

Lee C. White

Exec
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May 13, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Attorney General

FROM: Louis Martin

RE: The March on Washington Movement, Etc.

1. Traditionally most of the agitation among Negroes over abuses of their civil rights have been directed toward the White House. Since the time of Lincoln, Negroes have looked to the White House for hope and the redress of their grievances.

2. The threat of a "March on Washington", a movement directed by the late Walter White of the NAACP, Lester Granger of the National Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, led President Franklin Roosevelt to issue an executive order establishing the first FEPC during World War II.

3. Two weeks ago, A. Philip Randolph, issued a call for another March on Washington to take place in October, 1963. According to the first announcement the veteran Negro's chief concern was unemployment among Negroes and related issues.

(more)

4. Events in Birmingham in the last few days have seemed to electrify Negro concern over civil rights all across the country. As this is written, demonstrations and marches are underway or being planned in a number of major cities, including Chicago. The accelerated tempo of Negro restiveness and the rivalry of some leaders for top billing coupled with the resistance of segregationists may soon create the most critical state of race relations this country has seen since the Civil War.

5. Sooner or later, I believe, the March on Washington Movement will win the kind of popular support among Negroes which will make this national demonstration inevitable.

6. Republican strategists are certain to exploit the current unrest and give support, perhaps covertly, to any major movement that may embarrass the President. Jackie Robinson and his GOP colleagues, white and Negro, have done considerable damage already.

7. I believe the Administration should consider seizing the initiative in the current struggle and make some constructive moves which will ease tension and advance the general welfare.

8. The most dramatic and constructive project that seems feasible immediately is the extension of the Negro-white dialogue concept to the national stage through a White House Conference. Negro leaders and representatives of the Southern white power structure, including state and local government leaders, might meet at the call of the President.

(more)

9. Out of such a White House Conference it might be possible to arrive at a race-relations pact and program which each side might subscribe to in good faith. The program would call for:

a. The immediate establishment of bi-racial boards in every city in the South and state-wide commissions where possible.

b. Unequivocal endorsement of Federal statutes relating to civil rights and a pledge to work toward their full enforcement.

c. The formation of a continuing body which would become a national advisory committee on civil rights to the Attorney General.

d. Each governor to summon the religious, business, and educational leaders in his state for a Governor's Conference on Race Relations.

10. Some such programs initiated by the President might serve to give more muscle to the moderate elements in the South and curb the power of the extremists who maintain themselves by intimidation. Such action might also assure Negroes that their struggle is not hopeless and that there are some whites who are not "Christian devils" as the Muslims contend.

11. In perhaps a more substantive move, it seems urgent that the Administration use more muscle in getting some action out of the Congress on the President's Special Civil Rights Message, especially the voting bill.

12. Politically, we are seeking to turn the aroused citizenry into a registration crusade. Last week, State Senator Leroy Johnson of Georgia and William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee, met with us to work out a new voter registration program in the South. You will get a report on this, including a budget, shortly.

June 21, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Notes for Meeting with Lawyers at 4:00 p. m., June 21, 1963

Attached is a memorandum prepared by the Justice Department indicating who will be present, some suggested points to mention by way of describing the problem throughout the nation and a section on what lawyers might do. Also attached is a summary of progress made in desegregation since May 22, a copy of the letter signed by 46 lawyers throughout the country calling upon Governor Wallace to comply with the Federal court ruling and a statement issued by the Atlanta Bar Association on May 18 urging all citizens of the fact that the U. S. District Court in Atlanta issued an order ending compulsory segregation and pointing out that it was every citizens responsibility to have respect for the law.

Among the specific requests that might be made of the lawyers present are the following:

1. Help from and participate in biracial committees.
2. Work with state and municipal public officials in the consideration of statutes and ordinances dealing with discriminatory practices.
3. As influential molders of public opinion in their own communities, they can issue statements and publicly urge respect for judicial and legal processes (this is a special burden on Negro lawyers).
4. As educated citizens they can stress the importance to our society and individuals of adequate education and particularly participate in efforts to eliminate school drop-outs.

5. Insure that legal aid groups and other voluntary associations provide legal counsel for all on a nondiscriminatory basis.
6. Speak out when fallacious interpretations of court decisions or proposed legislation are made by newspaper columnists and others.
7. See to it that in their own Bar groups and legal associations all are admitted without regard to race.
8. Volunteer legal and other services to religious, labor and other organizations set up to meet these problems at the local level.
9. Set up an informal committee to provide a point of contact with the Federal Government similar to those proposed for clergymen, educators, etc.
10. Review carefully the legislation proposed by the Administration, and any substantive or drafting suggestions will be welcomed by the Administration and certainly the support of lawyers throughout the country for the entire package will be welcome.

Lee C. White

TELEGRAM

DAY LETTER
NIGHT LETTER
RADIOGRAM
CABLEGRAM

The White House
Washington

June 15, 1963

BOOK TELEGRAM

At four o'clock on Friday, June 21, I am meeting with a group of leaders of the Bar to discuss certain aspects of the Nation's civil rights problem. This matter merits serious and have immediate attention and I would be pleased to/you attend the meeting to be held in the East Room of the White House.

Please advise whether you will be able to attend.

John F. Kennedy

LCW

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - JUNE 10, 1963

Forty-six lawyers from various parts of the country today issued a statement calling upon Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama, in the interests of sustaining the rule of law, to comply with the order issued by Chief Judge Seybourn H. Lynne of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama. The Court's order directed the University of Alabama to admit three Negro students and prohibited Governor Wallace from carrying out his stated intention to block physically the admission ordered by the Court.

The group of lawyers included: the President, the President-elect, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the American Bar Association and six past Presidents of the American Bar Association; three former Attorneys-General of the United States; the President of the American Law Institute; the President, President-elect, past President and four Regents of the American College of Trial Lawyers; the President of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws; and the Deans of ten Law Schools. Included were ranking officers, past and present, of state and local Bar Associations throughout the country.

In issuing the statement, the lawyers made clear that they were doing so in their personal capacities as members of the Bar and without committing any organizations or institutions in which they hold office or with which they may be connected.

The statement of the lawyers is attached.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE - JUNE 10, 1963

The United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama, has issued orders directing the University of Alabama to admit three Negro students, and directing Governor George C. Wallace not to carry out his stated intention to block physically the admission ordered by the Court. Since the Court entered its latest order, the Governor has repeated his intention to interfere with the admission of the students. He would justify this interference as a proper way of "testing" constitutional issues.

But these issues have already been decided--again and again--by the tribunal having final authority under our constitutional system. Under these circumstances, it is not legally permissible to "test" these issues by defying an order issued by a court of competent jurisdiction. As Chief Judge Seybourn H. Lynne stated in the Opinion accompanying his order of June 5 prohibiting the Governor from interfering:

"Thoughtful people if they can free themselves from tensions produced by established principles with which they violently disagree, must concede that the Governor of a sovereign state has no authority to obstruct or prevent the execution of the lawful orders of a court of the United States.... In the final analysis, the concept of law and order, the very essence of a republican form of government, embraces the notion that when the judicial process of a state or

federal court, acting within the sphere of its competence, has been exhausted and has resulted in a final judgment, all persons affected thereby are obliged to obey it."

If the issues that trouble the nation are to be peacefully resolved, all parties must respect the law. In a government of laws, the Governor is not free to flout the court's decree so long as it remains in force, particularly when the issues have been so recently and so frequently resolved by the highest court in the land.

Lawyers have a special responsibility to support the rule of law in our society and to obey the fundamental legal principles that guarantee safety and justice for all. To this end, as lawyers, we ask Governor Wallace to refrain from defiance of a solemn court order. If he is present when the students present themselves for registration, we call upon him to stand aside and to forebear from any act or gesture of interference with the carrying out of the court's order.

✓Walter P. Armstrong, Jr.	Memphis, Tennessee
Francis Biddle	Washington, D. C.
Henry P. Brandis, Jr.	Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Bruce Bromley	New York, New York
Herbert Brownell	New York, New York
Cecil E. Burney	Corpus Christi, Texas
Grant B. Cooper	Los Angeles, California
✓Walter E. Craig	Phoenix, Arizona
Lloyd N. Cutler	Washington, D. C.
✓Norris Darrell	New York, New York
Arthur H. Dean	New York, New York
Robert F. Drinan, S. J.	Boston, Massachusetts

Harry L. Dunn	Los Angeles, California
Robert J. Farley	Oxford, Mississippi
Jefferson B. Fordham	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Cody Fowler	Tampa, Florida
E. Smythe Gambrell	Atlanta, Georgia
✓ William P. Gray	Los Angeles, California
✓ Erwin N. Griswold	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Louis Hector	Miami, Florida
John O. Honnold	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Herbert Johnson	Atlanta, Georgia
Paul Johnston	Birmingham, Alabama
C. Baxter Jones	Macon, Georgia
Harry B. Kelleher	New Orleans, Louisiana
Earle W. Kintner	Washington, D. C.
David F. Maxwell	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Walton J. McLeod	Walterboro, South Carolina
John Lord O'Brian	Washington, D. C.
Joseph O'Meara	South Bend, Indiana
John N. Randall	Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Charles S. Rhyne	Washington, D. C.
✓ Frederick D. G. Ribble	Charlottesville, Virginia
William P. Rogers	New York, New York
✓ Eugene V. Rostow	New Haven, Connecticut
✓ Bernard G. Segal	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Whitney North Seymour	New York, New York
James L. Shepherd, Jr.	Houston, Texas
✓ Sylvester C. Smith, Jr.	Newark, New Jersey
✓ William B. Spann, Jr.	Atlanta, Georgia
Charles P. Taft	Cincinnati, Ohio
✓ John W. Wade	Nashville, Tennessee
William C. Warren	New York, New York
Francis E. Winslow	Rocky Mount, North Carolina
✓ Edward L. Wright	Little Rock, Arkansas
Wilson Wyatt	Louisville, Kentucky

(The lawyers subscribing to this statement do so in their individual capacities as members of the Bar, and without committing any organization or institution in which they may hold office or with which they may be connected.)

FOR THE USE OF EDITORS AND ANNOUNCERS,
THE FOLLOWING SETS FORTH SOME OF THE
AFFILIATIONS OF THE LAWYERS WHO ISSUED
THE STATEMENT - JUNE 10, 1963

WALTER P. ARMSTRONG, Jr. Chairman, National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws; President, Board of Education, City of Memphis	Memphis, Tenn.
FRANCIS BIDDLE Former Attorney General of the United States	Washington, D. C.
HENRY P. BRANDIS, JR. Dean, University of North Carolina Law School	Chapel Hill, N. C.
BRUCE BROMLEY Former Judge, Court of Appeals of New York	New York, N. Y.
HERBERT BROWNELL Former Attorney General of the United States	New York, N. Y.
CECIL E. BURNEY Past Chairman, National Conference of Bar Presidents; Past President, State Bar of Texas	Corpus Christi, Texas
GRANT B. COOPER President, American College of Trial Lawyers	Los Angeles, Calif.
WALTER E. CRAIG President-elect of the American Bar Association	Phoenix, Arizona
LLOYD N. CUTLER President, Yale Law School Association	Washington, D. C.
NORRIS DARRELL President, American Law Institute	New York, N. Y.

ARTHUR H. DEAN Chairman, U. S. Delegation to Geneva Conference on Nuclear Testing & Disarmament	New York, N. Y.
ROBERT F. DRINAN, S. J. Dean, Boston College Law School	Boston, Mass.
HARRY L. DUNN Officer, Harvard Law School Asso- ciation; Trustee Claremont College	Los Angeles, Calif.
ROBERT J. FARLEY Dean, University of Mississippi Law School	Oxford, Mississippi
JEFFERSON B. FORDHAM Dean, University of Pennsylvania Law School	Philadelphia, Pa.
CODY FOWLER Past President, American Bar Association	Tampa, Florida
E. SMYTHE GAMBRELL Past President, American Bar Association	Atlanta, Georgia
WILLIAM P. GRAY President, California Bar Association	Los Angeles, Calif.
ERWIN N. GRISWOLD Dean Harvard Law School	Cambridge, Mass.
LOUIS HECTOR Former member of the Civil Aeronautics Board; Trustee, University of Miami Law School	Miami, Florida
JOHN O. HONNOLD Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Pennsylvania Law School	Philadelphia, Pa.
HERBERT JOHNSON Ex-President, Lawyers Club of Atlanta; Delegate from Atlanta Bar Association to American Bar Association	Atlanta, Georgia

PAUL JOHNSTON Birmingham, Alabama, State and American Bar Associations; Mem- ber American Law Institute	Birmingham, Ala.
C. BAXTER JONES General Counsel, Board of Educa- tion of Bibb County, Ga.; Former delegate Georgia Bar Association to American Bar Association	Macon, Georgia
HARRY B. KELLEHER Former Secretary-Treasurer Louisiana State Bar Association	New Orleans, La.
EARLE W. KINTNER President, National Lawyers Club; Past President, Federal Bar Asso- ciation	Washington, D. C.
DAVID F. MAXWELL Past President, American Bar Association	Philadelphia, Pa.
WALTON J. McLEOD State delegate from South Carolina to American Bar Association	Walterboro, S. C.
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN Former Regent of University of State of New York; Former Overseer, Harvard University	Washington, D. C.
JOSEPH O'MEARA Dean, University of Notre Dame Law School	South Bend, Indiana
JOHN D. RANDALL Past President, American Bar Asso- ciation	Cedar Rapids, Iowa
CHARLES S. RHYNE Past President, American Bar Asso- ciation	Washington, D. C.
FREDERICK D. G. RIBBLE Dean, University of Virginia Law School	Charlottesville, Va.

WILLIAM P. ROGERS Former Attorney General of the United States	New York, N. Y.
EUGENE V. ROSTOW Dean, Yale Law School	New Haven, Conn.
BERNARD G. SEGAL Former Board Chairman, American Judicature Society; Treasurer and Council, American Law Institute	Philadelphia, Pa.
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR Past President, American Bar Association	New York, N. Y.
JAMES L. SHEPHERD, JR. Past President, State Bar of Texas; Former Chairman, House of Delegates, American Bar Association	Houston, Texas
SYLVESTER C. SMITH, JR. President, American Bar Association	Newark, N. J.
WILLIAM B. SPANN, JR. Board of Governors, State Delegate from Georgia, American Bar Asso- ciation	Atlanta, Ga.
CHARLES P. TAFT Past President, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Former Mayor of Cincinnati	Cincinnati, Ohio
JOHN W. WADE Dean, Vanderbilt Law School	Nashville, Tenn.
WILLIAM C. WARREN Dean, Columbia Law School	New York, N. Y.
FRANCIS E. WINSLOW Past President, North Carolina Bar Association	Rocky Mount, N. C.
EDWARD L. WRIGHT Chairman, House of Delegates, Ameri- can Bar Association; Regent, American College of Trial Lawyers	Little Rock, Ark.
WILSON WYATT Former Mayor of Louisville, Ky.	Louisville, Kentucky

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

ARTHUR R. BERTELSON
MANAGING EDITOR

September 5, 1963

Mr. Lee White
Assistant Special Counsel
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

At the suggestion of Thomas Ottenad of the Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau, I am sending you some sets of proofs of the series "The Negro Speaks."

The Post-Dispatch is exploring the possibility of having this series reproduced in booklet form, and if we are successful we will let you know and make copies of it available to you.

I hope that this series of rough proofs will serve your purposes for the time being.

The Post-Dispatch is deeply appreciative of the work done by the people who are represented in this series, and we are proud and pleased to have been the vehicle to bring these views before the public.

Sincerely,

Arthur R. Bertelson

Managing Editor

SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 25, 1963

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Emphasis on 'Now' in Civil Rights Slogans

But Leaders Realize Segregation May Continue Five Years, True Integration Take Generation — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. First in Symposium

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD

A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24

AFTER BEING PERSISTENTLY DISREGARDED for nearly a decade, the Negro revolt in the United States exploded into the public consciousness this year. The police dogs of Birmingham, the deaths at "Ole Miss," the demonstrations, violence, arrests and bombings in scores of other places, north and south, made it plain at last that social upheaval is shaking this country.

Although no one can yet see how far the consequences will reach, it is clear that few persons or communities will be left untouched and that for many life will never be the same again.

In the belief that the purpose and significance of this movement can be explained by Negroes with an understanding that is all but impossible for white people, the Post-Dispatch asked a group of distinguished Negro Americans to write a special series of articles. They were asked to discuss the Negro's aspirations and ideals, to tell what he wants and needs, and what both he and the nation must do to achieve his goals and at the same time strengthen society.

THE RESULT is "The Negro Speaks," a symposium that goes beyond civil rights to deal with some of the fundamental aspects of the greatest social crisis the United States has faced since the depression of the '30s.

The series starts with the accompanying appraisal of the Negro's mood and his demands, by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., widely regarded as the country's principal civil rights leader.

