a few years past the Ph. D. he had earned at the University of Chicago slightly before his nineteenth birthday. He received a letter from the AMS Associate Secretary for that region urging him to come and saying that very satisfactory arrangements had been made with which they were sure he'd be pleased: they had found a "nice colored family" with whom he could stay

and where he would take his meals! The hospitality of the University of Georgia (and of the AMS) was not for him. This is why the meeting there was totally white.

In 1951 I would be informed by the Secretary of MAA's Southeastern section that in all the twenty years in which he held that post not a single Black mathematician had attempted to participate in any way in MAA meetings in that region — until my Fisk colleagues and I did so that year, only to be excluded from the official banquet addressed by the MAA national President.

The University of Georgia figures again in this same period in another example of AMS insensitivity to its Black constituency. In 1951 the AMS sold its library to the University of Georgia, which was the highest of six bidders. A careful search of AMS records does not disclose any assurances given — or even sought — that all AMS members, regardless of race, would be able to use it. This was at a time of intense segregation mandated by Georgia state law. (At the other four U.S. institutions bidding, access would not have been a problem.)

In that period, David Blackwell, then at Howard University, later to become the first Black member of the National Academy of Sciences, the first on the AMS Council, the first (and only) to serve as a Vice President (now no longer active in AMS), attempted to attend an AMS meeting in the Washington area. He drove to the meeting, but it took only twenty minutes for him to decide to turn around and drive right back home.

W.W.S. Claytor, a distinguished point-set topologist, suffered even more unpleasant experiences at AMS meetings, with the result that he became unwilling to attend any. The two letters following reveal much about both the universities and the AMS in that time. The first letter is to Virginia Newell, who, as an editor of *Black Mathematicians and Their Works* [1], had sought information from the late Walter R. Talbot, himself an early Black PhD in mathematics. He, in turn, forwards a letter written by Claytor's widow, a university professor in another discipline:

Dear Mrs. Newell:

I was just about to give up on getting a write-up on Claytor and tell you that I had lost count on the number of times I had been promised the requested information. Then the enclosed material came yesterday as the mailing cover will show. I have made some pencil marks on the papers.

I remember when Claytor was on a post-doctoral at Michigan and they had a vacancy for which he was qualified. They would not offer him the position, and the student newspaper took up the issue but to no avail. I believe that incident in discrimination was one of the main chilling, if not killing, points in the research career of a brilliant mathematician. There are references in the literature to his work, but he lost his spirit. I wish Mae had included that item, but I wouldn't want to burden her with more questions or requests.

Needless to say, I hope you can find a way to include Mae's contributions on Claytor. He definitely belongs among the top *few* of our research persons even with his short career of doing research. His spirit was broken by discrimination.

Good wishes always.

Sincerely,
Walter R. Talbot

Dr. Talbot,

I am sorry about being late with this but it is just difficult for me to write about Bill. I am still at the point where I do not like to go back and think. In order to get much of this material, I had to go to what I call our memory books and looking at pictures and sort of reliving Bill; it just hurts a bit too much. I hope this is O.K. There is so much I just cannot put on paper. Even writing about Bill and his presentation at the Math Society, I thought about the days Bill used to tell me how owing to the Black-White mess, he had to stay at a private home when the others were at the hotel where the Association met. Over the years when the color-line became less, he never would attend any more meetings. Kline used to come to see us periodically and try to get Bill to go with him but I guess the hurt went too deeply with him. After he left, I found old papers and letters he had when Kline was trying to get him in Princeton as a Fellow and whew, again it was the color mess. At Princeton, the administration said the students might object to a "culud" person which was a laugh, they would never have known it. I do hope what I have written is O.K.

Mae
[Mrs. William Claytor]

The Canadian and US governments have apologized, as indeed they should, for the internment of their citizens of Japanese descent during World War II. I know of no plans to apologize for the generations of slavery and discrimination inflicted upon those of African descent. Some day there will be an African country with the same economic and political clout as contemporary Japan. Then we can look forward to similar apologies to the descendants of Africa. But our mathematical organizations could apologize for past behavior before then.

Time went on and episodes continued. I remember yet another, in 1960, when A. Shabazz and S.C. Saxena, both on the faculty of Atlanta University (now Clark-Atlanta), and their graduate student W.E. Brodie were subjected yet again to jimcrow treatment at the spring meeting of the Southeastern Section of MAA. This, it should be noted, was several years after AMS and MAA commitments to the contrary. They had not been warned in advance that such discourtesy would be in store. The three left in protest.

And so in 1969 the National Association of Mathematicians (NAM) came

into being to address the needs of the Black mathematical community. This was a turbulent period. A group of more or less left-oriented mathematicians established the Mathematicians Action Group (MAG) that same year. We were motivated largely by concern over the Vietnam war, the militarization of mathematics, the lack of democracy in the AMS, the existence of racism and sexism, and related social issues as they impinged on mathematicians and vice versa.

