8. STATEMENT OE:

3 |Roy Wilkins, Zxecutive Secretary of the National Aseociation for the Advancement
4 (\%) Colored people and Chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; accompanied by
Clarence Witchel1, Dixector, Washington Bureau, NAACP

The Honorable william L. Dawson. Representative from the state of Illinois


## In wit





It ia erystal cleer that the need for strong, workable, efrective, Civif Rights legtsiation 18 greater than ever: Dentele of civil Rights becaube of color; race, religion, or nationei origin cannot be tolerated anocher moneat: Minority groups in our country are puffering tunconscioneble discrintnstion, burzassment, Antlaidatjon - eyen physical yiolence - and their so-called yights under our Conetitutioa have becone a moclicery:

At the thme of the litutle Rock incident, the innger of derision was pointed at un by nations throughout the worla = by our friende, as well as by our enemies. He camot afford buch loss of prestige, algaity, or standing as a democratic natioa. Yet, after that blow, Fe now heve the Judge lemley decision - granting the reguest of the Hittle Rock School Poard for resegregation of the central High School, for a period of two and a hulf years. Mhis is an umiatahable step bucloward in the cause of integration in the public schools. It id a ahooking Geataion when we consider that Mecroen wave waited gh years for the right to education free from the shame of segregabion. It is an invitation to the spread of riozence, for every community which is resisting integration will feel Juctitied In following the littole Rook excmple and openly to defy the Supreme Couxt's nuling that, to conform to the Constitution, pubilic schools must cease to coerata as gegregated inetitutiona. Jegro Leaders who appealed to the Premident were guan so comitwents of eny kind, and they feel that nothing is hexny hone to help thent; they have not hed the protectlon of the Federal Goverrment they shoula laye. Phey stress that no pember of last fali ${ }^{3}$ n ilitule Rock rioters has been punibhed - they heve a11. gone gcot free. It is muderstandnble thst fae
 ntiantey at thte point.

Dollinger - 2

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was a victory in the battle for Civil Rights, aithough a Lesser victory thsn I had hoped for. Eyents since its passage prove that it does not begin to neet or solye existing cerious problems; that it does not provide necessary authority or machinery to pronote or coapel compliance vith Suprene court deciaions as to integration in our echools.

Your comitttee has before it for consideration, numeroub bilis which would strengthen our present civil Righte laws and fuprove upon then.

As your Ccmittee knows, I have introduced numercue bills oeeking to guarantee civil Righta and to end discrimination; it is not necessary for me to emumerate them again. I have always mintained that there can be no true denncracy in our country until every vestige of discrimination because of race, eolor, or religion, is wiped out.

On June 11, 1958, I introduced H.R. 12996, to provide further means of securtng and protecting the right of persons within the furisdiction of the Reverel statas to the equal protection of the laws and other civil rights guarmiteed by the Conntitution of 1nve of the United States. My bill represents 5. zevised yersion of the old part III of the Civil Rights Bill (H.R. 6127) considered Isat year by Congrese, but containe all the improvenents suggeated duricg the course of the debate. Tt creates no new substantive rights but does perfect the procedure by which Givil Rights may be vindicated. In the main, it ealista che poweras and inmuonce of the Attorney General in a deternined atrack upon deniale of Civil Rights. Airong other things, the attorney General woula be emporered to sue civiliy to enjoin segregation in public \&ohocle: This task is too Important to be left to privete indiyidumls exeluatvely - the federal governent must act. In zy opinion, zy bull provides a. premticnble nolutlion to roxy exicting problems and would go a long why tovard
n\#encinge pariona diecriminated ngatnst or dented their congtitutionel rignts,
the aceintamee and protection they need.




State Bar of Callifornia at Monterey, California, on october 3, 1957. At that time he said:
"The very first action taken by the Department of Justice With respect to the sicuation in little fock was taken on request of Governor orval Faubus himself. At his personal request, $\mathrm{Hr}, \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{B}$, Caldenell, my assistant for civil rights In the Criminal Division and himself a native and former resident of Arkansas, was gent to Little Rock on August 28, 1957, to confer privately with the covernor. . . The conference consisted in largest part of questions addressed to Mr. Caldwell as to what action would or could be taken by the Department of Justice in the event that disturbances over the school beard's plan did develop.
"In response, and of necessity, the Governor was informed that the development of a disturbance at school would not of itself provide any basis for action by federal authorities. It was pointed out that che United states had nothing to do With the school board's plan and was not a party to the litigation in which the plan had been approved.
"The Governor inquired about the action takea by the bepartment last year" -- that is 1956 -- "in connection with disturbances that arese over schools in Clinton, Tenaessee. It was pointed out to his that, in that instance, the Federal District Court had issued an injunction at the request of the gchool bonrd against certain named persons from