Later articles will deal with the Negro's need for better jobs and education and for homes outside big-city ghettos, his reaction to President John F. Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation, the uncompromising demands of young and militant Negroes, the balance of political power that Negro voters can exercise, the new and rising insistence on special treatment to make up for three centuries of neglect, and an assessment of today's movement in the perspective of history.

The writers include civil rights

leaders, scholars, educators, experts in a variety of fields and one federal official.

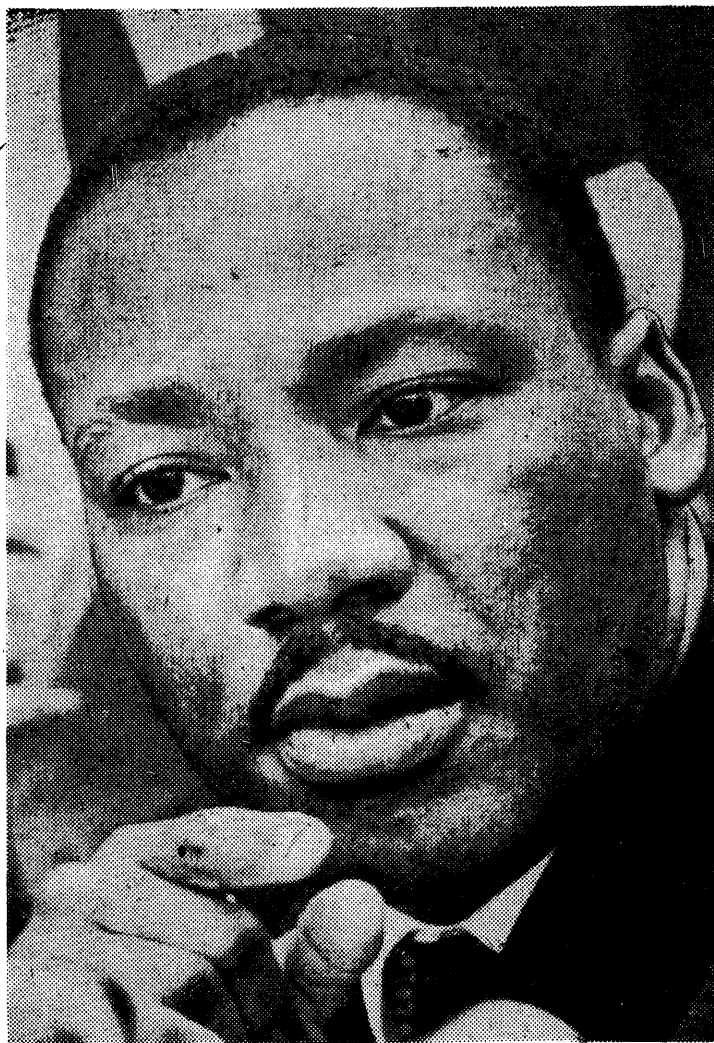
In language sometimes impassioned and sometimes impersonal but always cogent, they cast a clear light on the Negro's goals and the resolution that drives him.

RECURRING like an insistent theme are four major objectives — freedom, equality, opportunity and restitution. In the meaning of these symbolic words is a litany of Negro longing: Freedom from racial discrimination, equality under law and the Constitution, opportunity to win some of the special privileges and benefits enjoyed by many white people, and restitution for accumulated injustices by means of special programs to bridge quickly the social, economic and educational gulf that isolates Negroes from the mainland of American life.

There is wide variation in the methods Negroes favor for attaining their ends. There is none, however, in their commitment to the fight. On every side they show an insistence that will not be denied.

Although popular slogans call for full equality "today" and "now," there is among the Negro leadership a realization that Negro goals will not be achieved at once. The leaders believe that an end to segregation may come in four or five years, but that true integration may not be achieved for another generation.

The coolest heads see no likelihood of a race war. On the other hand, they expect continued tension, unrest and possibly sporadic violence, in a future likely to test sorely both the Negro's reasonableness and his staying power.



THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. stands as the undisputed symbol of the Negro revolution in America. Perhaps more than any other Negro leader, he has seared the conscience of the nation and forced it to look, though slowly and unwillingly, at the ills of racial discrimination.

Equally important, he has roused and strengthened his people's demand for equality through an extraordinary ability to interpret their longing and frustration in terms that the ordinary Negro can respond to and understand.

Since starting his civil rights career with the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott in 1955, the Rev. Dr. King has led or helped in Negro demonstrations throughout the South. Massive, passive civil disobedience is his major weapon.

The Rev. Dr. King, 34 years old, lives in Atlanta, Ga., where he was born. He is a third-generation Baptist preacher. He completed high school in two years and entered college when he was 15. He holds a liberal arts degree from Morehouse College in Atlanta, a divinity degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa., where he was top man in his graduating class, and a Ph.D. in theology from Boston University.

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leaders, scholars, educators, experts in a variety of fields and one federal official.

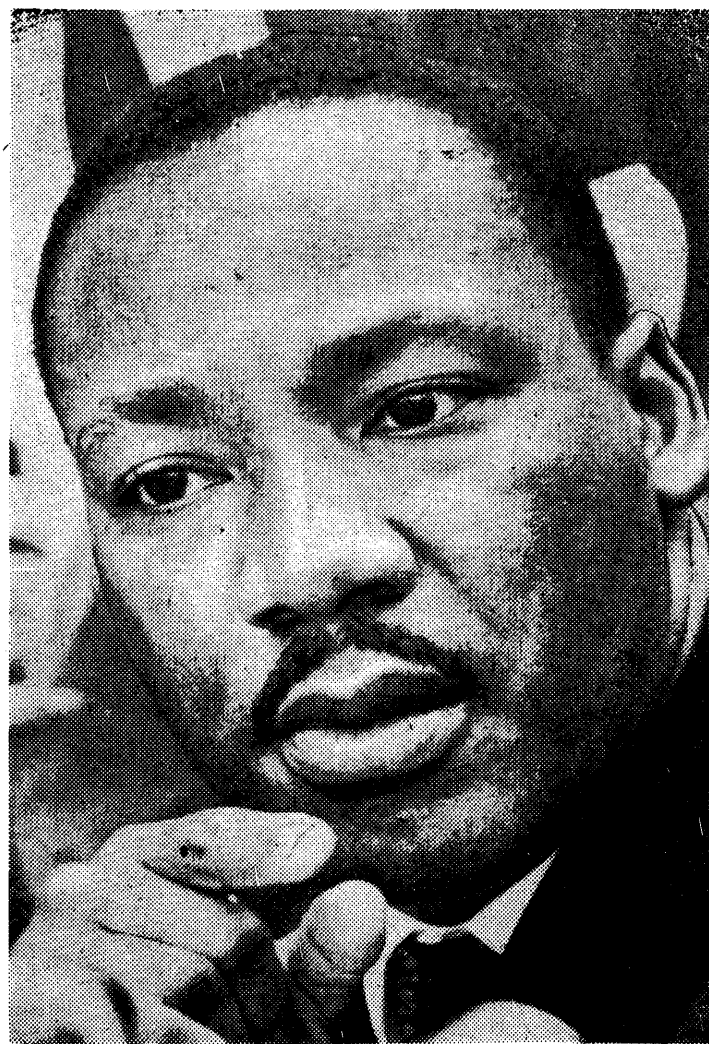
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The coolest heads see no likelihood of a race war. On the other hand, they expect continued tension, unrest and possibly sporadic violence, in a future likely to test sorely both the Negro's reasonableness and his staying power.



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'Negro Glaring Evidence of White American Hypocrisy'

By THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

THE MOOD OF THE NEGRO today is one of impatience. There seems to be no more room in his soul to wait. He has waited 100 years, and not very much has been accomplished.

Today he has awakened from the long sleep of quasi-freedom. Everything that he seeks now, was his right and privilege by law on Jan. 1, 1863. He was miserably shortchanged and he is demanding immediate restitution. In all fairness, it must be said that his mood is not one of vengeance and bitterness, but he will not be put off any longer.

The strength and determination of the American Negro are waxing, not waning. Realism impels me to admit that if some immediate relief is not found to ease the compound frustration of the Negro community, there is the terrible possibility of incidents of violence.

I do not believe there is any danger of a violent race war

mainly in defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Despite the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history, the Federal Government has yet to launch an effective day-by-day program that strikes at the flesh-and-blood considerations of what segregation does to the Negro in Birmingham as well as in the Brooklyn ghetto.

THE OTHER SIDE of the coin is positive. If the plight of race and color prejudice, with its attendant penalty to the Negro, is removed, then a vigorous program of implementation of already-existing laws must be conceived. New legislation must be enacted by the Congress, or executive fiat must be used. Parallel and supplementary programs in job training and adult

may jeopardize passage by Congress of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals. The pending legislation would not exist at all today if it were not for Birmingham, Ala., and the all-out Negro pressure that followed in its wake. Their argument is thin, for during the years when pressure did not exist, very little was done in regard to Negro rights. It is an unfortunate fact of political science that politicians react directly to pressure.

The Negro will continue to press his demands for equality, using a number of methods. Tremendous victories already have been won through court decisions establishing and defining his rights as a citizen. Increased educational opportunities will move many Negroes closer to the mainstream of American life. In recent years and particularly in the present moment, the Negro represents a political entity which must be reckoned with in national politics. These and other factors will combine

as unlawful as the practices they seek to remedy. It is true that in our demonstrations we sometimes violate laws. But the laws that we violate are unjust laws, human laws that are out of harmony with the law of God. On the other hand, one has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws, those that conform to moral law.

I tried to explain this difference in the letter I wrote while confined in the Birmingham city jail four months ago. I said then: "An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal."

"In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy.

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The strength and determination of the American Negro are waxing, not waning. Realism impels me to admit that if some immediate relief is not found to ease the compound frustration of the Negro community, there is the terrible possibility of incidents of violence.

I do not believe there is any danger of a violent race war as long as there are signs of tangible progress in areas that affect Negroes most.

What the Negro wants today is his equality. He needs a social revolution; every quarter of his life demands it. Consider his plight, particularly in the South, in public education, medical services, employment, voting rights and public accommodations.

THE WHOLE STRUCTURE of his moment-by-moment experience is marshaled against him in such a way that he is disadvantaged; his "high visibility" penalizes him at every turn. If he is to be included in society, nothing short of a revolution will change his circumstances materially.

The Negro's demand for "equality" means the untrammelled opportunity for every person to fulfill his total individual capacity without any regard to race, creed, color or ancestry. His insistent demand for equality must be approximated if not totally fulfilled. It is the only hope for the soul of this nation. The Negro is the most glaring evidence of the white America's sin and hypocrisy.

What must the Negro and the nation do to meet his needs? I would underscore the need for the Federal Government to get out of the segregation business; that is, it should withdraw federal funds from projects and states where statutory segregation re-

mainains in defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Despite the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history, the Federal Government has yet to launch an effective day-by-day program that strikes at the flesh-and-blood considerations of what segregation does to the Negro in Birmingham as well as in the Brooklyn ghetto.

THE OTHER SIDE of the coin is positive. If the plight of race and color prejudice, with its attendant penalty to the Negro, is removed, then a vigorous program of implementation of already-existing laws must be conceived. New legislation must be enacted by the Congress, or executive fiat must be used. Parallel and supplementary programs in job training and adult education will also be needed.

It seems likely that race and color prejudice will have all but disappeared in its most obvious forms in the next five years. The present temper of Negro demands for equality will not allow statutory segregation to survive more than another year or two.

Three stages seem reasonable. First, we are able to see that even in the deep South, hard-core states, the overwhelming majority of white people say "later" instead of "never." Thus, massive resistance has been conquered. Secondly, though segregation is still with us in many forms, I believe that if the present trend continues—and it must—for the most part we shall have a desegregated nation within the five years that I mentioned earlier.

Thirdly, despite the realization of a "desegregated society," the goal we seek is integration—inter-group and inter-personal living with mutual understanding and respect. We long for the day when color aristocracy will give way to character aristocracy.

This will take considerably longer. I would hazard the guess that it could be a generation away. This might be called a period of "national adjustment."

I DO NOT SHARE the feeling of some politicians and others who believe that continued Negro pressure and demonstrations

may jeopardize passage by Congress of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals. The pending legislation would not exist at all today if it were not for Birmingham, Ala., and the all-out Negro pressure that followed in its wake. Their argument is thin, for during the years when pressure did not exist, very little was done in regard to Negro rights. It is an unfortunate fact of political science that politicians react directly to pressure.

The Negro will continue to press his demands for equality, using a number of methods. Tremendous victories already have been won through court decisions establishing and defining his rights as a citizen. Increased educational opportunities will move many Negroes closer to the mainstream of American life. In recent years and particularly in the present moment, the Negro represents a political entity which must be reckoned with in national politics. These and other factors will combine in a broad sense to secure equality for the Negro.

In a more narrow sense, I am persuaded that the use of non-violent direct action is the most practical and useful vehicle to fulfill the normal dream and aspirations of the Negro or any oppressed people. More importantly, it is at the same moment the most moral and the most powerful. It is a critical supplement to the traditional methods mentioned above and has much to do with the pace at which the others move.

The nonviolent revolution in America, with all of its drama and conscience-searing, is just coming of age. It has moved the Negro a giant step forward while 50 years of traditional redress through the courts have brought in many instances continued frustration to the dilemma of his "Negro-ness."

NONVIOLENCE is a creative discipline. Its application in behalf of an oppressed people has not been exhausted yet. However, it could very well be that some new techniques will be developed in the future. For example, the increased awareness of the Negro of his purchasing power and the effect produced by its withdrawal hold promise of the boycott being used more and more to open doors heretofore closed to the Negro community.

There is no legitimacy to the complaint that direct-action demonstrations sometimes are

as unlawful as the practices they seek to remedy. It is true that in our demonstrations we sometimes violate laws. But the laws that we violate are unjust laws, human laws that are out of harmony with the law of God. On the other hand, one has not only a legal but moral responsibility to obey just laws, those that conform to moral law.

I tried to explain this difference in the letter I wrote while confined in the Birmingham city jail four months ago. I said then: "An unjust law is a code that a majority inflicts on a minority that is not binding on itself. This is difference made legal. On the other hand, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal."

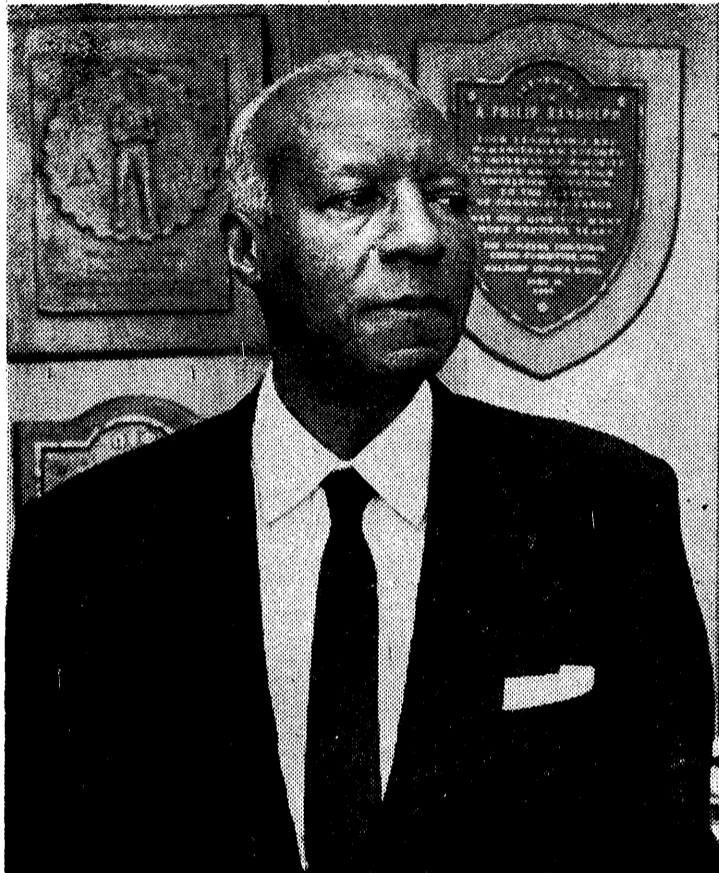
"In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law."

IN SOME AREAS of the civil rights struggle there has been considerable and, at points, rapid progress toward our goal of equality. In others, progress has been negligible and in some instances we have lost ground.

The wake of Birmingham caused the President to change his priority in America's domestic concerns and civil rights has become the key issue in the nation. There is before Congress now the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history. Its enactment and implementation could do much to relieve the far too many obvious problems that humiliate and degrade the Negro daily.

For the first time in its history our nation has begun to grapple seriously with the problem of race and color prejudices.

MONDAY: Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Philip Randolph, director of the March on Washington.