This led to the liveliest Business Meeting (New Orleans, January 1969) that the Society has ever had. I noticed Everett Pitcher smiling just now when I made that remark. He was at that time AMS Secretary and was sporting a beard; more of that in a moment. In the summer of 1968 there had been what an official commission of enquiry was later to denounce as a police riot. This was at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Richard Daley, the father of the present Mayor, was Mayor then. The police were called out against grass roots delegations, including one involving mathematicians, there to protest the US government's undeclared war against Vietnam. The wild and brutal behavior of the police shocked the world: massive use of tear gas, random and vicious beatings of demonstrators, onlookers and passers-by. Anybody with a beard was beaten.

What did all this have to do with the AMS? Our next spring (regional) meeting was scheduled for Chicago and a great many of us were determined that the AMS should not go about "business as usual." So MAG, of which I was a member, decided to call upon the Society to move the Spring 1969 meeting away from Chicago in protest. MAG designated me to introduce such a motion at the January 25, 1969, AMS Business Meeting. Secretary Pitcher's report on that Business Meeting is included as Attachment 3 [2].

Well over 400 members attended that Business Meeting, an enormous contrast to the typical attendance. After extensive debate, the motion to move the upcoming meeting that I made on behalf of MAG passed decisively. It called upon the AMS Executive Committee to move the meeting, since the business meeting itself lacked the power to do so. That Committee had rejected earlier an individual request to make the move, but fortunately recognized the feeling among the members and complied. The new venue, by the way, was Cincinnati.

MAG brought other current issues formulated in five resolutions to the New Orleans Business Meeting, these via Ed Dubinsky who is also at this meeting. The texts of these resolutions, which for technical reasons could not come to an immediate vote, are included in Attachments 3 and 4. The AMS Council voted by 29-1 to dissociate itself from these resolutions and introduced Resolution B, which it regarded as contradictory to the five MAG resolutions. (See Attachment 4.) It then held a hasty referendum, simultaneously calling upon the membership to defeat the five and adopt the allegedly contradictory Resolution B. (See Attachment 4.) And that is what happened. No time for discussion was allowed. I submitted a letter on these resolutions and their handling which the *Notices* refused to publish. It then came out in the *MAG Newsletter* with an explanation

of the context. (See Attachment 5.)

I could say a lot about this, but I'll restrain myself, except for comments on Resolution 5, which read:

“Whereas the shortage of mathematicians in North American Universities is different and greater among black and brown Americans than among whites, and whereas this situation is not improving, be it resolved that the AMS appoint a committee composed of black and third world mathematicians to study this problem and other problems concerning black and third world mathematicians, and report their conclusions and recommendations to the Society.”

Just imagine! The Council called for the defeat by a vote of 29-1 of such a resolution. And offered no substitute. No wonder NAM was established that same year. Fortunately, with the growth of members' demands and the existence of NAM, changes began. Eventually, the substance of that resolution was adopted. Resolution 4 also rose from the ashes of defeat as the current *Notices* letters section now attests.

The spirit of Resolution 5, representing sensitivity to the anguish of the Black community, can be found in another lively Business Meeting. This had its roots in the establishment in 1972 of a reciprocity agreement with the South African Mathematical Society. Strong objections were made when this became known. I am not aware of all of them, but I recall a letter from Gail Young to the January 1974 meeting of the AMS Council to which I had just been elected. I moved that the agreement be cancelled and a lively discussion ensued. From the observers' seats James A. Donaldson, Chair of the Howard University Mathematics Department and later a Council member, emphasized that Black members of the AMS could not “avail themselves fully and equally of the privileges of membership in the South African Mathematical Society”. Donaldson stressed that the AMS would be inflicting another insulting discrimination on Black members and predicted that many would not wish to remain members under such offensive circumstances.

Ultimately, my motion to cancel the agreement passed. But more was to come. At a subsequent meeting, the Council (despite strong objection from some members) decided to eliminate all reciprocity agreements and institute individual foreign memberships in their stead. (See Attachment 6.) This would have taken the sting out of the anti-apartheid stance that the cancellation of the agreement with South Africa had placed on record. Fortunately, the By-laws required securing the consent of a Business Meeting when a new class of membership is created.

Postponed from the August 1976 Business Meeting because of vagueness, the Council proposal was debated — and defeated — in the January 1977 Business Meeting, a very vigorous gathering. The members were in no mood to soften the anti-apartheid implications of the cancellation of the South African agreement, nor did they wish to lose their participation rights in mathematical societies

abroad as a result of cancellation of all reciprocity agreements. So there is a genuine function for serious business meetings; they don't all have to be proforma.