was beling nocomplished under a plan worked out by the local school boaxd over the objection of local colored parente, who considered it too slow. The covernor's use of troops was, therefore, directed not against a plan of the Association or the colored pareats, but against local school oflicials. Mr. Chairman, I should inke to interject here and omphasize once more that the Little Rock plan of integration vas not a plan of the mational Association for the Advancement of Colored people as has been popularly supposed. Fe did not propose this plan. We did not, as it has been asserted, force this plan on the citizens or the school board of little Rock.

Wr. Keating. As a matter of fact, isn't it a fact that you opposed the plan as not calling for integration soon enough?
ur. Wilkins. Exactly, Representative Keating. We ielt that 1963 as the completion date after a decision in 1954 was far too slow, but in all the speeches and a good many of the news accounts and a great many of the so-called interpretive editorials, the Little Rock situation is being pictured as one brought about by a plan forced on the city by the MaACP.

He felt that it was too slow, that it wis a token. it bhould also be borne in mind that the plan origianlly allowed for about 200 \#egro eligibles to transier to Central High School. This was trimed down to about 30, and finally,
down to nine.
Anyone who contends that aine students into a gtudent body of 2,000 is forolag a large propoztion of the wegro school population on the high school and thus creating a difitcult problem of adjustment I subnit is stretching the Rnglizh language and the oxedulity of yoasonable men a great deal.

Evonts at Littie Roek and their dignstrous consequences
nave made the name of that city a texm of opprobrium throughout the world. Even without taking into consideration the e lementary justice of ciyil xigits for all of our citizens, We are laced with an infamous blot on our country's reputation. We must not let this happen again.

A receat decision by Judge Harry J. Lemley in a U. S. bistrict Court has compounded the original error of the Governor when he used arned troops to prevent orderly degegregation. The effect of judge Lemiey's decision that grants a two and one-nalif year delay in the program of public school lategration in Little Rock is to reward violence and mob rule at the expemse of those who rely upon law and oxder:

Congress can prevent future nob violence on the desegre: fation front by enacting. R.R. 10107 , which. is the celler 7ini, regtoriag protection offered to oivilu rights by part ini 4.fot the 1957 civil Rights Bill passed by the House. H. R. 9666

## of the celler B111.

There are some who lament the fact that it was aecessary to use federal troops to put down what was the equivalent of an armed rebellion in Arkansas, Here again, Mr. Chairman, I would 11 ke to interpolate and eaphasize that nany of the people who deplore the use of federal troops at Arkansas conveniently forget that it was the Governor of Arkansas who first called troops and who need those troops to obstruct the orders of a federal court. In the discussion of little Rock in many of the journals of the day and by manyof the speakers, the impression is left upon the careless hearer that the federal government committed a huge crine by injecting armed forces into a eity.

The prior action of the Governor of Arkansas is never mentioned.

On the other hand, the WhACP shares the views of millions of citizens who commend the president for using the full power of his office to preserve Constitutional rights in little Rock. Those who are disturbed about the use of federal troops can help to prewent aituations that make their use necessary. They can do so by working now to get part III written into the law of our country.

This subcomittee has heard from previous witnesses the record of systematic attempts by etate legielatures to deprive colored eitizens of their Constitutional rights and
chief taxget of this assault because we seek to use the
orderly processes of government to guarantee equal treatment
under law. Lately, this attack on the Macp has been broadened
to include lavyers, educators or private citizens who favor
integration.

The state of virginia has takea the lead in passing laws to deprive lawyers of their right to practice if they eeek to protect civil rights by court action.

Four other states, under the guise of regulating barratry, have passed laws designed to halt the filing of law suits for the protection of constitutional rights. These are Georgia Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

In general, these laws would:

1. Make it illegal to financially assist another person to prosecute a legal proceeding.
2. Make it illegal to "urge" another to file a law suit.
3. Wake it illegal to engage in a law suit in which one does not have a "direct or substantiai" interest.
4. Prohibit the solicitation or donation of funds to agsist any person or organization to carry on a legal proceeding.
5. Require any organization soliciting funds to support Litigation to ille reports including lists of members and


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MTA Wilking, Yixginia law requixes racial segregation in feating at public meetinge. The etate had not eaiorced this 1aw in some areas for a muxber of years, yigoroug enforcemeat bagan in Arlington County in 1956.