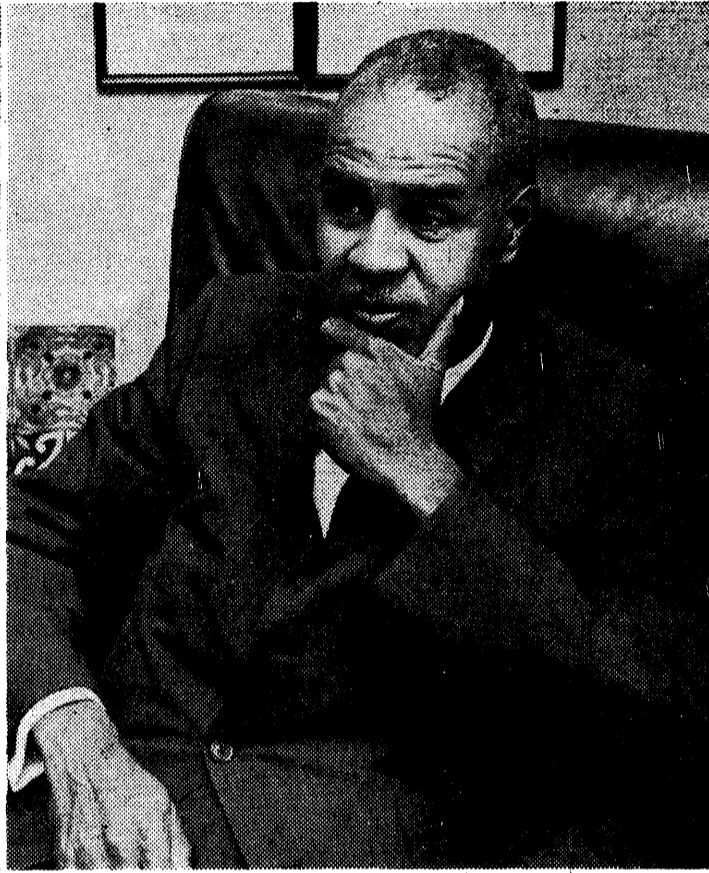


ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

One of the directors of the demonstration that seeks to bring 100,000 or more Negroes to Washington on Wednesday. Organizing massive rallies is nothing new for Randolph, who in 1941 threatened to lead 50,000 Negroes in a march on the Capital to protest against discrimination in World War II defense industries. The threat led to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's order banning job discrimination in war plants.

Randolph is the highest ranking Negro in the organized labor movement. He is the only Negro vice president of the AFL-CIO, a position he has held since 1957. International president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters since he took the lead in founding the organization in 1925, he also is national president of the Negro-American Labor Council.

He was born in Crescent City, Fla., and worked as an elevator operator, waiter and editor of a Negro magazine in New York City before establishing the porters union. He is 74 years old.



By Paul Berg, a Post-Dispatch Photographer
ROY WILKINS

Executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was born at 2818 Laclede avenue in 1901 and attended kindergarten in St. Louis before he and a brother and sister moved to St. Paul, Minn., to live with relatives after the death of their mother. His wife, the former Aminda Badeau, is a native of south St. Louis.

After graduating from the University of Minnesota, he returned to Missouri to work on The Kansas City Call, a Negro weekly newspaper. It was this change that eventually led to his decision to work for the NAACP. "Going from St. Paul to Kansas City, from an area relatively free of discrimination to one rigidly segregated, deepened my interest in racial matters," Wilkins told the Post-Dispatch.

In 1931 Wilkins joined the staff of the NAACP. As executive secretary, he has been its top officer since 1955. The NAACP is the largest and best known of the civil rights organizations.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Wilkins Says NAACP Backs Kennedy Rights Bill But Holds That It Does Not Go Far Enough

Negro Group Prepared to Work for Defeat of Lawmakers Who Vote Against Antibias Package

By ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

SECOND OF A SERIES

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of

tion and other forms of racial discrimination in public accommodations be banned throughout the nation.

The victims of this vile discrimination are little concerned with whether the statute is based on the interstate commerce clause or the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. What they want is the right to use any public accommodation on the same basis as other citizens. They place human rights above property rights and, accordingly, dismiss as irrelevant the contention of Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen and others that Title II infringes on property rights.

What they know are the suffering and denials they have to endure in certain sections of the country because there is no federal legislation securing their right to equal access to public

ing in 1909, the NAACP has recognized that an essential first step is the enactment of laws establishing equality of rights in all public aspects of American life, including facilities privately owned and controlled but serving the public, and including also the right to work on the same basis as other Americans. In those areas where job control is vested in trade unions, this means equal access to job training opportunities and enrollment in the controlling unions.

Segregation, whether embodied in the Jim Crow laws of the South or embedded in custom throughout the nation, is the principal obstacle to the achievement of the goal of equality. Segregation is the negation of equality and the rejection of the Judeo-Christian ethic of universal human brotherhood.

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SECOND OF A SERIES

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Colored People, with other civil rights organizations, is engaged in a massive effort to secure enactment of President John F. Kennedy's civil rights program in this session of Congress.

Of the three branches of government, only Congress has failed to take a forthright position on the issue of segregation. This is why the President's proposals, now before Congress, are of such vital importance.

The NAACP and other civil rights organizations have hailed Mr. Kennedy's bill as the most comprehensive civil rights measure ever submitted to the Congress by a President. Nevertheless, as good as it is, it does not go far enough and, accordingly, is in need of strengthening.

Civil rights groups are united in urging that the bill be broadened to include a Fair Employment Practices Commission section with power to ban discrimination in private as well as public employment; authority for the Attorney General to initiate on his own civil suits against all violations of civil rights, not just in school cases; sanctions against labor unions which discriminate against Negroes or members of other ethnic or religious minorities; and establishment of the Civil Rights Commission on a permanent basis.

CIVIL RIGHTS advocates recognize that there is strong opposition to the bill, particularly to Title II, the public accommodations section. But this is not new.

There has never been a civil

rights bill introduced in Congress that did not meet strong opposition from the South and from its northern and western allies. It matters not what the issue — anti-lynching, FEPC, right to vote, school desegregation, filibuster Rule 22, or what not — the opposition has formed.

This accounts for the paucity of such legislation at the federal level. Only two civil rights measures—the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 — have been passed by Congress since Reconstruction days.

We in the NAACP have given top priority to the pending bill and expect its enactment. We are mobilizing full support in behalf of it and are prepared to work for the defeat at the polls of those members of Congress who vote against it.

The fight for equal access to places of public accommodations, for an FEPC law, for school desegregation and for other civil rights measures will continue until the objectives have been achieved. Vigorous action toward these objectives was pledged in the 1960 platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties. We are asking simply for implementation of these pledges.

TITLE II, the most controversial section of the President's bill, faces without equivocation the Negro demand that segrega-

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tion and other forms of racial discrimination in public accommodations be banned throughout the nation.

The victims of this vile discrimination are little concerned with whether the statute is based on the interstate commerce clause or the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. What they want is the right to use any public accommodation on the same basis as other citizens. They place human rights above property rights and, accordingly, dismiss as irrelevant the contention of Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen and others that Title II infringes on property rights.

What they know are the suffering and denials they have to endure in certain sections of the country because there is no federal legislation securing their right to equal access to public accommodations anywhere in the land.

They know also that federal and state authorities have placed many restrictions on private property in order to protect the public. They see no reason why they, too, cannot be protected by federal legislation in their right to equal access to public accommodations.

In short, the Negro is unable to comprehend the opposition to this section among those, in the Congress and elsewhere, who profess adherence to a religious faith that affirms the brotherhood of all mankind and to a political creed based on equality of citizenship.

ENACTMENT of the Administration bill would wipe out this senseless humiliation which is the daily fare of nearly 20,000,000 Americans.

Other titles in it would further accelerate the pace of school desegregation; strengthen the right to vote; extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission another four years; establish a new agency, Community Relations Service, to aid communities in voluntary desegregation actions; give statutory approval to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; and authorize the President to withhold federal funds from any segregated institution, facility or service.

The goal of our association is to raise the status of the Negro to equality with that of his white fellow citizens. Since its found-

ing in 1909, the NAACP has recognized that an essential first step is the enactment of laws establishing equality of rights in all public aspects of American life, including facilities privately owned and controlled but serving the public, and including also the right to work on the same basis as other Americans. In those areas where job control is vested in trade unions, this means equal access to job training opportunities and enrollment in the controlling unions.

Segregation, whether embodied in the Jim Crow laws of the South or embedded in custom throughout the nation, is the principal obstacle to the achievement of the goal of equality. Segregation is the negation of equality and the rejection of the Judeo-Christian ethic of universal human brotherhood.

THE PURPOSE of segregation is not separation of the races, but rather the maintenance of a caste system relegating the Negro to the lowest position in the social hierarchy. The South, where segregationists are loudest and most insistent, is also the region in which intermingling of the races has historically been most commonplace. The millions of Americans of mixed racial ancestry originating in the South afford living testimony that separation of the races is not what the South seeks in upholding segregation.

To be meaningful, the equality which the Negro seeks today requires, and would in itself contribute to, a significant expansion of the gross national product. Nothing is gained by achieving "equality" with a poverty-stricken, illiterate white sharecropper. The plight of millions of marginal white people must also be improved. They, too, stand in urgent need of better schooling and training to equip them for better jobs which, in turn, will enable them to live in decent homes.

The abolition of poverty and ignorance is an attainable goal for both Negroes and whites. A booming economy of full employment will make equality not only possible but also meaningful. Our goal is such a society with all citizens enjoying equal rights and opportunities and shouldering equally the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Mon., Aug. 26, 1963

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Leader of March on Capital Links Freedom and Jobs

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Director

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

IN THE GREAT MARCH ON WASHINGTON that is to take place Wednesday, the Negro people's demand for "full freedom now" is linked with a demand for federal action to obtain the basic human right to jobs and bread. This is significant, for it marks the recognition of a fundamental truth. Full economic equality as well as full civil rights are equally and together the objectives of our movement.

The Negro people have not only been deprived of the basic rights guaranteed by our democracy and our Constitution—the right to vote, to equal treatment in public accommodations, to respect and dignity as human beings; they have been deprived also of all the good things of life which have fallen so abundantly to the lot of other Americans—decent housing, green spaces for their children to play in, wholesome and sufficient nourishment, vacations in the country or by the sea.

Negroes have borne more, far more, than their fair share of unemployment and of low paying, distasteful jobs. They have been afflicted, far more, in proportion, than other Americans, by the paralyzing fear of economic insecurity. They have known the blight of poverty. In a rapidly changing world they have been denied access to those skills which alone can insure economic survival.

In the March on Washington we are asking for Federal action to create new jobs through a massive multibillion-dollar public works program. The jobs that we seek are not to be found in the manufacture of weapons of destruction or in unproductive "make work" programs.

JOBS MUST BE fitted to our burning, pressing social needs. Hundreds of American communities are not only job-poor; they lack good houses, good schools, adequate hospitals and health facilities, recreational opportunities for youth. Hundreds of our communities lack the things essential to a secure and healthful environment — trees, adequate parks, public gardens, public swimming pools, museums, ball parks, libraries and

workers made in American industry in World War II. More, highly paid Negro workers from auto or steel, lacking alternative skills, now walk the streets seeking any kind of job, whatever the pay.

Nor have we yet felt the full impact of this technological revolution. Workers in heavy industry, office workers, even engineering and other highly specialized personnel are being laid off. None is exempt from the inexorable march of this far-reaching change.

Prospects in the building trades and construction industry do not offer us very great grounds for hope. To be sure, significant breakthroughs are being registered today by civil rights groups struggling to batter down racial barriers in the building trade unions. But the market for new luxury housing is glutted; commercial and downtown renewal programs have been carried to completion in many big cities.

Barring new, publicly financed work programs on a huge scale, the freedom forces will, at best, register no more than token gains in the construction field. At worst, they will succeed only in pitting Negro against white workers in a futile struggle for non-existent jobs.

Defense industry provides no answer either to the problem of Negro unemployment. In this field, as in most others, a technological and scientific revolution has been under way with gathering momentum. The days have gone when the construction of giant battleships could employ thousands of workers. Such weapons have become obsolete. Automation is replacing workers with machines in national defense industries as in all others.

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In all of these areas we have witnessed a steady and tragic retreat from federal responsibility since the end of World War II. In these areas, indeed, we are actually spending less money in proportion to total federal expenditures than was the case 20 years ago. But, as we all know, our population continues to explode by leaps and bounds; and our social fabric—the fabric of our cities, the foundation of our cultural and spiritual life—continues to decline. This is the area in which the Federal Government must move to assure the jobs and human welfare that constitute the true defense of the American way of life.

The need is emphasized by the dire situation of the Negro unemployed. The rate of unemployment among Negro workers is twice that among white workers. At this moment, nearly one out of every six Negro wage earners across the nation is without work.

In our big cities the proportion is far higher, because Negro unemployment is concentrated in the urban areas. In some places it rises as high as one out of every five Negro workers. Unemployment is higher among younger people. In Chicago this summer 70 per cent of Negro youth who sought jobs have failed to find them. Among younger workers roughly one of every four is without work.

The problem of Negro unemployment would be relatively simple to solve if it were merely a matter of providing the skills necessary for effective competition in the labor market. If this were the only question, the current civil rights revolution

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WE MUST LOOK elsewhere if we are to find the expanding markets which we need—to provide jobs, to set the wheels of industry turning, to convert a stagnant into a healthy and thriving economy.

The fate of the Negro masses is linked in the last resort to the fate of the American economy. Our great freedom movement must address itself to the basic problems of this economy if it wishes to find a way out of the swamp of unemployment, poverty and despair.

For this reason, therefore, the march on Washington demands measures to increase the number of jobs available, as well as to end discrimination in hiring Negro workers. Of course, the struggle for full equality of job opportunity must be relentlessly pursued. But it must be coupled with insistence that more jobs be made available through special federal measures. We ask, too, that a massive retraining program for Negro workers and for youth be instituted on a larger scale than anything now contemplated. This will enable our people to catch up to their white brothers and to take full advantage of the opportunities that an expanding job market will offer to them.

These three demands — for equal access to jobs, for the creation of millions of new jobs, and for a job retraining program — are intimately and purposefully linked. Only by winning all of these demands will the Negro people succeed in emancipating themselves from the blight of poverty and deprivation.

Therefore, we are seeking to enlist our white brothers in the movement for full freedom. We have found that many trade unions are responsive to our initiative. They stand firm with us in our quest for full freedom; and they are joining us in great

monuments.

In all of these areas we have witnessed a steady and tragic retreat from federal responsibility since the end of World War II. In these areas, indeed, we are actually spending less money in proportion to total federal expenditures than was the case 20 years ago. But, as we all know, our population continues to explode by leaps and bounds; and our social fabric—the fabric of our cities, the foundation of our cultural and spiritual life—continues to decline. This is the area in which the Federal Government must move to assure the jobs and human welfare that constitute the true defense of the American way of life.

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The problem of Negro unemployment would be relatively simple to solve if it were merely a matter of providing the skills necessary for effective competition in the labor market. If this were the only question, the current civil rights revolution might well succeed in changing the Negro's economic status in a short time. This could be accomplished by properly enforced fair employment practices legislation combined with a massive retraining program for Negro workers.

UNFORTUNATELY the problem will not yield to so straightforward a solution. The reason for this lies in the advance of automation. Automation imposes a severe crisis on our entire economy. Insofar as Negroes are concerned, its impact has made itself felt with great force. Automation is a technological revolution that knows no bounds. It has largely wiped out employment gains Negro

markets which we need—to provide jobs, to set the wheels of industry turning, to convert a stagnant into a healthy and thriving economy.

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In the interest of an integrated and united trade union movement we take a firm stand against unions which maintain closed membership books; which forbid the enrollment of even highly qualified Negro workers. We insist that, whether they exist in the North or in the South, these Jim Crow practices be given up. And we are confident that our movement for interracial trade unions, for the full brotherhood of all American workers, will be victorious.

Tomorrow: Federal Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver and Loren Miller, vice president, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Tragedy of Discrimination: It Excuses Failure While Erecting Barriers to Success

Weaver Says Constant Threat of Inequality Causes Sense of Outrage, Hostile Reactions Among Nonwhites

By ROBERT C. WEAVER

Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency

THIRD OF A SERIES

THE ISSUE OF RACE PROVIDES significant areas of disagreement, as well as agreement, between Negroes and well-informed, well-meaning white Americans. Negro Americans feel that the progress they have made is exaggerated by whites; whites frequently feel that Negroes understate their gains. In this and other areas of dispute lie some of the most subtle, yet significant, aspects of Negro-white relationships.

Many white Americans frequently ask, "Why do Negroes push so? They have made phenomenal progress in 100 years of freedom. Now why don't their leaders do something about their crime rate, illegitimacy and other problems?"