History knows many turns. Now South Africa has a government led by those imprisoned or exiled by the apartheid regimes. So, on May 3, 1994, I wrote to the AMS officers asking them to put before the Council a proposal to offer the South African Mathematical Society a reciprocity agreement and recounting some of the foregoing background. Somehow or other, the Secretary thought that he could just do it, without reference to the Council. My letter was not circulated, nor was the item placed on the agenda. However, Vice President Jean Taylor, apprised of this, raised the issue. On her motion the Council authorized the establishment of this reciprocity agreement.

Now the Society is in the happy historical position of having deliberately distanced itself from apartheid South Africa and then having promptly offered its friendship to a South Africa distancing itself from its gruesome past. The vote in the January 1977 Business Meeting gave us this opportunity.

If I have not referred explicitly to the important role of our women colleagues as a collective in the Business Meetings of our Society, it is because Alice Schafer, an early President of the Association for Women in Mathematics (AWM) has done so at this session, not for want of appreciation. They as individuals, and the AWM as an organization, have added much to the profession, including our meetings and the leadership of our organization. The programs and discussions they have organized have raised essential issues and mobilized activity. I have mentioned NAM, but not enough. These two organizations bring systematically before the AMS and the MAA activities and views which would otherwise die on the vine if raised at all.

What they have done and do is needed by and is beneficial to the entire Society. This is obvious enough in terms of combatting discrimination, encouraging affirmative action to overcome past discrimination, and developing activities to these ends. But they bring also a spirit of democracy embracing all our activities.

Just one example: Alice Schafer recounted how Mary Gray, founding AWM President, opened meetings of the Council. These meetings had been completely closed, no uninvited observers permitted. Her insistence on the right to observe what is being done in our collective name has established that right for the entire membership and helped create a more open Society, even if democratic norms are yet to be fully realized. Now those of us who are not on Council can observe and even contribute to the discussions.

It has been an arduous process, one in which the end remains elusive yet. The atmosphere has changed. No longer would we meet where jimcrow rules or where overt sexism is proclaimed. There is recognition of the obligation to meet where all our members can be comfortable, safe, and welcome. This was demonstrated by the overwhelming agreement to move the January 1995 meetings away from Colorado when that state adopted an amendment removing

human rights protections from homosexuals. How different was that discussion from those of earlier years when some of us sought decent treatment for our Black colleagues!

True, the atmosphere has changed. But has it changed enough? The position of female and minority mathematicians and the opportunities for members of these communities to become mathematicians are still far short of what they should be. Unemployment afflicts our successors and we don't know what to do about it.

We can't go back to where we were, but we cannot stay where we are. Langston Hughes, the poet laureate of Black America, commented often that "White folks are always talking about how far we have come; Black folks are always knowing how far we have to go."

REFERENCES

1. V. K. Newell, J. H. Gipson, L. Waldo Rich and B. Stubblefield (ed.), *Black Mathematicians and their Works*, Dorrance & Co., Ardmore, Pa., 1980.
2. *Secretary Pitcher's report on the January 25, 1969 AMS Business Meeting*, AMS Notices **16** (1969), 480-481.
3. The Southeastern Section of the MAA published, in 1992, "Three score and ten: a history of the Southeastern Section of the Mathematical Association of America 1922-1992." This contains no hint of the incident of the April letter in Attachment 1. Protests over this omission led to the issuance three years later of a supplement written by a consortium of minority MAA members titled "A history of minority participation in the Southeastern Section;" it is available from the MAA office..

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Attachment 1

Letters reprinted from *Science* 114:2954 (1951), 161-162.

Discriminatory Practices

ONE aspect of scientific life that seems to our department to require more general notice is that of eliminating discrimination against Negro scientists. Such discrimination occurs in many ways. Even when individual Negroes succeed in breaking through the barriers of economic, political, and academic discrimination sufficiently to acquire scientific training, they find employment opportunities severely restricted. In mathematics, at least, most qualified Negroes who find employment commensurate with their qualifications teach in Southern colleges. In attempting to participate in scientific life by way of the scientific societies, they become discouraged at the numerous restrictions placed on their participation and, in most instances, soon desist.

It is our view that the scientific societies, with their talk of the international character of science, must recognize its interracial character and put an end to discriminatory practices at meetings, etc. Accordingly, we have sent the attached letter to each member of the executive bodies of the two chief national mathematics organizations, and request you to publish it.

LEE LORCH

*Department of Mathematics
Fisk University*

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS,
FISK UNIVERSITY,
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
April 20, 1951

*Executive Council, American Mathematical Society
Board of Governors, Mathematical Association of America*

GENTLEMEN:

The Fisk Mathematics Department hereby requests the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America to insert into the respective bylaws of the two organizations explicit and effective protection of the rights of all members to participate fully, freely and equally in the affairs of the organizations without regard to race, creed or color. It should be stated flatly that meetings, and teas, receptions, luncheons, dinners, etc., associated with meetings, shall be held only at institutions, hotels, etc., where prior assurance is given that there will be no discrimination. In keeping with such a policy, it should also be voted that persons holding office shall not participate in any way in any meeting of the organization until they have been assured of full compliance with the letter and spirit of this bylaw, failure in this respect to be construed as resignation from office.