The firet 1956 victin was Miss Faith Bieseli, a 11 brarimn. Miss Bissell is white. sho was mrxested for sitting beside coloxed person in a public meeting. she was convicted in the trinl court which ruled that the law was canstitutional. On appeal to the Firginia state Supreme Court, her conviction Was reversed, not on the ground that it was unconstitutional. but on the ground that the warrant for her arrest had failed to etate that she is white.

Subsequently, Judge Filter T. McCarthy of Axlington yuled that the Inw was unconstitutlonal in another case arising ju his jurisdietion, Motwithetanding this latex ruling by Judge McCarthy, the local police arrested Mrs. Robert A. Eldridge, Jr. , at a church picnic, Mr. Chairman, given by hex own church of which she is a member, on June 1, 1958, in Arimifton County because the afiair was attended by an Xntegrated group, that is, there were white and colored yembers of this church.

Mrs. G1dridge was a member nad her church was giving the plonic. wre, Bidridge is coloxed. Later the charges were dieniesed, but local officisia atill threaten to continue haramament of anyone who attonde an unsegregated

The Chaimman. Is that applicable also to a church seryice where white and colored sit tozether?

Mr. Wilkins. That is a good question, Mr., Chairman.
The Chatrman. What is Your answex?
wr. wilkina. whe anewer would seem to be that if it f s logichi to arrest a woman for attending a picnic with members of hex owa cougregation, it is equally logical to axrest hex for attending chuxch services with other members of the congregation. This thiag could go to some ridiculous Leagthe.

Mr. Holtaman. Mr. Chairman, this is very interesting because the tebt seems to be whether it in a public meetiag. If that be the test, certainly no church group could be considexed private. The churoh is open for any member of the iaith Who wants to come in. If we follow the thought, it should Iollow that an arrest could be made for attending an unsegregated chuxch meeting.

In Louisinaa, a school ofilcial who permits racial integration 14 the olasmroons is subject to fines ranging Irom $\$ 500$ to $\$ 1,000$ and 90 days to $s i x$ months imprisomment: 1ouililuna has not forgotten to threaten the ohildren as well ms aduits. Under the state. law, if a school. Is integrated,
it lomen $1 t 8$ echeol unch progman and its free textbooks.
Under miseimelppt 1aw, pereons of the "white or

Caucasian rate" whe attend public schools with colored people are subject to a fine of twenty-five dollars, of aix nonthe in jail, Hore again, Mr, Chairnan, we have a comparable situation to the one that Virgiaia -- almost as ridiculous -where any child in Missiesippi who happens to attend a school that is integrated for any resson - - if we can imagine an integrated school today in Mississippi -- is subject to a fine of $\$ 25$ or giz months in jail.

Mr. Keating. of course any such law is clearly unconstitutional. It has never been testedphaot?

Mr. Wilkins. No, it has never been tested, Congressman Keating. But these are illustrations of the lengths to which people have gone in their efforts to circumvent, combat, and evade and defy the rulings of the Court.

Resoration of part 111 is needed in protecting many other rights beside the right to an education in public schools that are open to all children without regard to race.
yississippi still enforces racial segregation in the waitimgrooms at all railway stations.

The Chairman. On this Missiasippi statute, can this statute be made applicable to school children?

Mr, Wilkins. The language, wr. Chairman, would seem to apply only to school children. It says "Those persons of white or Caucesian race who attend schools with colored people."

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that is eo patently and clearly unconstitutional.
Mir. Mitchel1. The Ianguage of that statute has been presented to the Committee in testimony that Senator Douglae fotfered the other:day. 1 , just happened to look at $1 t$, and 1t does mention specifically persons of the high school grade ox lowex.

In other worde, it is definitely aimed at not only adults, but children as well.