The answer is clear: When Negroes demand full equality, they are behaving as would all other Americans under similar conditions. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told a congressional committee recently that were he a Negro, he would do the same. Every American has the right to be treated as a human being; striving for human dignity is an American characteristic. Other factors underlying the Negro American's drive are the slowness with which the Supreme Court school desegregation decision has been implemented and the emergence of Africa as a continent of independent nations.

The constant threat of discrimination and inequality causes a sense of outrage among Negroes. Many react hostilely; a separate culture with deviant values develops. Those who live in these unhappy environments face a difficult dilemma: Ours is a middle-class society and those who fail to show most of its values and behavior are headed for trouble; but on the other hand, the rewards for those who conform are often minimal, providing inadequate inducement for large numbers to emulate them.

Until the second decade of the twentieth century, it was traditional to compare the then current position of Negroes with that of a decade or several decades earlier. The Depression revealed the basic marginal economic status of colored Americans and repudiated this concept of progress. By the early

neers, mathematicians and highly-trained clerical and stenographic workers. Lack of college-trained persons is especially evident among Negro men.

One is prompted to ask why does this exist? The facts indicate the answer:

In 1959 nonwhite males who were high school graduates earned, on the average, 32 per cent less than whites; for nonwhite college graduates the figure was 38 per cent less.

Among women a much different situation exists. Nonwhite women who were high school graduates earned on the average of 24 per cent less than whites. Nonwhite female college graduates, however, earned but slightly over 1 per cent less than white women college graduates. Significantly, the median annual income of nonwhite female college graduates was more than double that of nonwhite women with only high school education.

Is it any wonder that among nonwhites, as contrasted to whites, a larger proportion of women than of men attend and finish college? The lack of economic rewards for higher education goes far in accounting for the paucity of college graduates and the high rate of drop-outs among nonwhite males. It accounts also for the fact that in the North, where there are greater opportunities for white-collar Negro males, more Negro men than women are finishing college; whereas in the South, where teaching is the greatest employment outlet for Negro college graduates, Negro women college graduates outnumber men.

THE NEGRO middle-class seems destined to grow and prosper. At the same time, the



LOREN MILLER

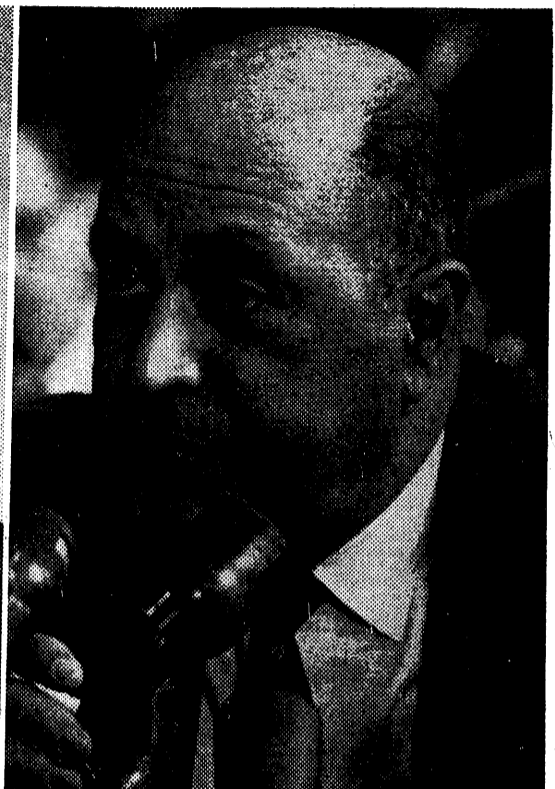
He is vice president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and is rated an expert on the Negro's drive to break out of his housing ghetto.

A lawyer and newspaper publisher in Los Angeles, he has for many years played a major part in litigation against discrimination in housing. He was one of the attorneys who in 1948 argued the cases that resulted in the Supreme Court's ruling against racially restrictive housing covenants. He was chief counsel in California cases that successfully attacked racial segregation in public housing and discrimination in sales by FHA builders. As a member of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, he has participated in many of the organization's civil rights cases.

Miller is owner and publisher of the California Eagle, second largest Negro weekly newspaper in the state. He was graduated from the University of Kansas and the School of Law of Washburn University in Topeka. His father had been born a slave in Missouri.

between acceptance as earned by individual merit and enjoyment of rights guaranteed to everyone. Implicit, also, is the assumption that Negroes can lift themselves by their bootstraps, and that once they become brown counterparts of white Americans, they will be accepted on the basis of individual merit. Were this true, our race problem would be no more than a most recent phase in the melting-pot tradition of the nation.

Poverty still haunts half of the Negroes in the United States, and while higher levels of national productivity are a sine qua non for higher levels of employment in the nation they alone will not



ROBERT C. WEAVER

As administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, he holds the highest federal administrative position ever occupied by a Negro. And if a Department of Urban Affairs is ever created, he may become the first Negro to serve as a member of the Cabinet, for President John F. Kennedy said he would appoint him to the proposed post.

Weaver is the federal government's top housing official. During the early days of the New Deal, he was architect and leader of the so-called "black cabinet," a group of tough-minded Negro brain trusters who were instrumental in obtaining job and housing opportunities for Negroes. After serving in a variety of federal positions between 1933 and 1944, Weaver held a number of teaching and race relations positions.

Before being picked for his present job by President Kennedy, Weaver had been vice chairman of the Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City and was administrator of the New York State Housing Rent Commission.

To the Negro American, involuntary segregation is degrading, inconvenient and costly. Perhaps its principal disadvantage is its costliness. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in education and housing. By any and all criteria, separate schools are generally inferior schools in which the cultural deprivations of the descendants of slaves are perpetuated.

Enforced residential segregation, the most stubborn and universal of the Negro's disadvantages, often leads to exploitation and effects a spatial pattern which facilitates neglect of public services in the well-defined areas where Negroes live. It re-

tributions of others who are less fortunate or less recognized than itself. It cannot stress progress—the emphasis which is so palatable to the majority group—without, at the same time, delineating the unsolved business of democracy. It cannot provide or identify meaningful models unless it effects social changes which facilitate the emergence of these models from the environment which typifies so much of the Negro community.

But Negro leadership must also face up to the deficiencies which plague the Negro community, and it must take effective action to deal with resulting problems. While, of course,

Inequality Causes Sense of Outrage, Hostile Reactions Among Nonwhites

By ROBERT C. WEAVER

Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency

THIRD OF A SERIES

THE ISSUE OF RACE PROVIDES significant areas of disagreement, as well as agreement, between Negroes and well-informed, well-meaning white Americans. Negro Americans feel that the progress they have made is exaggerated by whites; whites frequently feel that Negroes understate their gains. In this and other areas of dispute lie some of the most subtle, yet significant, aspects of Negro-white relationships.

Many white Americans frequently ask, "Why do Negroes push so? They have made phenomenal progress in 100 years of freedom. Now why don't their leaders do something about their crime rate, illegitimacy and other problems?"

The answer is clear: When Negroes demand full equality, they are behaving as would all other Americans under similar conditions. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told a congressional committee recently that were he a Negro, he would do the same. Every American has the right to be treated as a human being; striving for human dignity is an American characteristic. Other factors underlying the Negro American's drive are the slowness with which the Supreme Court school desegregation decision has been implemented and the emergence of Africa as a continent of independent nations.

The constant threat of discrimination and inequality causes a sense of outrage among Negroes. Many react hostilely; a separate culture with deviant values develops. Those who live in these unhappy environments face a difficult dilemma: Ours is a middle-class society and those who fail to show most of its values and behavior are headed for trouble; but on the other hand, the rewards for those who conform are often minimal, providing inadequate inducement for large numbers to emulate them.

Until the second decade of the twentieth century, it was traditional to compare the then current position of Negroes with that of a decade or several decades earlier. The Depression revealed the basic marginal economic status of colored Americans and repudiated this concept of progress. By the early 1930s Negroes became concerned about their relative position in the nation.

VIEWED IN THIS context, the facts are:

Median family income among nonwhites in 1959 was slightly less than 55 per cent of that for whites; for individuals the figure was 50 per cent.

Only a third of the Negro families in 1959 earned enough to sustain an acceptable American standard of living. Yet this involved well over 1,000,000 Negro families, of which 6000 earned \$25,000 or more.

Undergirding these over-all figures are many paradoxes. Negroes have made striking gains in historical terms, yet their current rate of unemployment is well over double that among whites. Over two thirds of our colored workers are still concentrated in five major unskilled and semiskilled occupations, as contrasted to slightly over a third of the white labor force.

Despite the continuing existence of color discrimination even for many of the well prepared, there is a paucity of qualified Negro scientists, engi-

neers, mathematicians and highly-trained clerical and stenographic workers. Lack of college-trained persons is especially evident among Negro men.

One is prompted to ask why does this exist? The facts indicate the answer:

In 1959 nonwhite males who were high school graduates earned, on the average, 32 per cent less than whites; for nonwhite college graduates the figure was 38 per cent less.

Among women a much different situation exists. Nonwhite women who were high school graduates earned on the average of 24 per cent less than whites. Nonwhite female college graduates, however, earned but slightly over 1 per cent less than white women college graduates. Significantly, the median annual income of nonwhite female college graduates was more than double that of nonwhite women with only high school education.

Is it any wonder that among nonwhites, as contrasted to whites, a larger proportion of women than of men attend and finish college? The lack of economic rewards for higher education goes far in accounting for the paucity of college graduates and the high rate of drop-outs among nonwhite males. It accounts also for the fact that in the North, where there are greater opportunities for white-collar Negro males, more Negro men than women are finishing college; whereas in the South, where teaching is the greatest employment outlet for Negro college graduates, Negro women college graduates outnumber men.

THE NEGRO middle-class seems destined to grow and prosper. At the same time, the economic position of the untrained Negro — as of all untrained and poorly-trained in our society—will continue to decline. Nonwhites are doubly affected. First, they are disproportionately concentrated in occupations particularly susceptible to unemployment at a time when our technology eats up unskilled and semi-skilled jobs at a frightening rate. Secondly, they are conditioned to racial job discrimination. The later circumstance becomes a justification for not trying, occasioning a lack of incentive for self-betterment.

The tragedy of discrimination is that it provides an excuse for failure while erecting barriers to success.

Most colored Americans still are not only outside the mainstream of our society but see no hope of entering it. The lack of motivation and antisocial behavior which result are capitalized on by the champions of the status quo. They say that the average Negro must demonstrate to the average white that the latter's fears are groundless.

In this attitude lies a volume on race relations. In the first place, those who articulate this point of view fail to differentiate



LOREN MILLER

He is vice president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and is rated an expert on the Negro's drive to break out of his housing ghetto.

A lawyer and newspaper publisher in Los Angeles, he has for many years played a major part in litigation against discrimination in housing. He was one of the attorneys who in 1948 argued the cases that resulted in the Supreme Court's ruling against racially restrictive housing covenants. He was chief counsel in California cases that successfully attacked racial segregation in public housing and discrimination in sales by FHA builders. As a member of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, he has participated in many of the organization's civil rights cases.

Miller is owner and publisher of the California Eagle, second largest Negro weekly newspaper in the state. He was graduated from the University of Kansas and the School of Law of Washburn University in Topeka. His father had been born a slave in Missouri.

between acceptance as earned by individual merit and enjoyment of rights guaranteed to everyone. Implicit, also, is the assumption that Negroes can lift themselves by their bootstraps, and that once they become brown counterparts of white Americans, they will be accepted on the basis of individual merit. Were this true, our race problem would be no more than a most recent phase in the melting-pot tradition of the nation.

Poverty still haunts half of the Negroes in the United States, and while higher levels of national productivity are a sine qua non for higher levels of employment in the nation, they alone will not wipe out unemployment, especially for minorities. The labor reserve of today must be trained if it is to find gainful employment. Among nonwhites this frequently involves more than exposure to vocational training. Many of them are functionally illiterate and require basic education prior to specialized job preparation.

THE VERY MAGNITUDE of these problems illustrates that society must take the leadership in solving them. But society can only provide greater opportunities. The individual must respond to the new opportunities. And he does so, primarily, in terms of visible evidence that hard work and sacrifice bring real rewards.

Those white Americans who are perplexed, confused and antagonized by Negroes' persistent pressure to break down racial segregation should pause to consider what involuntary segregation means to its victims, the harmful effect on the personality, and, in turn, on the thoughtful and well-intentioned community weighted with its load of guilt for a manifest injustice to a fellow-being, fellow-American.



ROBERT C. WEAVER

As administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, he holds the highest federal administrative position ever occupied by a Negro. And if a Department of Urban Affairs is ever created, he may become the first Negro to serve as a member of the Cabinet, for President John F. Kennedy said he would appoint him to the proposed post.

Weaver is the federal government's top housing official. During the early days of the New Deal, he was architect and leader of the so-called "black cabinet," a group of tough-minded Negro brain trusters who were instrumental in obtaining job and housing opportunities for Negroes. After serving in a variety of federal positions between 1933 and 1944, Weaver held a number of teaching and race relations positions.

Before being picked for his present job by President Kennedy, Weaver had been vice chairman of the Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City and was administrator of the New York State Housing Rent Commission.

To the Negro American, involuntary segregation is degrading, inconvenient and costly. Perhaps its principal disadvantage is its costliness. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in education and housing. By any and all criteria, separate schools are generally inferior schools in which the cultural deprivations of the descendants of slaves are perpetuated.

Enforced residential segregation, the most stubborn and universal of the Negro's disadvantages, often leads to exploitation and effects a spatial pattern which facilitates neglect of public services in the well-defined areas where Negroes live. It restricts the opportunities of the more successful as well as the least successful in the group, augmenting artificially the number of nonwhites who live in areas of blight and neglect and face impediments to the attainment of values and behavior required for upward social and economic mobility.

The most obvious consequence of involuntary residential segregation is that the housing dollar in a dark hand usually commands less purchasing power than one in a white hand. Clearly, this is a denial of a basic promise of a free economy.

What are the responsibilities of Negro leadership?

Certainly the first is to keep pressing for first-class citizenship status — an inevitable goal of those who accept the values of this nation.

Another is to encourage and assist Negroes to prepare for the opportunities that are now and will be opened to them.

THE ULTIMATE responsibilities of Negro leadership, however, are to show results and maintain a following. This means that it cannot be so "responsible" that it forgets the trials and

tribulations of others who are less fortunate or less recognized than itself. It cannot stress progress—the emphasis which is so palatable to the majority group—without, at the same time, delineating the unsolved business of democracy. It cannot provide or identify meaningful models unless it effects social changes which facilitate the emergence of these models from the environment which typifies so much of the Negro community.

But Negro leadership must also face up to the deficiencies which plague the Negro community, and it must take effective action to deal with resulting problems. While, of course, crime, poverty, illegitimacy and hopelessness can all be explained, in large measure, in terms of the Negro's history and current status in America, they do exist. We need no longer be self-conscious in admitting these unpleasant facts, for our knowledge of human behavior indicates clearly that antisocial activities are not inherent in any people. What is required is comprehension of these—a part of society's problems — and remedial and rehabilitation measures.

Emphasis on self-betterment, if employed indiscriminately by Negro leaders, is seized by white supremacists and their supporters to bolster the assertion that Negroes, all Negroes, are not ready for full citizenship. As a result, because of the nature of our society, Negro leadership must continue to stress the people's rights if it is to receive a hearing for programs of self-improvement.

TOMORROW: James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and G. James Fleming, professor of political science, Morgan State College, Baltimore.

Tues., Aug. 27, 1963

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Government Said to Shirk Duty To End Urban Ghetto System

By LOREN MILLER

Vice President

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

THE PATTERN IS THE SAME EVERYWHERE. Centers of our great cities are filled to overflowing with Negro residents. Ranged around that core, like petals on a daisy, are suburban communities, built white and long kept white by an intricate and devious interplay of private and governmental practices and policies.

The all-white or all-Negro section of a city shapes and strengthens the racial attitudes of its inhabitants.

Embattled whites are stereotyped as standing heroic guard to repulse black invaders trampling on property values. Violence to prevent Negro occupancy is all too common. The "Would you want one to move next door to you?" query is assuming the proportions of the "Would you want your sister to marry one?" squelch and has almost equal potency.

Negro urbanization, already at 72 per cent, continues to grow. The ghetto expands everywhere and unless present trends are reversed our cities will become increasingly Negro cities, breeding ever more de facto segregation in schools and public facilities, exacerbating division between whites and Negroes, strangling renovation of central cities, heightening the conflict between core cities and suburbs and adding explosive content to strained Negro-white relationships.

President John F. Kennedy issued an executive order Nov. 20 designed to halt overt federal assistance to practices that exclude Negroes from new housing tracts. The narrowly drawn order forbids sales and rental discrimination in governmentally owned or operated dwelling units and in governmentally assisted and redevelopment housing for which federal aid is sought after the effective date.