The adoption of such bylaws is necessary for the protection of the rights of members and of the mathematical community generally, as the episode related below will establish. It is also necessary for the growth of membership and participation among Negro mathematicians,

nearly all of whom teach in Southern schools and who will need such specific assurances before they will feel inclined to participate in the work of these organizations. It would follow the lead of other professional societies which have already codified this basic policy, for example, the American Psychological Association (*Am. Psychol.*, 5, 548 [1950]).

One of the events which demonstrate the need for such official action occurred in connection with the annual meeting of the southeastern region of the Association, March 16-17, 1951, with Peabody and Vanderbilt as hosts. The official program of the meeting announced a dinner at which the national President of the Association would be the speaker. The chairman of the Fisk department requested four reservations in a note handed personally, on March 10, to the individual specified on the announcement. On March 15, the day before the banquet, the chairman of the arrangements committee telephoned Fisk to inquire if any of the four reservations would be used by Negroes. On receiving an affirmative reply, he declared the reservations cancelled, stating that the arrangements committee would issue no tickets to Negroes.

Two of the undersigned, acting for the department, then requested the national President to act against this discrimination. He spoke to the arrangements committee chairman and then reported that the latter was determined to exclude Negroes. Thereupon our committee requested the President to withdraw from the dinner in order to avoid giving the impression that the national officers sanction or tolerate such discrimination or, if unwilling to withdraw, to make his disapproval of discrimination clear in his speech at the dinner. He felt that he could not do either, holding the view that such acts would be discourteous to his hosts.

Some further clarifying remarks may be in order. There is no state law or city ordinance which prohibits interracial dinners. Of this we have been assured by local attorneys with long experience in such matters. There is substantial precedent for such dinners, which have been held even in some local hotels, which are frequent in some churches and other semiprivate dining halls and which are daily events at Fisk.

On November 6-7, 1950, Peabody and Vanderbilt were hosts to the Southern College Personnel Association. This organization's banquet was nonsegregated.

The point here is not that the hotel at which the Association held its banquet discriminates against Negroes. The point is that it was up to the arrangements committee to find a place, on the campus of one of the host institutions or elsewhere, where all mathematicians could participate.

Sincerely yours,

EVELYN BOYD
Associate Professor
WALTER BROWN
Assistant Professor
H. M. HOLLOWAY
Assistant Professor
LEE LORCH
Associate Professor and Chairman

Attachment 2

Letter of Lee Lorch, December 17, 1951

December 17, 1951

Board of Governors Mathematical Association of America

Gentlemen:

The Fisk mathematics department has directed me to communicate our views concerning the resolution against discrimination adopted by your Board last September and published in the *Monthly*, November 1951, p. 661.

We are pleased at the anti-discrimination affirmation constituting the first sentence. It is our hope that you will now proceed to implement this with unequivocal, unambiguous action that will protect the rights of all members to full, equal participation in all aspects of the work of the Association. The protection of such rights is an inescapable obligation upon the officers and Board in particular, for nothing less than full and equal participation is the right of each member, regardless of race, creed or color.

An absolutely essential prerequisite to this protection is to require, as we requested in our original letter of April 20, 1951, later published in *Science* (August 10, 1951), p. 161, that no meetings be held at any place unless prior assurance is received that there will be no discrimination, in the meeting rooms, eating places, teas, banquets, social functions, etc. This was put forth as the result of the exclusion of Negro mathematicians from the banquet of the southeastern region of the Association last spring. The national President of the Association was the speaker and the Vice Chancellor of Vanderbilt University was toastmaster.

How can it be said that discrimination is being avoided if we do not take the elementary step of holding meetings only where such assurances are forthcoming?

This is not a matter of "legislating welcome." This has to do solely with the right of every mathematician, regardless of his color, to participate as fully as any other mathematician in the Mathematical Association. The very acceptance of dues, which are the same for all members, is an act which binds the Association to provide non-discriminatory treatment for all.

We believe that the by-laws we requested earlier should be adopted.

It is of the utmost importance that the action be a matter of clear record so that everybody knows that all aspects of all meetings must be non-discriminatory.

Experience in the south has demonstrated quite clearly that the sharp, definite elimination of racial restrictions is not only the just way but is also the easy way. The more you drag things out, the vaguer you are — the more room you leave for doubts and misunderstanding, the more trouble you have.

Further, the Association has the task of promoting the interests of collegiate mathematics, which includes bringing teachers of collegiate mathematics into active participation in the work of the Association.