Mr. Wilkine. You sce, Mr. Chaixman, I think, if I may offer: one of the reasons -- and this was raised by Congressmar Keating - $=$ tor enacting thic type of legislation, even though it appeats to be fantastic on its face, is to impress upon the white citizens of uississippi the enormity of the affenge in the eyes of the governing body of Mississippi, the fenornity of the offense of any thought of integration on any level:

Thie is to say that this thimg is illegal, these axe the pumishnents, this is a tertible crine, the atate is: Ieglelating against it and we are hereby waraing you not even to think about it. $\frac{\text { to think apout }}{\text { the }}$ this is the only logical explanation for this type of legielation. Y believe they phraze it as evidencing the dotermination of Miseiselppi that newer shall there be any

Mr. Keating: They need something a little more ingenuoue thaz that it they are going to succeed, I would say, because
mim-16 1 comerce between the races. This is to enforce that. 2) Florida continues to bar colored citizens from public parke.

Recently, several federal agencies adopted a policy which provides that land under cheir jurisdiction that is used for park purposes nust be open to all citizens.

The Chairman. May I ask when you speak of mississippi etill enforces racial segregation in waiting-roons and railway stations, that is in violation of the ICC regulations?

Mr. Wilkins. it is, sir.
The Chairman. What has happened as to the enforcement of those regulations?

Mr. Wilkins. Mississippi has disregarded, to our best information, the ICC regulations with respect to segregated waiting-rooms. I recall one instance, or one method of evasion in Jackson. The signs "Colored" and "White" are supposed under ICC regulation to be removed from the waiting-room, from the property of the railroad.

The city of Jackson has posted such signs on the sidewaik outside the waitlag-room, and placed then thereiore under the jurisdiction of the city police since they are on the eity sidewalk.

Colored persons are thus stopped from entering any
except a designated colored waiting roon by city police.
These oilly poilice, it may be added, do not confine their operations to the sidewalk outside the waiting-room,
but if I am correct, they also station themselves within the Walting-room on the property of the railroad under the Juriediction of the ICC, and enforce segregation therein. If any colored person should slip by the cordon on the outside, or disregard the sign on the outside, and somehow get into a waiting-room that is not segregated, the policemen inside the station ejects ain or causes him to move.

Other states also wink at thie, yr. Mitchell, wy colleague here --

The Chairman. What other states?
Mr. Wilkins. Mr. mitchell has had a personal experience in South Carolina, in Florence, was it not?
yr. Mitchell. That's right.
Mr. Wilkins. Where he was arrested when he went into a railroad station waiting-room that heretofore had been designated as white, and hnd a hearing in court. By and large, the larger cities in most of the states outside of Alabama and Mississippi, I believe -- I believe Alabama and Mississippi have disregarded the rcc almost totally. But in large cities like Atlanta, for example, it is observed In the railroad waiting-rooms and cities like Riehmond and Raleigh and Miami and Kew Orleans, Dallas and Hounton it is observed. But my recollection is -" and it oniy is a recollection because i can not know every particular city $=-m y$ recollection is that in the states of
2. Alabama and Missiseippi, 1 would say the ICC regulation is uniformily disregarded. Hould you not say so?
Mx. yitchell. I would like to comsent on that, wr. Chairman, because 1 think this Comiltee might want to ask the Department of Justice for a report on this matter.

The Chairnan. I have just been discussiag the matter with out counsel -- ur. Foley. I shall ask Mr. Foley -I do this now for the record, to find out from the Department of Justice and from the Interstate Commerce Conmission all the facts relevant to this matter.

Mr, Mitchell. I might say, Mr, Chairman, the Department called a meeting of the U. S. attorneys after these decisions were handed down. There was the impression created that there was goligg to be a rather substantial follow-up to see to it that these decisions were carried out. Apparentiy nat follow-up is not now taking place because, as mr. Wiikias has pointed out, the amount of segregation is still substantial, and ia many local commanities, a very cute kind of plan has developed under which they have a sign posted which says "Intrastate Colored Passengers,"

I was in Miami two weeks ago and there they had a sign saying "Intrastate colored passengers," and all the colored passengers, iater and intrastate at that particular ratiroad station were pretty much herded into the segregated walting-roon.

Mr. Wilkins, Governor Yarvin Griffin of Georgia made the classic announcement that his state would not agree to this policy because "while nobody abjected to Negroes paddiling a cance down the river" in one of these parks there would be objection of the colored people came to land.
we also support $H . R$. 10672 , which is an attempt to
f festore the legal safeguards contained in part III and, at the same time, provides aids and technical advice to communities

Grants to areas that need financial assistance for more 20. $\frac{\text { Grants to are }}{\text { a lent operation of schools that are desegregated also are a }}$ 2t efficient opal forthe of ountry. All of
 these would be possible under th portion of this testimozy H.R. 10672. Although the major port Civil Rights gill, this does not
imply that we believe civil rights action shouid be inited to those areas covered by such.