It has not made a dent in hardshell urban segregation and, stretched to the limit, would not apply to more than 25 per cent of new housing.

THE STRIKING infirmity in the presidential order and in state and local fair housing legislation is that they are devoid of affirmative devices to undo more than half a century of intensive governmental cultivation of residential segregation. There is no governmental leadership of the many private groups which have sprung up in response to the pangs of private conscience and which seek to alleviate discrimination in housing.

which has a total population of 81,712.

Concentration of Negroes in central cities has been on the aggressive increase for more than half a century. A government report noted in 1913 that Negro "migration to the city is being followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city. . . . Thus the Negro ghetto is growing up."

Residential segregation flows into de facto segregation in schools and other public and semipublic facilities as everybody knows by this time. Where the Negro central city population grows, as in St. Louis, it results in resegregation of schools even after a desegregation program has been instituted.

Most cities have lost the fight to maintain integrated school systems and have to run twice as fast as they can just to stay where they are. More Negro children attend all-Negro schools in Chicago than in Birmingham.

One more set of dry figures will round out the statistical story. The total population increase for the 10 largest central cities from 1930 to 1960 was 3,480,295, including a Negro increase of 3,222,347. Central city growth thus was Negro growth. Population increase in the standard metropolitan areas outside those 10 cities was 4,174,537, but the Negro increase was only 146,540. Whites outgained Negroes 30 to 1 in the suburbs.

CONTRARY to widespread belief, the fix we are in is not the result of pig-headed popular prejudice; it is the product of more than 50 years of governmental sanction and support of residential segregation. Emboldened by Supreme Court approval of the separate but equal doctrine in 1896, Southern and Border cities enacted racial zoning ordinances from about 1904 to 1915, only to have the court invalidate them in 1917 after more than a decade of usage had whipped up sentiment in their favor.

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What it adds up to is gigantic governmental shirking of responsibility to disestablish a ghetto system that is without parallel in the free world outside of South Africa. The Federal Government should discharge its responsibility by arraying the full panoply of its power to create a free housing market.

That means:

(1) Expansion of the presidential order to prohibit discrimination in sales and rentals by builders where loans are obtained from member institutions of the Home Loan Bank system and proscription of discrimination in all housing where an insured loan is in effect.

(2) Desegregation of public housing should be undertaken as vacancies occur.

(3) No urban redevelopment plan should be approved unless it contains affirmative, built-in devices to insure relocation of displaced persons in integrated communities and integration of housing produced under it.

(4) State and local fair housing statutes should be broadened to cover all housing sales and rentals.

Together federal and local governments can create a free housing market. But that will not be enough. All governmental units should co-operate and co-ordinate their programs to encourage and assist Negro entrance into communities outside the ghetto.

Federal housing agencies should take the leadership in encouraging the many voluntary groups that are tackling the problem. The President should assume moral leadership through White House conversations with churches, unions, business associations, lawyers, women leaders and other groups and individuals as he has done in the case of his civil rights legislation.

The 1960 census figures outline the housing problem starkly: The combined population of the 10 largest cities was 21,751,334; their Negro population was 4,655,505, or 27.4 per cent. Standard metropolitan areas around those 10 central cities had a total population of 18,271,039, of which only 809,134, or 5.4 per cent, were Negroes, a substantial number of whom lived in Negro sections of satellite cities and towns.

ST. LOUIS, for example, had a population of 750,026 with 214,377 Negroes, or 28.6 per cent. The metropolitan area outside the city had a population of 1,310,077, with 80,496 Negroes, or 6.1 per cent, but about 45 per cent of that number lived in the Negro section of East St. Louis,

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Balked on one front, segregationists turned to the use of racially restrictive covenants and obtained court enforcement from 1915 to 1948. In that 30-year span, courts of 19 states and the District of Columbia ground out decrees confining Negroes to unwanted sections of cities and towns—North, East, South and West.

The Supreme Court finally turned thumbs down on judicial enforcement in the St. Louis case of *Shelley v. Kraemer* in 1948 after extending its tacit approval in an earlier case in 1926. But a firm foundation had been laid for urban black belts in those critical three decades when Negroes were swarming to the cities.

The ultimate in governmental sanction of the ghetto came when the Federal Government got into housing in 1934. Under the thin disguise of conforming to local custom, it approved and financed segregated public housing projects and kept right on doing so for a decade after the courts had held that such segregation ran afoul of the Fourteenth Amendment.

More than 80 per cent of public housing is still segregated in theory and more than 90 per cent in practice because site selection policies determine tenant occupancy.

FHA BEGAN its career in 1935 by requiring race restrictive covenants as a condition for extension of federal mortgage insurance. It furnished a model racist covenant for builders and became a sort of Typhoid Mary carrying the ghetto germ wherever it went.

Of course, neither federal, state nor local governments invented the initial sentiment for residential segregation. What they did do was to lend their processes to conserve shallow racial prejudices and nourish them into enforceable discriminatory practices.

The initial problem to be solved is that of admitting the Negro to a free market where he can buy and rent shelter without discrimination. The presidential order is a timid step in that direction. State and local fair housing statutes operate to create a free market by interdicting discrimination at the point of sales and rentals and are more significant than the presidential order, but they do not cover all housing in the best of cases. The used housing market is still largely closed to Negroes with the consent of government.

The corrective measures needed must be heroic, and unprecedented, but black belts are not a Negro problem; they are an urban problem in an increasingly urban society. They are the fire this time in urban race relations.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Integrationist Says U.S. Is Not Facing Up to Ultimate Issues That Transcend Discrimination

Question of Society's Proper Values Being Sidetracked by Drive to End Racial Bias

By JAMES FORMAN

Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee

FOURTH OF A SERIES

I REMEMBER, when I was 6 years old, or maybe 7, I went into a drugstore in Memphis, Tenn. It was a hot day. I had been walking up and down the avenue, looking at the beautiful houses in which the white people lived, passing time until I could catch the train going to Mississippi to be with my grandmother.

I sat down on the stool at the counter, twirled around and politely asked the waitress for a Coke. She turned away and went toward the back of the store. A few minutes passed and a Negro porter came up to me and said, "If you want a Coke come with me."

I got off the stool, following him with some hesitation. He stopped at a Coke machine. "You have to get your Cokes here," he said.

I told him I did not want to drink my Coke there; I wanted to sit on the stool in the front. He asked me where I was from. I told him I had been in Chicago. I asked him why I had to drink my Coke in the back.

He said all Negroes had to drink their Cokes in the back at the machine.

I started to cry, holding the wet bottle in my hand. Crying, I took a sip and put it down. Crying, I left the store.

I went straight to my aunt's house and asked her what was a Negro. "That's what we are," she answered. I did not ask any more questions that day.

I REMEMBER that experience vividly to this day, every detail of it. The older I grow the more significant it becomes. It was the making of a Negro.

I can't say just what the aspirations of American Negroes are. Some black people are motivated by the same drives many American whites have—the desire to acquire fortunes, to own a home, to have two automobiles. Every Negro motivated this way, unless he tries to be a white-Negro, knows that his skin color affects the achievement of whatever he desires.

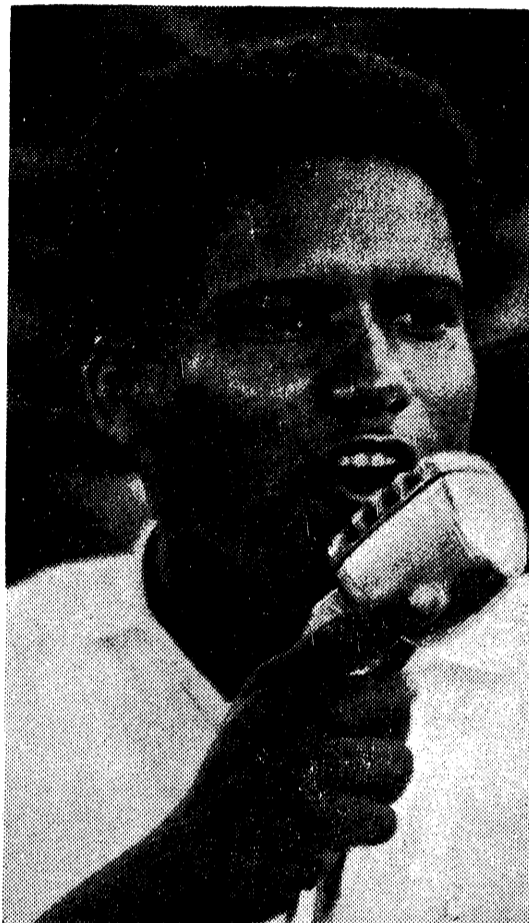
where personalities are not injured and deformed, a society where incidents such as I have described cannot occur. We are addressing ourselves to the problems of color and not to the broader problems that confront us all. We are simply trying to end our criminal condition.

THE BLACK BABY'S very right to be born is denied when white doctors—the only doctors in Fayette county, Tennessee—tell a pregnant Negro mother they cannot deliver her baby. Negroes in that county were blacklisted because they tried to register to vote. The mother was then faced with the choice of driving 50 miles to a Memphis hospital while in labor, or having an unclean wet-nurse deliver her child.

The black child's right to humane formative years is denied when he learns there are certain things he cannot do because he is black. The damaging process of repression begins when his mother and father must explain why Negroes cannot sit down in a drugstore to have a Coke. His chance to compete equally in this competitive society is denied when he must go to overcrowded, ill-equipped, ghettoized and segregated schools—or to no schools at all, as in Prince Edward county, Virginia.

Black bodies are exploited and denied in the Mississippi Delta, where people must work in the cotton fields for \$3 or less for a 12-hour day. Everywhere black bodies are exploited and denied when they are jobless, last hired, first fired, denied promotions and discriminated against by businesses and labor unions.

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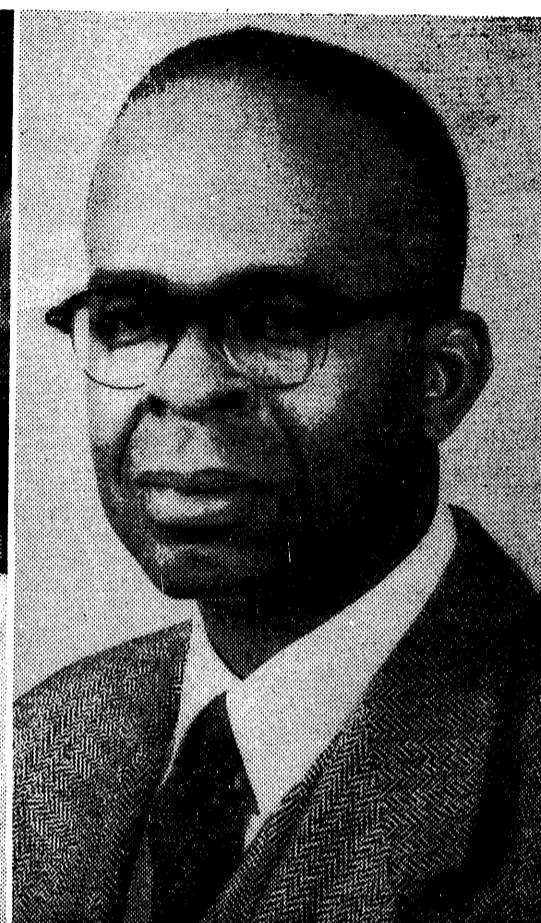
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His calm nonchalance masks the fact that he and his fellow members in Snick, the popular name for their organization, spend much of their time on a truly dangerous frontier—in small towns and rural areas of the deep South. There, in the face of community attitudes ranging from cool unfriendliness to heated violence, members of Snick seek to register Negro voters or to break down other discriminatory practices.

Forman, who is 34 years old, spent his childhood in Mississippi but attended high school in Chicago and was graduated from Roosevelt College there. Before taking his present job with Snick for \$60 a week in October 1961, he and his wife were school teachers in Chicago with a combined annual income of \$10,000.

full well that the present Mississippi constitution was framed to deny the vote to Negroes. The United States Justice Department knows this, too. It is not apathy on the part of the Mississippi Negro which is behind the fact that, as the Civil Rights Commission reported in 1960, only 6.2 per cent of the total Negro population of voting age in Mississippi is registered to vote. Rather, this is the result of the carefully planned denial of democracy to 44 per cent of the Mississippi population.

The skeptical white demands proof of this assertion, and ample proof there is



G. JAMES FLEMING

He is a close student of the American political scene and particularly of the Negro's part in it. He is professor of political science at Morgan State College in Baltimore and has been director of the college's Institute for Political Education since its establishment in 1959. The institute provides training in public affairs, with emphasis on practical politics, for students, visiting teachers and the public.

In World War II he was regional director of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. He worked on a number of weekly newspapers. He served as executive editor of the New York Amsterdam News from 1952-54.

He is a graduate of the Academy of Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va. He holds an A.B. degree from the University of Wisconsin and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania.

educated Negro must come up with the "right" interpretation.

WHEN HE LEAVES the courthouse, he must wait for his name to appear twice in the county newspaper stating that he has applied to register. His employer and officers of the state-supported White Citizens Council scan the paper to see what "uppity nigger" has tried to register. By law, any qualified voter can challenge the registration of any person on the ground that he is unfit morally to be a registered voter.

If the registrar does not receive a complaint, he then de-

Negro remembers that the Rev. George Lee of Belzoni, Miss., was murdered here because he headed a voter registration drive. And every Negro knows that Medgar Evers was murdered here. Young and old, political and unpolitical, color was their crime, denial was their portion, murder was their fate.

Our criminal condition will change to the extent that we force the country to deal with the issues of segregation and discrimination. Dramatic direct action—pickets, vote-ins, sit-ins, sit-downs, wade-ins, move-ins—all confront today's realities. The civil rights legislation before

That Transcend Discrimination

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But I know that American Negroes, and especially students, increasingly are asking: "Why should we strive to be like white people. Is it not better to have a society where money is not the dominant value? Is it not better to have a society where productive work of people is valued; where one works for the betterment of society rather than for the betterment of one's private possessions?"

These are the ultimate questions with which the Negro and all America must deal.

At the moment we are not dealing with them. At the moment we are too busy trying to end segregation and discrimination, trying to create a society

where personalities are not injured and deformed, a society where incidents such as I have described cannot occur. We are addressing ourselves to the problems of color and not to the broader problems that confront us all. We are simply trying to end our criminal condition.

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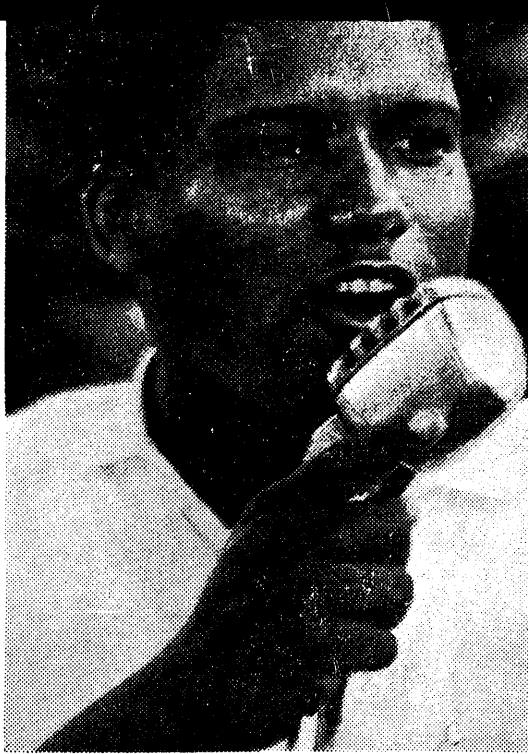
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Black dollars are exploited when the Negro must pay more rent for less desirable homes. Among other things, this means he is even less able to save money for medical expenses or for education for his children.

Denied the right to be born, to be educated, to grow normally and humanely, to live decently—denied these things, the Negro finds it no surprise that he is denied the right to participate in democracy.

THE DENIAL of democracy runs across the South, but let us isolate Mississippi, an area intimately familiar to the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, an area in which I was reared.

Senator James Eastland and his Mississippi machine know



JAMES FORMAN

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full well that the present Mississippi constitution was framed to deny the vote to Negroes. The United States Justice Department knows this, too. It is not apathy on the part of the Mississippi Negro which is behind the fact that, as the Civil Rights Commission reported in 1960, only 6.2 per cent of the total Negro population of voting age in Mississippi is registered to vote. Rather, this is the result of the carefully planned denial of democracy to 44 per cent of the Mississippi population.

The skeptical white demands proof of this assertion, and ample proof there is.