Here it should be realized that nearly all Negroes teaching collegiate mathematics are employed in the segregated schools of the south. There are few exceptions. Without dwelling here on the reasons for such limited employment,

I note merely that the meetings that these mathematicians (like other southern mathematicians) would be expected to attend most numerous are those held in the south. When the Society met at the University of Georgia in 1947, not one Negro was present. At the Annual Meeting, held at the University of Florida, in 1950, only one Negro attended. The Secretary of the southeastern region of the Association told me that no Negro had ever attended an Association meeting in that region in the twenty years he has been Secretary until some Fisk faculty and graduate students went last spring (and were excluded from the banquet). I suspect that a similar report could be made in respect to the Society.

Negro mathematicians are naturally reluctant to attend meetings held at schools with which they have virtually no other contact. They feel concerned lest they be excluded, segregated, restricted in their activities, or otherwise humiliated. Those who teach in the state colleges for Negroes have the additional worry that their Boards of Trustees would take punitive action against them if they are involved in an "incident."

The southern meetings seem to have been organized around the assumption that no Negroes will attend. The arrangements committee for the Association's southeastern regional meeting held last spring at Vanderbilt and Peabody listed only housing facilities restricted to white patrons.

The Society meeting held at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, November 23-24, 1951, is another illustration. No housing or dining facilities were provided by the host institution and the printed program listed only places which are restricted to white patrons. One Negro mathematician did attend. He had to eat by himself. Since he is a Professor at Tuskegee (less than twenty miles away) he was able to return home to sleep. Had he come from a more distant institution and desired to remain over for the second day of the meeting there is no telling where he might have had to sleep.

The program listed a Social Hour, details to be announced at the meeting. He asked at the registration desk for further information. A member of the Arrangements Committee told him that "technically" he could attend, but that he "probably would not want to do so, as it was being held in one of the girls' dormitories."

Precise by-laws are needed to extend to all members the full benefits restricted to some by present practices. Moreover, they must be so unmistakably phrased that no confusion can arise.

Only thus can they encourage Negro mathematicians to participate in Association meetings, secure in the knowledge that any announced meeting is one whose hosts have assured the Board that there will be no discrimination.

Interracial arrangements committees for southern meetings would also help, since they would anticipate (and could therefore eliminate) a number of problems that might otherwise prove bothersome.

Sincerely yours,

Lee Lorch, Chairman Mathematics Department

Attachment 3

1969 Business Meeting Special Report from the *AMS Notices* 16 (1969), 480-481.

SPECIAL REPORT on the Business Meeting at the Annual Meeting in New Orleans

The Secretary wishes to report, in more detail than will appear in the Bulletin, on two items developing from the Business Meeting of January 25, 1969. First, Professor Lee Lorch introduced a resolution that the Executive Committee be requested to take steps to remove the April 1969 meeting from Chicago. No reason was presented as any part of the motion. The motion was seconded and passed. The number of persons in the room early in the meeting exceeded four hundred. Later in the meeting it was somewhat larger. The number of members present was never accurately determined. The membership of the Society, ascertained from a mailing list a few days later, is 13,578. Of these 11,481 have United States mailing addresses, 555 have Canadian mailing addresses and 1,542 have mailing addresses in other parts of the world. The Secretary provides these figures in answer to a request made during the meeting.

In response to the request, the Executive Committee considered the question for a second time. It had previously considered it on request in December 1968 and had voted against any move. The Executive Committee voted on February 2, 1969, to move the meeting to Cincinnati on the same dates of April 18-19, 1969. The vote was four in favor, one opposed, one abstaining, and one absent. Four affirmative votes are required in the By-laws to yield an affirmative vote on a resolution.

The February issue of the *Notices* was already with the printer but it was still possible on January 27, 1969, to footnote several entries in the issue to alert members to the fact that the information in the text was no longer correct. There was then a special mailing to the membership giving them the correct information.

The membership should be aware of some of the expenses of the request at the Business Meeting. Even if the Executive Committee had voted at its meeting of February 2 to remain in Chicago, the added cost to the membership, consisting princi-

pally of printing, stuffing, and mailing to notify the membership would have been about \$1716. The cost when the decision was to move to Cincinnati was only a little larger, namely about \$1979. The difference lies chiefly in the cost of inspecting the site.

The Executive Committee solicited opinions from the membership on the correctness of their action. Selected opinions are printed elsewhere.

Professor Edward L. Dubinsky made an introductory statement and introduced five resolutions as follows:

As a professional organization of academicians, the members of the American Mathematical Society have the right and duty to take corporate action expressing their proper concern with conditions which affect the quality of civilized living and the evolving development of higher education. Specifically, the Society should adopt and support the following five resolutions which we respectfully propose for consideration at the next business meeting.

1. Resolved, that since scientific discovery by its nature requires complete open channels of information, it follows that classified research is a contradiction in terms. Members should consider most seriously participation in any investigation under a contract restricting full exchange of information with learned men everywhere, and as a society we recommend that members seek to disengage themselves from such activity.
2. Resolved, that the American Mathematical Society urges each of its members to use his talents in ways that promote peace and to refrain from activities whose primary purpose is to promote warlike efforts.
3. Resolved, that a committee be appointed to study the causes and course of the current worldwide upheaval in relationships among faculty, students, and administration in higher education, with particular reference to the situation at San Francisco State College. This committee shall

(Attachment 3 continued)

report to the members, with recommendations for suitable action, in the *Notices* of the Society.