There is atill dire need for a federal law that will protect individuals against violence and destruction of their property because of race or because they happen to favor civil righte.

Recently, the nation was shocked by dynamitinge and bombings of churches, schools, and synagogues in Florida and Tennessee.

But we have not forgotten that colored citizens have been subjected to this kind of intimidation and even murder for a long, long time. To many of us, the sound of such explosions is also the sould of culprits running behind a curtain of comunity where even now the murders who killed Harry T. Moore and his wife with a bomb at Mims, Florida, on Chyistmas night in 1951, are safe from arrest and prosecution.

Mr. Chalrman, I would like to aubmit for the record a reproduction of some news stories telling of the dynamiting and bombing of Jewish Community Centers, synagogues, Hegro churches, regro schools and others in this recent wave of bombinge across the south.

The chairmaz. It $\mathbf{F i l l}$ be accepted.
(The document referred to is as follows:)

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- ser. Mtarwell sala a "for sate" zetry is empliyed in his tront yers but cosmantinty restegts have wised to Gef him not to offer his home foe sale bo tegroe.
3tys wite saide 'I dort rnow tho onula bave cone $1 t: T$ woutont fitire
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ture eocple har Lited to the desp mane thrat jeary wad hape my now
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Mx. Wilkins. We see the increasing lines of the unemployed as a challenge to enact Fair gmployment practice Legislation, In epite of the Executive Ordere that prohibit diecrimination in government employwent or in plants holding govermment contructs, the colored job-seeker still finds it difficult to obtain employment because of bis race.
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When he is employed, it is all too often bellow the level. of his skill and qualification. Fhen the diemissal sitps are handed out, the largest proportion ot those who receive then are colored.

The Congress must nct to protect the principles of faix play in employment.

The cuairman. Isn't there a committee appointed by the president to prevent that kind of discrimination Fith reference to employment?

Mr. Wilking, Wr. Chairman, there was such a comittae appointed, and it is in being. In all fairness let ne gay that the comittee is functioning $-=$ that is, it is meeting. it 19 recelving complaints, and it: is conducting sone investigationes our expexience with the resuits have been a 1 ittle unhappy:

Juet yebterday $x$ received a letter from our chapter in Atlanta, Georgia, which together with our of ilice in yew Yoxk has been wrestling with the problem of discrimingtion


Mr. MeCulioch. A very considerable taprovement, to write
the record in complete taixnoss, wouldn't you say?
Mr. Wilkiss. Ur. Chairwan, I would gay in yolume --
This I say without having the exact tacts betore me - - $-3 n$ rolume I would say and la some lastanees of classification and categories, thexe has been masked improvement in government 3mprovement:

On the other thad, there are still areas of government employmeat with respect to categories and promotion that heave considerable to be desired. In some areas notabiy -had this we mentioned to the president the othex day in overseas erployment, employment of American citizers in overseas instaliations, in embassies, as consultants, attaches and other pexsonnel, in the assignmant of militaxy personnel to our embasaies overseas, in the teaching perbonnel. for overseas schools for American children statloned over there, the percentage of Megroes paployed in these categories 1 s woefully bmall and is wholly within the power of the federal government to remedy.

Fof example, let's pick out of the air say the American gmbassy at Rome. It has Mayal attaches, it has Marimes, It bas other military personnel - - practically no Hegroes, and this could go on for fimbasay after Embagsy. The teachinf in the schools for American children overseas, Germany, mhexever there are other large instaliations, I think the percentage of yegro teaching persomnel is lass
$p^{24}$ than one percent. 1 am not certain on that percentage ilgure,
but it is very small.

Cenerally here on the malnland, as it were, the situation has improved.

Mr., McCulloch. And very, very considerably, wimether wemde; $A f t e r$ all, we like the record to be in accordance with the facts, and when we are preparing a record, because these records are scanned by our enemies as well as our triends, we don't want to make it $A$ worse than it is. Mr. Wilkins. Mo, we don't want to make it worse. Mr. McCulloch. We don't want to make it worse. Mr. Wilkins. Certainly that is true.