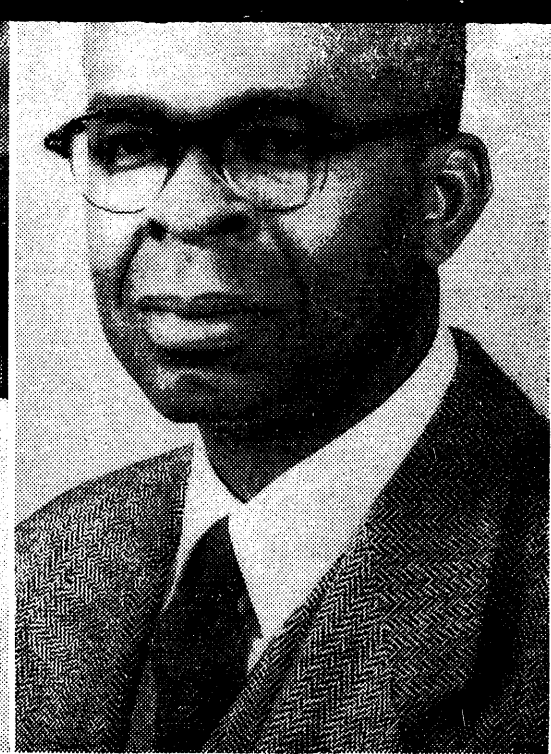
Assume that the Mississippi Negro has made up his mind that he, too, wants to be an American citizen. He goes to the courthouse fully aware that he can lose his job because he is trying to register. He knows others have been thrown off the plantations. Yet, he goes to the courthouse, where he must fill out an application blank with 25 questions. He must interpret a section of the Mississippi constitution and describe the duties of a good citizen. The fact that the learned jurists of the United States Supreme Court frequently disagree among themselves on the proper interpretation of the Constitution has no bearing on the fact that the poor and mis-

educated Negro must come up with the "right" interpretation.

WHEN HE LEAVES the courthouse, he must wait for his name to appear twice in the county newspaper stating that he has applied to register. His employer and officers of the state-supported White Citizens Council scan the paper to see what "uppity nigger" has tried to register. By law, any qualified voter can challenge the registration of any person on the ground that he is unfit morally to be a registered voter.

If the registrar does not receive a complaint, he then determines whether or not the Negro has interpreted the constitution correctly and adequately stated the duties of good citizens. Even then the Negro does not know if he has successfully registered because the registrar is not required to let an applicant know if he has passed the registration test.

This is the legal side to the planned denial of democracy that permits the Mississippi machine to rule high, wide and handsome. By itself it might not be enough, but then there is the extra-legal side. For remember, this is Mississippi, and every Negro remembers, for no Negro can forget, that this is where Emmett Till was lynched. Every



G. JAMES FLEMING

He is a close student of the American political scene and particularly of the Negro's part in it. He is professor of political science at Morgan State College in Baltimore and has been director of the college's Institute for Political Education since its establishment in 1959. The institute provides training in public affairs, with emphasis on practical politics, for students, visiting teachers and the public.

In World War II he was regional director of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. He worked on a number of weekly newspapers. He served as executive editor of the New York Amsterdam News from 1952-54.

He is a graduate of the Academy of Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va. He holds an A.B. degree from the University of Wisconsin and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania.

Negro remembers that the Rev. George Lee of Belzoni, Miss., was murdered here because he headed a voter registration drive. And every Negro knows that Medgar Evers was murdered here. Young and old, political and unpolitical, color was their crime, denial was their portion, murder was their fate.

Our criminal condition will change to the extent that we force the country to deal with the issues of segregation and discrimination. Dramatic direct action—pickets, vote-ins, sit-ins, sit-downs, wade-ins, move-ins—all confront today's realities. The civil rights legislation before the Congress is primarily a result of such direct action by students and other persons—in Albany, Greenwood, Birmingham, Cambridge, Nashville, in communities throughout the South—who seek to change our pathetic condition.

I cannot speak for members of other civil rights organizations, but those of us in the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee have made our choice. We prefer to work not for money but for the emancipation of our society. We prefer quick death from positive non-violent direct action rather than the slow death that one begins to feel when he learns that he is a Negro in America.

Wed., Aug. 28, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Negroes Seeking Political Gains To Obtain Bread, Butter Benefits

By G. JAMES FLEMING

Director, Institute for Political Education
Morgan State College, Baltimore

POLITICAL FREEDOM, POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY and political rewards are among the major goals included in the cries of colored Americans for "Freedom now" and for "All, now and here."

They want political gains not only for their own sake, but as a means toward obtaining even more substantial bread and butter benefits. Thus, colored Americans want freedom "to be in politics" but they also want the gains and status which they believe politics can, or should, help them to achieve.

Freedom at the ballot box means more than freedom to vote; it means freedom and opportunity to hold high elective and appointive office, with the fringe benefits enjoyed by other groups that have achieved political recognition—groups such as those of Irish and Italian background in Boston, Irish and Jewish in New York, Polish in Detroit, or old Anglo-Saxon stock in the South and other areas.

Although there may be some immediate gains, it is not difficult to agree with a recent poll taken by United Press International in 25 major cities. The survey indicates that it will take a decade or more for Negroes, specifically those in urban areas, to achieve the first-class citizenship for which they and their friends contend. It will take non-urban Negroes longer.

During these waiting but not necessarily passive years, Negroes will undoubtedly use all means to lift themselves politically. They will help to make the South a two-party region. They will help to support liberals rather than conservatives. They will put the emphasis on men rather than party organization labels, particularly in local and primary elections. They will try to use their numbers to elevate Negroes to higher political offices and other places of dignity and power. They will try to use politics and government to improve their immediate lot.

NATIONALLY, during these coming years, Negroes will vote as both Republicans and Democrats, with a tremendous degree of independence that will

of blackness in the Harlems, South Sides, and black belts of the nation. If he is made a racial entity, all to himself in most essential matters, he will exercise his political potentials all for himself. If he is permitted to break out of the racial islands — without penalties against him — he will join the body politic of communities that are neither all-white nor all-Negro.

NEGROES, TOO, will have to decide whether the political recognition they want, based partly on their racially conglomerate living, will be best served by their decentralization and diffusion among the majority race, or whether they can live, more or less together, and use their new political strength to convert their ghettos into decent communities.

In several years of being among Negro leaders and practicing politicians, even in periods of bitter struggles for political recognition, this writer has not found serious sentiment, desire or plan on the part of Negroes to capture and take over any city, county or state, much less the nation.

Few Negroes who have broken with a local party organization, for example, have wanted to run an all-Negro ticket and, by bloc voting, perhaps defeat all white candidates in a specific district.

In the same sense, the Negro electorate has not shown support for all-Negro tickets even where such support might have been effective. Baltimore and Memphis are recent examples where all-Negro slates have failed either partially or totally, although Negro voters might have prevented such a fate. Indeed, investigation will show that, as between Negroes and whites, what bloc voting there is, is white bloc voting.

BUILDING political strength, learning how to play practical politics, learning how to reward

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Polls have shown that President John F. Kennedy is favored by Negroes 30 to 1 for re-election, and registration figures show Negroes registered from 74 to 85 per cent Democratic, with fewer than 12 per cent Republican.

What happens to these ratios will depend, somewhat, on whether the President can lead his Democratic Congress into passing significant new civil rights legislation, on whether the President starts "going soft" on civil rights in order to hold Dixiecrat support, and on whether the Republicans nominate a candidate who can give President Kennedy any real competition.

The Kennedy name has come to have electric meaning for Negroes, both as President and Attorney General. They have not only spoken, but acted. They are not held responsible for the behavior of Southern Democrats. There is not likely to be any mass defection from President Kennedy by Negro voters in 1964 even if his civil rights program is not enacted fully by Congress.

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BUILDING political strength, learning how to play practical politics, learning how to reward friends and punish enemies, and increasingly paying their own way in politics are the ways in which Negroes seem destined to win the fruits that politics is capable of giving. To this end, amid and after the present demonstrations, Negroes will or will need to:

- (1) Continue their campaign to make the masses of their people vote-conscious and to point out the potentialities of political activism.
- (2) Integrate themselves as much as possible into the political party organizations that exist and that will come into being.
- (3) Join with other groups to elect to office candidates who accept the reality that all Americans are entitled to equal opportunity, even in politics and government, and that the Civil War is over.
- (4) Use their numbers in certain political units of government as an asset rather than a liability and, through political action, obtain for their communities what they have lacked.
- (5) Become public-relations conscious to assure the well-meaning majority that the Negro wants all freedom here and now, but not with the objective of denying any other American his freedom.
- (6) Remain organizationally strong to prevent a recession after the Negro has made his gains and to prevent the kind of loss sustained after reconstruction.

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There is no evidence that a Goldwater can lead the Republican party into performing a miracle in 1964, as far as Negroes are concerned. It appears doubtful that Goldwater could carry the South next year.

Our Electoral College, with its "winner take all" method of allocating votes, gives Negroes a significant role in deciding presidential elections. In 13 northern and border states, Negroes hold a pivotal position. In each of these states there are enough registered Negro voters—50,000 or more—to be decisive in a close election if they unite in throwing their support. In the 1960 election, these states — New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, California, New Jersey, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Oklahoma—held a total of 260 electoral votes. That is only eight fewer than required for election next year.

In exercising his increasing political power, will the Negro act and vote as a political bloc wherever possible? Much of the answer will depend on whether he is forced to live in islands

such support might have been effective. Baltimore and Memphis are recent examples where all-Negro slates have failed either partially or totally, although Negro voters might have prevented such a fate. Indeed, investigation will show that, as between Negroes and whites, what bloc voting there is, is white bloc voting.

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- (5) Become public-relations conscious to assure the well-meaning majority that the Negro wants all freedom here and now, but not with the objective of denying any other American his freedom.
- (6) Remain organizationally strong to prevent a recession after the Negro has made his gains and to prevent the kind of loss sustained after reconstruction.
- (7) Strengthen their internal weaknesses as to family organization, care for their children and their preparation for citizenship responsibilities, to the end that they increase the quality of American society in general and, in particular, make their maximum contribution wherever they are called to serve.

The fundamental challenge to white Americans will be to bring themselves to share the United States and what it stands for, at its best, with all Americans, regardless of race, religion, color or previous condition of servitude; to strengthen their faith in the American system and its ideals so that they can support colored Americans for office employ them on merit and treat them generally as equals, each person being judged as an individual, socially and economically.

TOMORROW: Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director, National Urban League, and Rayford W. Logan, head of the history department, Howard University.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

'Marshall Plan' for Negroes, Preferential Treatment Urged As an Indemnity for Injustices

Urban League Calls for Crash Program to Close Economic, Education Gaps — Could Cost \$12,000,000,000

By WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR.

Executive Director
National Urban League

FIFTH OF A SERIES

DEMANDS FOR EQUALITY IN VOTING, in education, in job opportunity, in housing, in public places are long past due.

Every major city in the United States has felt some manifestations of the current unrest and burning desire of its Negro citizens for equality—now. Hundreds of smaller communities have experienced the discontent that has spread like wildfire and that has illuminated the land with the flames of a modern revolution.

Civil rights legislation being considered by Congress is far from adequate, even to meet needs with which legislation can deal. And civil rights laws, however commendable, will not substantially erase the piled-up conditions inherited by Negroes from slavery and post-slavery segregation and discrimination.

We stand today on the verge of winning rights and respect long denied. But rights and respect are empty symbols unless they are translated into tangible social, economic and cultural gains.

STATISTICS ON JOBS, income, death rate, housing and education show clearly that the past exists in the present. This persistence of the past will continue even if, tomorrow, all forms and attitudes of discrimination were eliminated and true equality in custom and law were achieved. The burden of years of inadequate income, deprived education, menial jobs, social and psychological humiliation would remain. This is the force of inertia preventing true equality of opportunity for the majority of Negro citizens.

To overcome these conditions, the National Urban League believes the nation must undertake immediate, dramatic and tangible crash programs to close the intolerable economic, social and educational gap which separates the vast majority of Negro citizens from other Americans. This gap widens every year.

This all-out attack, a "Marshall Plan for Negroes," must be a co-operative effort on the part of all agencies, institutions and individuals, public and private. If sustained for 10 years, it could reverse the widespread social deterioration of urban families and communities and

ting the best teachers in slum schools or in classes where children are the slowest learners. Schools and colleges must find ways to seek out and provide scholarships for Negro youths with potential talents because these youths are still among the most economically disadvantaged. They must be given personal encouragement to seek higher education because they are part of a culturally deprived group.

Employment — A planned effort should be made to place qualified Negroes in all categories of employment and levels of responsibility. It would mean that the employer would consciously seek to hire qualified Negroes and to invest extra time and effort in training programs to upgrade Negroes. Employers would examine personnel practices and plan how to make their opportunities known to the Negro community through the Urban League and the Negro press.

Housing—Racial ghettos would be eliminated by providing genuine housing opportunity on the basis of need and financial ability. For example, the real estate agent or apartment owner would deliberately seek out Negroes as tenants.

Health and welfare services — They would be greatly improved for the Negro community. Public and private agencies would be adequately staffed with competent personnel who understand the complex problems of the urban Negro community.

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WHITNEY M. YOUNG JR. (above) has put the National Urban League in the forefront of those who are urging special compensatory programs to make up for the disadvantages American Negroes have suffered for so many years. He also has brought a new sense of urgency to the league. Perhaps the most professional but least demonstrative of civil rights groups, the 53-year-old organization specializes in job training and social welfare programs.

Young, who is 42 years old, has been its executive director since October 1961. Prior to that he was dean of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University. He was a pre-medical student at Kentucky State College in Frankfurt where he received his bachelor degree when he was only 18. Changing his field of study, he took a master's degree in social work at the University of Minnesota.

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cies, private foundations, business and industry would reassess the extent and aims of their financial contributions to established Negro leadership organizations. Financial support must be increased substantially if full and equal opportunity for the Negro citizen is to be achieved.

Responsibility—Negro citizens would be actively encouraged to carry their full share of responsibility for a meaningful community life.

For years there has been a privileged class of citizens—the white citizens. There has been preferential treatment for whites, and now there should be a transitional period of preferential treatment for Negroes.

Negro workers are in the three lowest occupational categories—service workers, semiskilled workers and unskilled and farm labor — the categories most affected by automation.

The nation must embark on a domestic Marshall Plan—to help the masses of Negroes to help themselves and, by so doing, reach the point at which they can compete on a realistic basis of equality and achieve their full share of human rights.

This special effort can be considered a kind of indemnification—a repayment in new programs and services to compensate for past racial injustices. This, unquestionably, is the only way that the majority of Negro citizens can be prepared for as-

THE UNITED STATES realized after the second World War that it was in jeopardy as long as it had among its allies nations unable to assume full responsibilities. It must now realize that it is in jeopardy as long as it has within its body politic a socially and economically handicapped group of citizens — the majority of whom are often dependent, poorly educated and unable to assume the normal responsibilities of citizenship.

Without a bold, genuine preventive effort, it is almost inevitable that conditions will become worse and that we will by default create a class of permanently dependent citizens unable to make a useful contribution to the nation's growth.

As an Indemnity for Injustices

Urban League Calls for Crash Program to Close Economic, Education Gaps — Could Cost \$12,000,000,000

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To overcome these conditions, the National Urban League believes the nation must undertake immediate, dramatic and tangible crash programs to close the intolerable economic, social and educational gap which separates the vast majority of Negro citizens from other Americans. This gap widens every year.

This all-out attack, a "Marshall Plan for Negroes," must be a co-operative effort on the part of all agencies, institutions and individuals, public and private. If sustained for 10 years, it could reverse the widespread social deterioration of urban families and communities and help develop tools and understanding for progress to full and equal citizenship. The cost probably would exceed the 12 billion dollars the United States poured into Europe under the Marshall Plan.

MAJOR ELEMENTS of the crash program proposed by the Urban League include:

Education—First-class schools and teachers would be provided to help Negroes realize their potential and prepare them to take advantage of educational opportunity. It would mean put-

ting the best teachers in slum schools or in classes where children are the slowest learners. Schools and colleges must find ways to seek out and provide scholarships for Negro youths with potential talents because these youths are still among the most economically disadvantaged. They must be given personal encouragement to seek higher education because they are part of a culturally deprived group.

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Public leadership—Qualified Negroes would be sought and named to all public and private boards and commissions, in particular those which shape employment, housing, education, health and welfare policy. To achieve this objective, strong leadership would be developed in the Negro community. This leadership will in turn form the vanguard of the civil rights effort.

SELF-IMPROVEMENT—Every means would be utilized to strengthen the social and economic fabric of the Negro community. Negro citizens, young and old, would be afforded, and encouraged to exploit, every opportunity to acquire education and technical skills.

Financing—Government agen-



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Without a bold, genuine preventive effort, it is almost inevitable that conditions will become worse and that we will by default create a class of permanently dependent citizens unable to make a useful contribution to the nation's growth.

A massive attack on social, economic and cultural problems represents the only way in which significant progress can be made. The civil rights struggle has been characterized as the "Negro revolt." This term may be appropriate in some respects. But today's movement differs from revolutions in that it is an attempt by an underprivileged element of society not to change the fabric of society but to "revolt" into partnership with it. It is a revolt with which every American should sympathize.