4. Resolved, that the *Notices* shall be open for letters and articles discussing issues which concern the members as scholars and citizens generally as well as mathematicians particularly.

5. Whereas the shortage of mathematicians in North American Universities is different and greater among black and brown Americans than among whites, and whereas this situation is not improving, be it resolved that the AMS appoint a committee composed of black and third world mathematicians to study this problem and other problems concerning black and third world mathematicians, and report their conclusions and recommenda-

tions to the Society.

The five resolutions can and probably will be studied by the Council in connection with its meeting of April 4 or August 27, and by the Executive Committee (a Committee of the Council and responsible to the Council) and the Trustees, meeting separately or jointly in June. Individual members may wish to address their views to the Council or the Executive Committee. This is best done by submitting them in writing to the Secretary. Please note that this is not a poll and that letters stating only approval or disapproval are of little value.

Everett Pitcher
Secretary



Attachment 4

Referendum Report from the *AMS Notices* 16 (1969), 627.

REFERENDUM A REPORT TO THE MEMBERSHIP

The Council met in New York on April 4, 1969. They considered the following resolution:

B. Whereas the American Mathematical Society encourages all persons interested in mathematical research to be members and whereas these members hold a wide variety of political and social views and have been welcomed to membership without regard to these views, resolved that the Society shall not attempt to speak with one voice for the membership on political and social issues not of direct professional concern and shall adhere closely to the purpose stated in its Articles of Incorporation of "furtherance of the interests of mathematical scholarship and research."

It has been labeled "B" for reference. After extended discussion the Council voted unanimously to present resolution B to the membership for a referendum by mail ballot, with Council recommendation to the members to vote FOR the resolution B.

The Council considered five resolutions initiated at the Business Meeting of January 25, 1969. In so doing, they acted by virtue of the powers conferred in Article IV, Section 8, of the By-laws. The resolutions, numbered for reference, are the following:

1. Resolved, that since scientific discovery by its nature requires complete open channels of information, it follows that classified research is a contradiction in terms. Members should consider most seriously participation in any investigation under a contract restricting full exchange of information with learned men everywhere, and as a society we recommend that members seek to disengage themselves from such activity.

2. Resolved, that the American Mathematical Society urges each of its members to use his talents in ways that promote peace and to refrain from activities whose primary purpose is to promote warlike efforts.

3. Resolved, that a committee be appointed to study the causes and course of

the current worldwide upheaval in relationships among faculty, students, and administration in higher education, with particular reference to the situation at San Francisco State College. This committee shall report to the members with recommendations for suitable action, in the *Notices* of the Society.

4. Resolved, that the *Notices* shall be open for letters and articles discussing issues which concern the members as scholars and citizens generally as well as mathematicians particularly.

5. Whereas the shortage of mathematicians in North American Universities is different and greater among black and brown Americans than among whites, and whereas this situation is not improving, be it resolved that the AMS appoint a committee composed of black and third world mathematicians to study this problem and other problems concerning black and third world mathematicians, and report their conclusions and recommendations to the Society.

The Council recommended, by a vote of 29 to 1, that each resolution 1 through 5 be presented to the membership for a referendum by mail, with Council recommendation to the members that they vote AGAINST each resolution 1 through 5 as a consequence of the position taken by the Council in resolution B.

The Council was of the opinion that the referendum should take place soon after the April Council meeting but did not include a schedule as part of their resolutions. The Executive Committee considered various schedules and favored holding the referendum immediately. As a result, the members will probably have received their ballots before they read this account.

The Secretary followed the relevant rules and practices that apply to an annual election of officers in preparing and distributing the ballots. Announcement of results can be expected no later than August 1969.

Everett Pitcher
Secretary

Attachment 5

Preamble and letter of Lee Lorch, July 19, 1969

THOSE FIVE RESOLUTIONS

Nearly a year ago, at the New Orleans meeting of the AMS, MAG introduced five resolutions:

- * against classified research;
- * against war work;
- * for study of faculty-student tension;
- * for a more open editorial policy in the Notices;
- * for consideration of problems of Black and Third World mathematicians.

The Council of the AMS submitted these resolutions to the membership for a vote, along with a resolution they called Resolution B. Resolution B reads as follows.

Whereas the American Mathematical Society encourages all persons interested in mathematical research to be members and whereas these members hold a wide variety of political and social views and have been welcomed to membership without regard to these views, resolved that the Society shall not attempt to speak with one voice for the membership on political and social issues not of direct professional concern and shall adhere closely to the purposes stated in its Articles of Incorporation of "furtherance of the interests of mathematical scholarship and research."