Mr. McCulloch. I think it might serve a very useful point purpose, Mr, Chairman, if we had in the record at this time comparison ecufer period of ten or 20 years shivilut
years and the limprovement, which is desired by so many people and which maybe in the past has come slow, but it has been improving very materially in accordance with the information that 1 am getting, particularly here in this section of our country. The Chatrman. Fhere can we get that?
Mr. Meculloch. I think we can get it from the Civil Service Comission, can we not?

Mr. Forrester. Mr. Chairman, would you let me ask, the
witness a question or two?
The Chairman. Let's finish this and 1 will be glad to have
you ask him.
Coungel will be directed to commuicate with the Civil Service Commiseion in connection with the inquiry made by the gentleman ixom Ohio.
Yes, sif?
Mr. Forrester. I rant so ask the question, the Lockheed plant you referred to in warietta, Georgia, the Lockbeed plant is a Califoraia Corporation, isn't it?
Mr. Wilkins. I believe it is, yes, sir.
Mr. Forrester. Tell the Comittee, is there a singie ceorgian who is in charge of the lockheed plant or a director concerned in the management of the Lockheed plant at warietta, Georgia?
Mr. Wilkins. I am sure 1 don't know, Congressman
Forrester.
Mr. Forrester. Let me ask you this: fsn't it true that the location of the Lockheed plant down at Marietta, georgia, is simply incidental to the war effort?
Mr. Wilkins. I don't know whetber it is incidental or not, but it is there.
yr. Forrester. Isn't it true that chat particular site was picked out on account of the fact that the government owned property down there that could be used to build the g-47 and aren't they now engaged in a crash progran on the
flow example, in a plant as large as the yarietta plamt - -
Mr. Forreater, Fou will agree with we; if there is any
diecrimination at all, it haf been dene by poople from another
eection of the country and that the people of ceorgia are
in no wise involved here?
Mx. Wilkins. Wongreebnan Forreater, I didn't say in my
testimony that the people of Georgia were responsible tor it.
Tais complaint is against the employment policies of the
United States government.
Mx. Forrester. Let me ask you this: Don't you know that
the lockheed plant now is engaged exclusively in building a
|8-47 under direct contract with the government and it is a
matter purely iox the gowernment, and the government has
complete jurisdiction on that?
Mr. Milking. Thid is acknowledged in my testimony, gir.
A11. I said was that. in the president's committee on covernment
Contracts, which has superyision over the employment policies
of plants operated by or for the United States government
or on procurament, that the president's Committee on
Government Contracts. is oharged with eliminatiag diacrimination
In employment from such puante, whethex they be priynte
contractors or whether they be plants operated and owned
directiy by the governnent, and that in citing the Marietta,
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people employed. But what happens is that in the higher
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categories where people have qualifications, there is an
exclusion.
It so happens that in ceorgia I am very familiar with
the situation at the Marietta plant and the other industry
developments down in that area. Thre has been a very systematic
pressure exerted by the local people of ceorgia on the
managements of the Lockheed Company and all others, which
pressure is designed to prevent the employment of colored
people in jobs other than the so-called traditional categories.
That is, as laborers, as janitors, and things of that
sort.
Of course anyone who visits that plant will see hundreds
of Megroes around pushing brooms and wheeling heavy loads
of material. But in the categories where we need the brains
and the skill, you won't seem them, because they are excluded
on the basis of race.

Mr. Wilkins. The Congress must act to protect the principles of fair play in employment. It should be noted in passing that some who are most eager to penalize organized labor with so-called right to work laws are mong the first to contend that there is a right to discriminate against a man because of his race when he seeks a job.

In a few days the House may be considering legislation to provide ald to students and teachers seeking higher
education. There is no doubt that without proper safeguards against discrimination, the funds provided by this bill Will be administered in a manner that will be unjust to colored citizens and possibly even white citizens who favor school desegregation.

Here is another example of why all federal programs of aid and services to the states and comnunities should contain provisions for assuring that these aids and services will not be used as vehicles for extending racial segregation in housing, hospitals, training, or any other field.

Last Monday, June 23, the president of the United states met with advocates of civil rights. An important part of the conference was a plea ior action in protecting the right to vote.

Congress has passed a new law. yet nine months have passed and not a single case has been taken to court by the Department of Justice. This is the kind of delay that makes the government of the United States appear to be Lucapable of assuring it home the iree and unfettered elections that we assure to West Germany or any territory under our protection.