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For years there has been a privileged class of citizens—the white citizens. There has been preferential treatment for whites, and now there should be a transitional period of preferential treatment for Negroes.

The community must consciously include the Negro, whereas in the past it has consciously excluded him. Such a form of discrimination is justified if the gap is to be closed.

HOW WIDE the gap is appears clearly in the following figures: The average Negro family today earns \$3233 as compared with \$5835 for the white family, a difference of 45 per cent. This gap has widened by 2 per cent in the last decade.

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Negro workers are in the three lowest occupational categories—service workers, semiskilled workers and unskilled and farm labor—the categories most affected by automation.

The nation must embark on a domestic Marshall Plan—to help the masses of Negroes to help themselves and, by so doing, reach the point at which they can compete on a realistic basis of equality and achieve their full share of human rights.

This special effort can be considered a kind of indemnification—a repayment in new programs and services to compensate for past racial injustices. This, unquestionably, is the only way that the majority of Negro citizens can be prepared for assuming the increasing responsibilities that they will face in a more integrated society.

This program for restoration of loss might take the form of a law of restitution to correct, as far as possible, the effects of slavery and segregation. A massive fund might be set aside by the Federal Government for such purposes as these: Job training and apprentice programs, educational counseling and guidance, book buying and tutoring programs, special training and fellowships in the arts,

Thurs., Aug. 29, 1963 ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Outcome of Civil Rights Drive May Not Be Decided for Years

By RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Head of the Department of History
Howard University, Washington

ONE HUNDRED YEARS after the Emancipation Proclamation, American Negroes are demanding equal rights with insistence and urgency that have startled the nation, surprised older Negro leaders and strengthened the opposition of segregationists.

The outcome of this tug-of-war is undecided; in my judgment it will remain undecided for many years regardless of yesterday's March on Washington, of federal and state civil rights laws, of Supreme Court and lower court decisions, of federal and state executive orders.

This is not a prediction. It is a firm judgment based on the pattern of the long struggle of American Negroes for equal rights and of the resistance to this struggle. The evidence is convincing that the violence of the resistance has generally been in direct proportion to the thrust of the Negroes' quest. At times the North has joined the South in this resistance, with varying degrees of unanimity in both sections.

THE MORE STOUTLY abolitionists condemned slavery, the more vigorously the South defended it. Some northerners supported southern views, and a few led mobs in northern cities against abolitionists, men and women, white and Negro. When Lincoln's election in 1860 caused alarm that he would prevent the expansion of slavery into free territories and that he might emancipate slaves, the Southern states began the secession which led to the Civil War and to emancipation. Draft riots in New York City in July 1863 dramatized the opposition of some Northerners to a war that was clearly being fought for emancipation.

After the war, the South resisted so successfully the efforts of the Federal Government to give Negroes a measure of civil rights that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Federal Government had practically abandoned its efforts. Most white leaders in the North, most leading Northern magazines and newspapers acquiesced in the victory of the South. Negro leaders, with the notable exception of the late W.E.B. Du Bois, faced the future with gloom and despair.

The first 15 years of the twentieth century were relatively calm, primarily because neither the Federal Government nor Negroes and their few white allies made efforts that seemed to threaten the victory of the

Court decisions, caused mild apprehension among the defenders of the old order.

This apprehension exploded in a new "Southern revolt" after the Supreme Court in 1954 declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and in 1955 established guidelines for implementing the 1954 decision. President Dwight D. Eisenhower muted the force of this "revolt" when he sent federal troops in 1957 to prevent Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas from using the National Guard to keep Negro children out of Central High School in Little Rock.

The mild civil rights law of 1957, the first civil rights law since 1875, and the slightly stronger civil rights law of 1960 irritated the South and caused sporadic efforts to circumvent them.

After the fiasco of Faubus, Southern states resorted to ingenious laws and delaying court actions to permit only token school desegregation. Rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission which prohibited segregation in railway and bus terminals, Supreme Court decisions which extended the principle of the school cases to busses, streetcars and public recreational facilities caused further perturbations—again, especially in the South, but to some degree in the North.

The gathering storm became a hurricane when President John F. Kennedy in October 1962 used federal marshals, the Mississippi National Guard and Regular Army units to enroll a Negro, James H. Meredith, at the University of Mississippi. The hurricane hardly abated when, last June, Gov. George Wallace of Alabama made his futile stand in the doorway to prevent the enrollment of a Negro student at the University of Alabama.

MEANWHILE a strong gale had developed as the result of renewed freedom rides, sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts and, above all, of street demonstrations. These activist movements led President Kennedy to send to Congress on June 19 a special message calling for more comprehensive civil rights legislation than he had proposed in February.

In mid-August 1963, the ef-

leaders in the North, most leading Northern magazines and newspapers acquiesced in the victory of the South. Negro leaders, with the notable exception of the late W.E.B. Du Bois, faced the future with gloom and despair.

The first 15 years of the twentieth century were relatively calm, primarily because neither the Federal Government nor Negroes and their few white allies made efforts that seemed to threaten the victory of the South in imposing its will on the nation. Little heed was paid to the "revolt of Negro intellectuals," led by Du Bois, then an authentic American radical.

Practically no one foresaw in 1910 the later menace of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of the National Urban League to the supporters of second-class citizenship. Two Supreme Court decisions in 1915 which for the first time declared unconstitutional state action, limiting Negro suffrage aroused little concern because the decisions involved only the border states of Oklahoma and Maryland.

WORLD WAR I jolted the complacency of opponents of Negroes' increasing demands. Negroes from the South joined Northern Negroes in a new militancy; Negro troops returning from France, wanted to enjoy at home some of the democracy for which they had supposedly fought. Bloody riots in some Northern and Southern cities failed to convince many Negroes that they should continue to accept their subordinate place in American society.

In the late 1920s the Ku Klux Klan lost most of its power to frighten Negroes, Jews and Catholics, and another period of relative quiet ensued. From the late 1920s to 1941, the NAACP won many victories in the courts. The effect of these decisions disproved William Graham Sumner's dictum that "stateways cannot change folkways." But the impact was not sufficiently great to cause dismay to the defenders of the old order.

World War II shook the foundations of American society with greater force than had World War I, and a race riot in Detroit, in 1943, revealed again that some Northern communities were as determined, as was most of the South to oppose Negroes' increasing demands for first-class citizenship. During and after the war, the National Urban League's quiet negotiations gained new but limited job opportunities for Negroes. Small-scale freedom rides and sit-ins by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Quakers in the 1940s achieved a few victories.

FEDERAL executive orders and a few laws enacted by Northern states established the principle that there should be no discrimination in employment on account of "race, religion, color or national origin"; and President Harry S Truman's executive order of July 26, 1948, declared a policy of "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services." These executive orders and state laws, and new Supreme

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In mid-August 1963, the effectiveness of these activities on the local level cannot be accurately stated. For instance, Albany, Ga., remains almost as rigidly segregated as it was a year ago. Limited breakthroughs have been achieved in Durham, Charleston, Savannah, Birmingham, Philadelphia and New York. An uneasy quiet reigns in Cambridge, Md., but Salisbury and Easton, Md., profiting from the experience of Cambridge, quietly desegregated.

For a few weeks in the early summer of 1963, leaders of the NAACP deemed it politic to support the street demonstrations. Recently, they have tended to return to their traditional procedures of court action.

The persuasiveness of Burke Marshall, assistant Attorney General for civil rights, the damage to the image of the United States abroad from the use of police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses on Negro demonstrators, the growing awareness of the limited effectiveness of street demonstrations, and the intervention of the power structure, especially in the strife-torn Southern communities, have brought a lull in the storm.

TAKEN TOGETHER, the events since 1954 have created one of the most significant movements in the history of the long and difficult struggle for full civil rights. The importance of the period has been enhanced by this year's sudden burst of public interest and awareness, so frequently lacking in the past, and by the fact that President Kennedy has been forced at last to seek a relatively full program of civil rights legislation.

Difficult to forecast is the effectiveness of whatever civil rights legislation may be enacted. I do not foresee a civil war even if the pending civil rights legislation is enacted and even if an effective fair employment practices measure is added to it. Nor do I foresee willing acceptance of the legislation even if it is weakened. I expect grudging acceptance on the whole and pockets of resistance, North and South, a resistance in proportion to the vigor of enforcement.

We Negroes are not likely to get "all our rights now." I agree with a forecast made recently by President James M. Nabrit Jr. of Howard University, who predicted four years of continued struggle, then a period of relative quiet in which we Negroes will consolidate our gains before "advancing in other areas." This wise assessment, it seems to me, is rooted in the historical process of the American Negroes' struggle for equal rights and of resistance to that struggle.

Tomorrow: James Farmer, national director, Congress of Racial Equality, and Luther H. Foster, president of Iuskers Institute.

THE NEGRO SPEAKS

Progress Cited in Race Relations Said to Appear to Negroes As Maddeningly Slow Tokenism

Anger Is Deep-Seated — Fast Changes Called Necessary if Movement Is to Remain Nonviolent

By **JAMES FARMER**
National Director Congress of Racial Equality

SIXTH OF A SERIES

THERE IS A SPECIAL ELOQUENCE in nonviolent direct action; it speaks in a metaphor of brutality and love. Here, in the words of Elaine Weinberger, wife of the cruelly beaten Congress of Racial Equality veteran, Eric Weinberger, is a true reason for "the mood of the Negro community." It happened in Brownsville, Tennessee.

"The action started almost immediately. Water hoses were turned on the demonstrators, the police dog was turned loose, tear gas was used (or some acid which burns the skin). Some of the assembled white crowd began to beat on the demonstrators but the police, it seemed, had one major concern: the white demonstrator, Eric. When they started dragging him, no less than six men started beating him; they sprayed tear gas on him, put the dog on his head, used electric cattle probers. There were white men still waiting with bricks, knives, etc. I've been told that they waited well past nightfall.

"One 55-year-old Negro man who happened to be in the square when the demonstrators arrived was beaten up quite badly, and he also was arrested, but released soon after. Another Negro man who witnessed this unhappy event came home in a terribly upset state, cried in disbelief, was so sickened by it all a doctor was needed. Saturday this town was in hell."

I have always felt that truth, unvarnished, is one of our most potent weapons. Yes, the Negro is angry . . . but not just in the Gethsemane of Brownsville, but throughout this ill-jobbed, ill-housed, ill-educated world.

IRONICALLY, much of the white community feels that there has been vast progress in the past few years in the areas of education, employment, housing and public accommodations. But the American Negro sees nothing but a maddening slowness and tokenism. He sees James Meredith in the University of Mississippi, but he also sees ONLY

James Meredith in the University of Mississippi. He sees integrated lunch counters, but he sees a blackout in jobs which could give him the wherewithal to enjoy newly desegregated facilities.

This is the temperament, the mood, the sense of historic timing that make it manifest that the entire job must be accomplished quickly, if not immediately.

A key word here is proximity. It is only in housing, employment and educational proximity as well as proximity at the lunch counter that an even more basic problem be approached; and that is the emotional and deeply-seated resentments of the oppressed American Negro, the deeply seated discriminatory drive of the American white man. The answer lies only in the social and physical dialogue of men who work, learn, live and sit together.

No one of these tasks is more important than the other. No one of these tasks can be ignored. We must fight on all fronts at once.

IN TRUTH, the Negro wants more than freedom. The Negro wants a recovery of pride, a sense of simple dignity, a genuine competitive social and economic equality. All of this must be understood in terms of an enormous awakening within the Negro community. An awakening which places a sustained burden of proof upon the white community; the entire nation, and its entire power structure. It is not enough to grant equality when your arm is being bent; the nation must BELIEVE that the Negro is right in his petition — because there is no other



JAMES FARMER

A founder of the Congress of Racial Equality, one of the early pioneers in developing nonviolent, direct action methods for tackling racial problems. In 1943, the year after CORE was established, it conducted a sit-in against a Chicago restaurant. From 1949 to 1953 CORE members used picket lines and sit-ins in a successful effort to break segregation at lunch counters in St. Louis.

Farmer is a tall and husky man, 43 years old. He speaks eloquently, with a note of controlled intensity seeming always to underlie his deep, resonant voice. He is a graduate of Wiley College in Marshall, Tex., and of the School of Religion of Howard University, Washington.

In his adherence to nonviolent direct action techniques, he sees himself as a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Before becoming national director of CORE in March 1961 he had been program director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, worked in a southern union organizing drive and for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

choice except the choice that is written in blood.

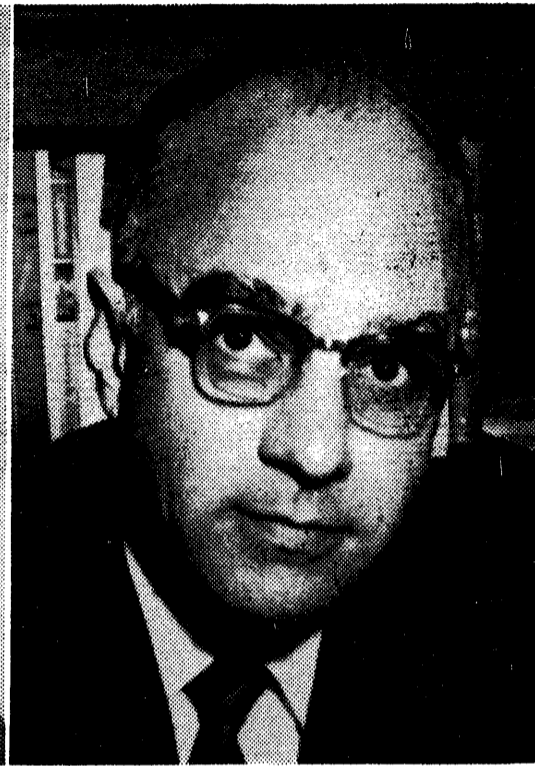
The anger is deeply seated, historic. It is the anger of a man long taught to stare at his toes who now has proudly leveled his eyes at his antagonist. There is no geography in this anger and as the months of protest and oppression pass, the usual apathy and distance of the upper and middle class Negro are being replaced with commitment both personal and economic.

Walk in the ghetto streets, North and South, and you will sense the immediacy of the demand. Listen to the singing in

the jails, where the whole white superstructure of control, the clinical redress of the state, is made lyric with a unison of Negro voices.

I DO NOT THINK it really relevant to dissect this community in the usual sociological terms . . . the "trends" are strong and inexorable, the "power structure" has overflowed into the entire body of the people.

And now there is no turning back. Brownsville must be lifted from Eric Weinberger's "hell." The arms the Negro extends are open . . . but they will not remain open. If there is no relief,



LUTHER H. FOSTER

As president of Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, Foster has at his command a vast amount of knowledge about the serious difficulties afflicting rural America. Study of these problems, particularly as they affect Negroes, is one of the institution's major activities.

It was at Tuskegee that the late George Washington Carver, famous Negro botanist, conducted much of his research, which had far-reaching effects on the nation's agriculture. Booker T. Washington, who won renown as a Negro educator, was first principal of the institute when it was established by the Alabama Legislature in 1881.

Foster, who has been president of Tuskegee since 1953, has a lively interest in both rural problems and higher education. In 1955 he served as American representative on a committee established by the Indian government for the study of rural education in that nation. He has been a member of a number of educational and vocational advisory committees created by federal and other agencies.

the arms will close and the weapons will appear.

Eric is white, a gentle and poetic man . . . a witness to his belief that the bath of blood will begin only when the races close ranks against one another. That is why we walk unarmed into the war, Negro and white together, striking at every visible and invisible sign of racial hatred.

(Weinberger, who lives in Brownsville, took part in a demonstration with a group of Negroes Aug. 3 there. Police said that the group, carrying placards demanding racial equality, threw themselves to the pavement when ordered to disperse.)

Fri., Aug. 30, 1963

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Negroes in the Rural South Are Most Disadvantaged of U.S.

By LUTHER H. FOSTER

President Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

IN THE LAST 25 YEARS no other segment of the population of the United States has experienced more disturbing and complex problems than have rural Southerners, particularly Negroes. They may not be a forgotten population, but they certainly enjoy no high priority in public concern, despite the fact that the rural Southern Negro is the most disadvantaged population group in the country.

In the rural South changes in social organization, including modification of the status of the Negro, have lagged behind changes in agricultural technology and in the economy. This characteristic to defend tradition and to resist change is fraught with tension and potential conflict within the area. Those who control the government often try to continue the status quo, and without Negroes sharing in the decision-making of local government, there is small hope of Negroes' having the public services in rural areas that are now common in cities.

IN AN IDEAL democratic setting, of course, the solution to the problems of rural Negroes would be for both races to work together for the benefit of all concerned. This is well-nigh impossible in most Southern rural communities, so a more realistic approach must be followed without delay.