The following letter was submitted to Everett Pitcher for publication in the Notices and for presentation to the Council. In early August, Pitcher replied, saying he would present it to the Council and would consider it for publication in the Notices. On October 1, Pitcher wrote to say, among other things, that the letter would not appear in the Notices.

Since we believe that the resolutions and the letter remain pertinent, it is reproduced in full here.

July 19, 1969

Editor,

At a meeting attended by 30 of its 54 members, the Council of the AMS requested the membership to adopt by mail ballot Resolution B. This resolution came to the attention of the membership for the first time through this ballot. The same ballot included five other resolutions introduced in the authorized fashion by Professor E. Dubinsky at the January 1969 Business Meeting and printed subsequently in the Notices. In accordance with Society policy, the Dubinsky resolutions were not discussed at the meeting at which they were introduced.

According to the ballot, "The Council recommends a vote AGAINST Resolution i as a consequence of its position on Resolution B." ($i = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5$)

This vote is being taken with no prior discussion in any membership forum, whether at a business meeting or through letters to the Notices. There is no emergency requiring such precipitate action. Moreover, no arguments, pro or con, have been supplied the membership by the Council concerning either the six resolutions on the ballot (except for the flat statement of its own position quoted in full above) or the need, if any, for a snap vote.

The Democratic process presupposes open, full discussion of issues by the electorate before requiring it to vote. The Society by-laws themselves attempt to protect against snap votes by postponing action from one business meeting to the next. Why all the haste now?

Perhaps it will be argued that the issues involved are too obvious to require discussion. I do not find them so.

The words of Resolution B can be expected to acquire their real meanings only as they are interpreted and applied in specific situations over the years. The present requested application to Resolutions 1–5 will play its part in this process. What “political and social issues” are “of direct professional concern”? How do we “adhere closely to the purpose...of ‘furtherance of the interests of mathematical scholarship and research’”? (Quotations from Resolution B.) There are many examples of how the political and academic atmospheres have direct impact on these interests.

Moreover, I believe that these very words require the support of, say, Resolution 5 which the Council tells us we should oppose. This resolution states (in full):

Whereas the shortage of mathematicians in North American Universities is different and greater among black and brown Americans than among whites, and whereas this situation is not improving, be it resolved that the AMS appoint a committee composed of black and third world mathematicians to study this problem and other problems concerning black and third world mathematicians, and report their conclusions and recommendations to the Society.

The AMS has long been involved with mathematical manpower problems. It supports the growth of the mathematical community, regarding this as necessary to the progress of mathematics, an ever-growing science with rapidly accelerating uses in other fields. It has on occasion interested itself, justifiably, in opposing the exclusion on non-mathematical grounds of mathematicians from mathematical employment. It has taken a position on the draft, a political issue, as it affects the careers of potential mathematicians. Resolution 5 seeks a path toward the goal of eliminating the exclusion on non-mathematical grounds from full opportunity to qualify for such careers.

It can be accepted, I believe, that the AMS views manpower resources as “of direct professional concern” and attention to this problem as being in “furtherance of the interests of mathematical scholarship and research.”

Surely, this requires the adoption of Resolution 5.

Black America constitutes about 11% of the US population, perhaps more. Other groups covered in Resolution 5 add significantly to this percentage. Yet, in all, they probably represent less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of the AMS membership. This shocking imbalance demonstrates quite clearly the need for considering this tremendous loss to the mathematical community, leaving aside the human considerations owed to these hard-pressed groups.

Resolution 5 takes note of this sad fact and makes a simple request which is certainly in furtherance of the professional need to tap all potential sources for mathematical talent. That Resolution 5 can also serve the aspirations of sorely exploited groups is surely no argument against its adoption.

I hope that the Council will reconsider promptly its attitude on the Dubinsky resolutions and recognize that the logical implication it asserted so flatly is invalid. At the very least, it should recommend adoption of Resolution 5 and a more thoughtful review of Resolutions 1-4. In addition, it should recommend a Resolution 6 establishing a committee composed of women mathematicians to consider the corresponding "womanpower" questions.

For the AMS, at the request of its Council, to reject Resolution 5 will raise grave doubts concerning its real attitude toward personnel questions. Do we care only for those already in the profession? Is the Society willing to accept the present nearly complete exclusion from our mathematical manpower pool of Black America?

Mathematicians and non-mathematicians alike await the answers to these questions. The Council has the task of providing leadership.

— Lee Lorch

Attachment 6

History of Proposed Foreign Membership from the *AMS Notices* 23 (1976).