The chairman. Was that made known to the president
in your conference, with three other members of your race, when you met with the president?
of the right to vote and its protection and the fact that in nine months since the president signed the civil Rights act that not a case kas beon brought to court by the Department of Justice.

I wight add that the Attorney General, Mr. Rogers, was present in the conference also.

The Chairman. Did you lay before the Department of Justice any cases where you felt there should be action by the Department of Justice?

Mr. Wilkins. We have submitted through $M r$, Mitchell a nuaber of complaints to the Department of Justice in affidavit form of persons who allege they were denied the right to vote. We have submitted these, of course, for the inspection and action of the Departnent, asking that it look into it and if it finds that any or all of these warrant further action, that such action be taken.

Mr, Keating. Has that been done eince the law was passed?

Mr. Wilkins, That has been done since the law was passed, since laet september.

The Chairaan. Did you check to see whether there was any investigation by the FBI or any other agency?

Mr., wilkins. We have been advised that there has been some investigation by the FBI.

The chairman. Fhat has been the result?

Mr. Wilikine, Ho result id noticeable as yet, Mr. Chairman, no prosecution, no notice, no warning - nothing except the gathering of information.

Mr. Keating, This Civil Rights law didn't call for prosecution. It called for injunctive action.
Mx. Wilkins, That's right.
wr. Keating. Are there cases which have arisen since the law where your affidavits were directed toward injunctive action?

Mr. Wilkins. Yes. $O_{u} r$ request of the Department of Justice, Mr.Keating, asked for corrective action under the 1957 law. We didn't go into details -- "We ask you to take out an injunction," or anything of the sort, We asked for remedial action under the statute as passed.

The Department of Justice has said to us that they have investigated some of these complaints or all of them -- they haven't disclosed their entire action to us and we don't expect that they will tell us every single detail of the way they operate the Department.

But the outstanding fact is that no injunctive proceedings have been instituted in any case, nor have we been told that not a siagle one of the casea you submitted is subject to iajunctive action.

The Chairman. what were the nature of those complaints? Did they involve voting or lack of voting in primaries or
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Mr. Keating. of course it is outrageous that the senate hasn't done anything either confirming or denying his confirmation.

Mr. Wilkins. Mr, Chairman, on the Wilson white matter, the Department of Justice, I think, was sceking to be scrupulously correct. Wilson white had already been confirmed as an Assistant Attorney General. He was functioning in the Attorney Ceneral's office in the Department of Justice.

Mr. Keating. In another division?
Mr. Wilkins. In another division. But in order to be scrupulously correct, they resubmitted his name for confirmation as head of the civil rights matters.

The Chairman. I can't conceive of the failure for any reason of the confirmation of this gentleman as a basis for delaying action on the bill that we passed. It seems most unfortunate that the Department seems to be delaying remedial action. 1 do hope that the Department will change its point of view on this and take suitable and expeditious action.

Mr. Keating. The witness has pointed out that they are not basing their refusal to take action or make an investigation on the ground that Mr. White has not been confixmed. How many of these complaints have been filed?

Mr. Mitchell. I would say that we have filed approximately

25 or 30 individual cases. These involve the state of Mississippi, primarily, Also there is an outstanding complaint in Louisiana which the Department is still active on, One of the witnesses who sought rederal help was indicted by a local grand jury because he sought federal help and the Department has done nothing to get redress for that man.

The ceorgia cases out of Dawson, Georgia, involve registration for voting and are actively being investigated by the Department. There are cases out of the State of Florida, also. So the information is not lacking.

Mr. Keating. It has come to your notice that rBI investigators have been working on some of these cases?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, Mr. Keating. As a matter of fact, shortly after we submitted the Mississippi cases; 1 was in the State of Mississippi. The complainants told me that they had been interviewed by FBI agents and that they vere told by the FBI agents they didn't need to get any more information from then, which to me would indicate that they had sufficient information on which to base the --

Mr, Holtzman. How long ago was that, Mr. Mitchell?
Mr. Mitchell. This was in the month of November 1957.
Mr. Kodino. Mr. Chairman, as I read the law of Part iv of the act that was enacted last september, 1957, all that is required under Section 131 of Part IV, paragraph (c); is that whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable

3 any act or practice which would deprive any other person
E of any right or privilege by Subsection (a) or (b), the Attorney General may institute for the United States such a suit.