The plight of Negroes in the rural South must have the increasing interest, intervention and vigilance of the Federal Government if there is to be relief from the limited production potential of the Negro population. Nonprofit organizations, such as the National Sharecroppers Fund and the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, have given assistance to some facets of the problem, but the greatest help to rural Negroes will have to come through federal agencies for the foreseeable future.

The extent of the rural Negro's burden is revealed clearly by his income and education. The median family income for the United States in 1960 was \$5660; for white rural families, 4981; and for nonwhite rural families, \$1917. More than 80 per cent of the nonwhite rural people in each and all the states had annual family income

Yet there remain more than 5,500,000 nonwhite people in rural areas, and 85 per cent of these are in the south. Moreover, public concern — that sometimes amounts to alarm—over the influx of rural Negroes into cities has left almost unnoticed what was happening in the areas from which these persons had come.

The largest problems of Negroes in the rural South are employment and education. When they are displaced from traditional agricultural employment, new jobs are not open to them because of limited levels of skills and abilities.

Of paramount importance in raising the productivity potential of the rural Negro is a drastic change in the educational system. The dual system of education in the South is costly and has resulted in inadequate facilities and teachers for both white and Negro youth. Relief will come through rapid desegregation of public schools, federal aid to education, continued consolidation of school districts and the provision of more area trade schools.

The migratory farm bills, now before the Congress, will help. These are designed to establish a five-year program of grants to the states to provide day-care for the 415,000 children of farm workers, to build sanitation facilities at field work areas, and to provide for the added cost of educating the migratory children and of pilot adult education for their parents.

ANOTHER GREAT problem in improving the condition of rural Negroes is that programs designed to aid them do not include Negroes on a representative basis when they reach the local level. Many of the federal and state agencies have failed to serve rural Negroes in the

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THE DEGREE of educational disadvantage is suggested in median years of school completed by persons 25 years and over. For the United States, the median school grade completed was 10.6, the 1960 census showed. In the South the median school grade completed was 10.4 for whites and 7.1 for nonwhites.

The median school grade completed for rural Negroes over 25 years old in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina was between five and six years; in Texas, eight years. Rural white persons 25 years and over had completed less than nine years in Alabama, less than 10 years in Mississippi and less than 11 years in South Carolina and Texas.

Rapid and far-reaching changes in the structure of agriculture, as well as technological advances, have altered the "face" of the rural South and have resulted in chronic unemployment in an area which has long been blighted by a low economy. Farm machinery that efficiently cultivates and harvests crops has decreased the demand for farm workers. As farms grow both in terms of capital requirements and gross annual sales, the small farmer finds himself engaged in an economically unsound venture. Thus, tenant farms have decreased more than one-half during the last quarter of a century; and changes in farm enterprises from traditional crop production have resulted in further replacement of farm workers. Negroes have been most adversely affected by unemployment in this transitional period.

AGAINST THIS PATTERN of economic change and with evidence that no clear solutions to problems of unemployment were in sight, rural Negroes began migrating to urban areas to seek employment—in the last 10 years about 1,500,000 Negroes left the Southern farms.

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ANOTHER GREAT problem in improving the condition of rural Negroes is that programs designed to aid them do not include Negroes on a representative basis when they reach the local level. Many of the federal and state agencies have failed to serve rural Negroes in the same manner that they have rendered services to whites.

The Rural Area Development program is now attempting to meet the challenge of rural poverty by retraining large numbers of unemployed and underemployed persons. Progress of RAD will depend on co-operation between the races at the local level, which is often thwarted by the customs of prejudice and discrimination.

Problems of health are greatest in areas where income is lowest, with concomitant poor medical facilities. These are indeed grave for rural Negroes in the South. The Hill-Burton act passed in 1946 allowed "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes. Of 5888 Hill-Burton hospital and related projects, as of the end of 1961, only 98 had been constructed as segregated facilities; the remainder, however, were not integrated. The department of Health, Education and Welfare has taken the position that once a project is built, the department does not inquire into its internal operations. The Federal Government should insist that any health facility for which federal funds are spent must be open to all without discrimination.

THE RURAL NEGRO in the South currently seems caught in a labyrinth of educational, economic and cultural deprivation, which is contrived and controlled by hard-core farm barons and entrenched politicians. This bewildering state of affairs will pass, however, with the continued help of the Federal Government, the dedicated work of sincere citizens and numerous nonprofit organizations and the increasingly effective action by Negroes in their own behalf.

The status of the rural Negro—just as that of Negroes throughout the United States—will be raised as soon as he can become a fully participating citizen and can enjoy opportunities which are rightfully his in a democratic society.

Sunday: Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro Speaks: Scientists Have Repudiated Concept of Inherently Superior, Inferior Races

Doctrine Is Said to Have Inhibited Incentive

By The Rev. Dr. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

LAST OF A SERIES

NO ONE PERSON is wise enough to speak adequately for 20,000,000 Negroes. I believe, however, that millions of Negroes will assent to much of what I say here.

The Negro wants the abolition of segregation and discrimination in education based on race. He wants equality of opportunity in education and wants deliberate attempts made to compensate for the educational disabilities imposed on Negroes in 350 years of slavery and caste.

Slavery and segregation have been justified on the ground that Negroes are biologically inferior. This view was expressed by leading scientists of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is only in the last 40 years that anthropologists and other scientists have unearthed new data and gained new insights which enable them to repudiate the doctrine of inherently "inferior" or "superior" races.

This view of Negro inferiority was eloquently dramatized in books, magazines, newspapers, movies and on the platform. It caused the Negro to be provided with inferior education, poor paying jobs, inferior public accommodations. It denied him the use of the ballot. It reflected itself in lynching, police brutality and in inequality before the law. If it could be believed that the Negro was an inferior being, the inalienable human rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence did not apply to him.

LIVING IN SUCH an environment, the Negro suffered irreparable damage in spirit and mind. Some Negroes accepted the myth of inferiority and governed themselves accordingly. Virtually all Negroes had to aim low. There was little incentive to strive for excellence because a low ceiling and not the sky was the limit for them. Everything in the environment told Negroes that high aims were not meant for them.



DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., for nearly 25 years, the Rev. Dr. Mays is an educator and churchman of international standing. His credentials in the field of civil rights are equally impressive. As long ago as 1929 he was writing of the "new Negro" and his challenge to the old order of society. He has written frequently on problems of integration, particularly as they affect education and the church.

He is a Baptist minister and was dean of the school of religion at Howard University in Washington, D.C., from 1934 to 1940. Prior to that he was a teacher, pastor, social worker, YMCA secretary, director of a study of Negro churches in the United States and executive secretary of an Urban League local. He was graduated with honors from Bates College in Lewiston, Me., and received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago.

He has been president of Morehouse since 1940. Established in 1867 when many persons questioned the ability of the Negro to learn, this liberal arts college for Negro men has grown over the years. It is one of six institutions affiliated in the Atlanta university system.

A compensatory educational program for Negroes in the South probably would cost millions of dollars every year.

A great responsibility rests on Negroes and all who teach Negro youth, from the first grade through college. It must be made clear to Negro students that a new day is ap-

Court. Some have used tokenism and devious devices to avoid full compliance and there are others who do not intend to comply at all.

A survey last December showed that in 11 Southern states — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, North and

Special Programs Urged to Atonement for Deprivations

to expect wholesale voluntary action to eliminate inequality in education.

Residential segregation in housing may mean that de facto segregation in schools will be with us for some time. The Negro expects school officials to work out programs designed to eliminate all schools serving only Negroes and all schools serving only whites. Achieving this end will not be easy, for the problem is difficult and complicated.

Schools that are predominantly Negro in enrollment should be provided with up-to-date buildings, modern equipment and the best teachers, while ways are being sought to wipe out segregation. Segregated schools for Negroes are more than likely to be neglected. Faculties in de facto segregated areas and elsewhere should be thoroughly mixed. Negroes should serve on school boards and in administrative capacities on a nonsegregated basis.

THE NEGRO does not want discrimination in education in a desegregated society. He believes that integration (I prefer "desegregation") is a two way street. Every state institution, whether formerly all Negro or all white, should be first-rate, and racial barriers should be eradicated.

The West Virginia State College and Lincoln University in Missouri have large enrollments of white students, and this pattern will be followed in Southern states in due course. No state can afford to run a second-class college. Negroes will expect nothing less than the best in state colleges. An institution, whether formerly serving all Negroes or all whites, must be judged by the quality of its education. If it is first rate in what it offers, the question of its former racial designation will have less and less significance.

The Negro expects a two-way street in education in private institutions as well. Here again an institution should be judged on need and the quality of education.

Private and church-related Negro colleges have contributed much to American life. One of their major contributions is in performing a function that the best white colleges have

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LIVING IN SUCH an environment, the Negro suffered irreparable damage in spirit and mind. Some Negroes accepted the myth of inferiority and governed themselves accordingly. Virtually all Negroes had to aim low. There was little incentive to strive for excellence because a low ceiling and not the sky was the limit for them. Everything in the environment told Negroes that high aims were not meant for them.

This situation explains in part the fact that although Negroes are 10 per cent of the total population, they are only about three and one-half per cent of the collegiate enrollment. If three times as many Negroes were in college, we would have three times as many competent Negroes available for jobs in government and industry. It is against this background that I shall try to state briefly what the Negro expects in education.

He wants America to make amends for the crippling circumscriptions imposed on Negroes for centuries by providing the support needed to enable them to take advantage of opportunities now opening up to them. To expect Negroes in large numbers to be ready, without previous opportunity, experience and training, to occupy the new jobs that are becoming available is to expect the miraculous.

If Negroes have been cheated of billions of dollars in the past by being provided with inferior, segregated education, it is not unreasonable for them to want and expect support needed to overcome handicaps in as short a time as possible. If special programs are needed to upgrade potentially able Negro students, they should be provided. The cost will be high.



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A great responsibility rests on Negroes and all who teach Negro youth, from the first grade through college. It must be made clear to Negro students that a new day is appearing and that they can strive for excellence because the sky is beginning to be the limit. Teachers can tell Negro students truthfully that top government officials in Washington and executives in industry are looking for talent, and that race is a declining factor.

WHEN THE NEGRO boy and girl get this message, drop-outs will decline, more Negroes will go to college, and instead of 40 Negro men in college to every 60 Negro women, the number will be equalized or reversed.

In addition to incentive and motivation, large financial assistance must be found to guarantee aid to deserving boys and girls who for economic reasons would never be able to attend high school and college. Federal scholarship grants are needed.

Because the Negro believes that public segregated education for Negroes is almost invariably inferior to public education for whites, he wants school officials everywhere to strive honestly and speedily to eliminate segregation and discrimination based on race. Some school officials have not been honest in endeavors to abide by the May 17, 1954, school desegregation decision of the United States Supreme

Court. Some have used tokenism and devious devices to avoid full compliance and there are others who do not intend to comply at all.

A survey last December showed that in 11 Southern states — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia — only four-tenths of one per cent of all Negro children were attending classes with white youngsters. Of 2,803,882 Negro pupils in public elementary and secondary schools, only 12,212 were in integrated classes. If the desegregation rate of the last nine years does not improve, it will take more than 2000 years to integrate fully schools in these states.

The Federal Government should be more vigorous in seeking compliance with the Supreme Court decision. In addition, new legislation may be needed requiring school districts to put desegregation plans in effect by specified deadlines and allowing the Federal Government to initiate school desegregation suits.

IT IS the responsibility of the Federal Government to see to it that its laws are obeyed. When federal money is appropriated for education, the Negro expects the Federal Government to protect him against discrimination in the use of such funds. Such protection should be expressly provided. In the use of federal money, Southern states have rarely dealt fairly with the Negro.

It is too much a strain on the goodness of human nature

only Negroes and all schools serving only whites. Achieving this end will not be easy, for the problem is difficult and complicated.

Schools that are predominantly Negro in enrollment should be provided with up-to-date buildings, modern equipment and the best teachers, while ways are being sought to wipe out segregation. Segregated schools for Negroes are more than likely to be neglected. Faculties in de facto segregated areas and elsewhere should be thoroughly mixed. Negroes should serve on school boards and in administrative capacities on a nonsegregated basis.

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The West Virginia State College and Lincoln University in Missouri have large enrollments of white students, and this pattern will be followed in Southern states in due course. No state can afford to run a second-class college. Negroes will expect nothing less than the best in state colleges. An institution, whether formerly serving all Negroes or all whites, must be judged by the quality of its education. If it is first rate in what it offers, the question of its former racial designation will have less and less significance.

The Negro expects a two-way street in education in private institutions as well. Here again an institution should be judged on need and the quality of education.

Private and church-related Negro colleges have contributed much to American life. One of their major contributions is in performing a function that the best white colleges have no interest in undertaking. Many Negro students enter private Negro colleges economically, culturally and educationally deprived, but after four years in these colleges they are qualified to enter the best graduate and professional schools of the nation. Many of them would have been denied admission to the freshman classes of these same universities.

THE DOORS of the private Negro colleges have never been closed to white students. Since 1954 an increasing number of white students has been enrolling and graduating from these colleges. This trend will continue. The colleges serving mainly Negroes do not have to get ready for integration. They were born integrated.

It will be good for America if these colleges, which for the most part have been meagerly supported, are now substantially supported by philanthropy so that no manpower will be allowed to go undeveloped and no potentially able person will be lost to government, industry, education, art, religion, law and business.

The Negro student must understand that larger opportunities carry with them larger responsibilities to serve the community and the nation.

From "Riders To The Blood-Red Wrath"

The following excerpt is the concluding half of a new poem, never previously published, by Gwendolyn Brooks, Pulitzer prize-winning poet. It will appear in full in her forthcoming book, *SELECTED POEMS*, to be published September 25 by Harper & Row

By GWENDOLYN BROOKS

I remember kings.
A blossoming palace. Silver. Ivory.
The conventional wealth of stalking Africa.
All bright, all bestial. Snarling marvelously.
I remember my right to roughly run and roar.
My right to raid the sun, consult the moon.
Nod to my princesses or split them open,
To flay my lions, eat blood with a spoon.
You never saw such running and such roaring!—
Nor heard a burgeoning heart so craze and pound!—
Nor sprang to such a happy rape of heaven!—
Nor sanctioned such a kinship with the ground!

And I remember blazing dementias
Aboard such trade as maddens any man.
. . . The mate and captain fragrantly reviewed
The fragrant hold and presently began
Their retching rampage among their luminous
Black pudding, among the guttural chained slime:
Half-fainting from their love affair with fetors
That pledged a haughty allegiance for all time.

I recollect the latter lease and lash
And labor that defiled the bone, that thinned
My blood and blood-line. All my climate my
Foster designers designed and disciplined.

But my detention and my massive stain
And my distortion and my calvary
I grind into a little light forquette
Most sly: To read man's inhumanity.

And I remark my Matter is not all.
Man's chopped in China, in India indented.
From Israel what's Arab is resented.
Europe candies custody and war.

Behind my expose
I formalize my pity: "I shall cite,
Star and esteem all that which is of woman,
Human and hardly human."

Democracy and Christianity
Recommence with me.

And I ride ride I ride on to the end —
Where glowers my continuing calvary,
I,
My fellows, and those, canny consorts of
Our spread hands in this contretemps-for-love
Ride into wrath, wraith and menagerie

To fail, to flourish, to wither or to win,
We lurch, distribute, we extend, begin.

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June 18, 1963.

Mr. President,
The White House,
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. President:

First, I should like to express my extreme gratification at the fact that you are convening a meeting of lawyers to discuss certain aspects of the nation's civil rights problem. I, of course, accept your invitation to attend and shall consider it a high privilege to be present.

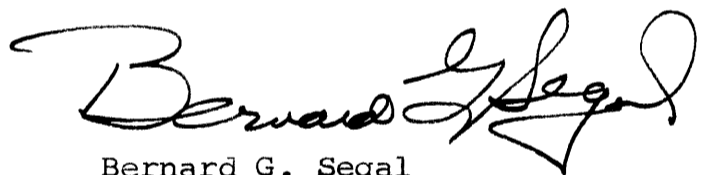
Second, by virtue of the fact that I headed up the project resulting in the 46-lawyer statement calling upon Governor Wallace to desist from his announced intention to disobey Judge Lynne's order, I kept in close touch with the situation in Alabama in the fateful days of last week and viewed the complete midnight re-telecast of events at Tuscaloosa on Tuesday. The conduct of all the Federal officials who participated was most exemplary. However, I should like to comment particularly

Mr. President:

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upon the performance of Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach. He certainly lived up to the highest standards of performance of lawyer and Government official. He was both dignified and firm, and acted in a manner which reflected great credit on the Administration and on the profession of the law. In my opinion, Mr. Katzenbach converted what might have assumed a circus aspect into a dignified exercise of governmental authority, fully in accord with the gravity and the volatile nature of the event.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bernard G. Segal". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping tail on the "l".

Bernard G. Segal