History of Proposed Foreign Membership

The category of "foreign member" is not a new idea for this Society. The Council of April 1921 adopted certain recommendations. "These included the following: that for 1921, foreign members now in good standing be credited with payment of dues on the basis, (a) British Empire \$5 (with certain privileges for members of the London Mathematical Society); (b) France, Italy, Germany, Greece \$3; members from other countries to be put in one of these two classes, as determined by the treasurer, or charged full rates." (Semicentennial History, 1938, 15-16.) This action was followed by reciprocity agreements with the London Mathematical Society in 1922, the Unione Matematica Italiana and then the Deutsche Mathematiker-Vereinigung in 1931, and the Greek Mathematical Society in 1932. Aid to mathematicians impoverished by the World War or the financial catastrophes that followed it was one of the important factors, as well as the increasing strength of mathematics in the United States.

The Business Meeting of May 1930 amended the bylaws to formalize the authorization of the reduction of dues for members by reciprocity. The establishment of reciprocity agreements, initially developed in individual cases through the Council, became almost automatic, a routine assigned to the Executive Director when that position was established. By 1973 the number of these agreements had grown to twenty-nine.

In 1972, the question of a reciprocity agreement with the South African Mathematical Society arose. The Executive Committee suggested to the Executive Director that he seek the advice of the Council in this instance, rather than follow his usual routine. The Council commissioned one of its members on extended visit to South Africa on his return to report to the Council of August 1972. (See these *Notices*, 21, 93-94.) Following this report the Council advised the Executive Director to proceed to conclude the reciprocity agreement. He did so and the accomplished fact was announced in these *Notices* of June 1973, p. 185.

In various places, as in a letter to the Council and in meetings of the Council itself, there was objection to the Council action. (See these *Notices*, 21, 357-358.) This account is not intended to present full arguments for or against reciprocity either as a principle or in application to the instance of the South African Mathematical Society in particular. However, one argument against the latter was that entering into the agreement secondarily constituted approval of apartheid or facilitated maintenance of apartheid. Another was that not all members of the American Mathematical Society could avail themselves fully and equally of the privileges of membership in the South African Mathematical Society.

"The Council established a committee to set up criteria for membership by reciprocity. The Council cancelled [the] reciprocity agreement, previously authorized . . . with an understanding that the possibility of the agreement can be reexamined in the light of the criteria when these have been formulated and approved." (See the *Bulletin* 80, 652-657, particularly p. 655.)

A committee did indeed consider criteria for membership by reciprocity. The committee was able to agree on the purpose of reciprocity agreements, namely "to strengthen international contacts between mathematicians, widen the exchange of mathematical information, and en-

courage the formation and growth of national and regional mathematical societies." The committee was not able to agree on criteria. Instead, the committee recommended "a reduced annual membership rate to all foreign mathematicians not currently resident in the U.S." and recommended that "the AMS shall terminate all existing reciprocity agreements with foreign mathematical societies." The Council of January 1975 concurred and authorized a second committee to "coordinate a complete proposal."

The second committee provided a more detailed proposal, that "[t]he AMS establishes as of January 1, 1977 a new membership category, foreign member." They proceeded to define eligibility, rights, and dues. The Council of January 1976 approved their report with slight change, including setting January 1, 1978 as the target date. Moreover, the Council commissioned the Secretary to prepare the amendment to the bylaws. The latter has gone through three versions, in the Council of April 1976, the Executive Committee, and the Council of August 1976.

The amendment came with the recommendation of the Council to the Business Meeting of August 1976. These *Notices* of August 1976, p. 228, rather than presenting the full text, gave "notice of . . . proposed action and of its general nature" in these words: "The Council recommends to the Business Meeting establishing changes in the bylaws establishing a category of 'foreign member.' Certain individuals, the class to be defined precisely by the Council, may elect to be foreign members, with all privileges accorded to ordinary members except the right to vote. The dues, as set by the Council with the approval of the Trustees, would not exceed two-thirds of the dues of an ordinary member."

At the Business Meeting, the objection was raised that the quoted statement did not state the "general nature" of the amendment completely. Accordingly the full text of the changes is presented in this issue of the *Notices*.

The Secretary was asked to prepare an historical account and a statement of some implications, namely, the document that you are now reading. The implications include the following. The proposed amendment does not abolish reciprocity agreements. As the bylaws are written, with or without the amendment, the Council and the Trustees can abolish reciprocity agreements. With or without this amendment, the Council and Trustees can establish reduced dues for a class of members. The amendment would allow the existence of a class of members who along with their reduced dues, have reduced privileges, namely no right to vote. The Council is on record as saying that if the amendment is adopted it intends to abolish reciprocity agreements.

Since 1974, action on requests to conclude reciprocity agreements has been deferred. There are now about five firm requests from societies and about five inquiries on how to proceed to make a firm request, so that we are temporizing with at least ten societies. Moreover, the statement of the Council action in recommending a class of foreign members and of the Council intent to abolish reciprocity has been communicated to the officers of societies with whom this Society has reciprocity agreements, in order that they might plan for the change, as by instituting a class of foreign members themselves in order to retain the members that they might otherwise lose.

Everett Pitcher
Secretary