It would appear to me if your cases are well documented and there are 25 of them and it was last November, that the
6. FBI investigated and they themselves have stated that there

0 was no further need for investigation, this would in my 10. lopinion at least, be reasonable grounds to believe. I 11 |wonder about the delay on the part of the Justice Department $12 \int$ in these cases.

13 | Mr. Holtzman. Mr. Wilkins, or Mr. Mitchell, have elther lof you ever been told that any of the matters to which you have referred have no basis or grounds?

Mr. Mitchell. At no time, Mr. Holtzman, have we been 17. told on the cases that we are referring to that they are not

If |yalid cases. It would be incredible if we were told that
18 because not only are these valid cases; but our own
20 organization has filed a court action on behalf of one of the groups down in Miseissippi.
2K Uf if with our limited resources we could go into court
zefl|with the expectation of winning, it certainly would seem that
24. the government of the United States could do so.
$38 \mid \int$ Mr. Holtzman. I want to gay at that point I agree with
my colleague from rew York that the delay in confirning the new assistant in charge of the civil rights is outrageous.

I want to repeat that in my opinion, just as outrageous, if not more, is the delay by the Department of Justice.

Mr. Keating. I don't think we can reach a conclusion like that until we hear what they have done. We as lawyers know it takes some time to prepare a case for successful court action.

I think we should call someone from the Department of Justice to explain it.

The Chairman. I will ask counsel to send a copy of the transcript of this testimony to the Department and ask for their comment.
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Mr. Keating. I think it would be preferable $\mathbf{m}=-$ they appeareitit here.

Mr. Wilkins. $u r$. Chairman, I think Congressman Keating probably hit on a key word in his last remark there when he said --

The Chairman, I hope it wasn't the word "outrageous." There is comity between the two houses.

Mr. Wilkins. It wasn't the word "outrageous," but I think Congressman keating said, to the best of my recollection, that "we lawyers know that it takes time to prepare for a successful prosecution." Was that not your word, sif?

## Mr. Keating. Yes.

Mr. Wilkins. I think probably this word "successfu1" is, Without my trying to put words in the mouth of the
pepartment of Justice at all, or to find any excuse for them,
because the statistics and the situation south of the Mason-
Dixon line, sir, on this matter of voting is an open and
Scandalous shame, and it is a matter of common knowledge
to every man on the street that Negroes are excluded from
the right to vote.

It gets my blood pressure up when the government of the United states, with all of its facilities, can hem and haw over technicalities as to what it can find out.

Every poolroom hanger-on, every precinct captain, and every housewife south of the Mason-Dixon line knows the Negroes are forceably prevented from ragistering and voting. The Southern members of the House and the senate know it full we11.

So that $I$ have no patience with it. But i suggest that perhaps the Department of Justice may be depending on preparing a successful prosecution, and that may be their bxcuse for delay, which I do not excuse.

Mr. Rodino. In other words, Mr. Wilkins, you believe that the initiation of a case, at least, might in itself prove a good deterrent to future activities?
$25 \mid$ Wr. Wilkins. Exactly so.




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to prevent its committees and committee chairmen from
arbitrarily delaying confirmations or appropriations for the
sole purpose of preventing law enforcement
    If thousands of colored citizens in the South are denied
the right to vote in this fall's election, there vill be
enough blame to go axound, part of that blame will fall
upon the Attorney General because he has falled to act, or
delayed in acting. Part of it will fall upon the members
of congress, especially in the Senate, who have permitted
obstructionists to delay the confirmation of the new Assistant
Attorney Ceneral who heads the Civil Rights Division.
    It is important to point out, also, that the same pattern
Of defying the decision of the U.S.Supreme court in the
school desegregation cases is now forming against the xight to
vote.
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The same persons and leaders who cried that they would not obey "judge made law" -- that is, the supreme Court opinion -- in the school cases are now working in their legislatures and election precincts to flout the law passed by Congress and signed by the president of the United States.

This would seem to be eloquent proof that these persons and those that they represent are against any kind of rights for colored people, and they are opposed to any laws or court decisions that would protect such rights. He heard a great to-do, Mr. Chairman, during the debate about the right

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The first President of our country, George Washington, recognized it as our pervading ideal when he eloquently 12 (described our govermment as one which ugives to bigotry no 14. sanction, to persecution no assistance."

The Chairman: That was contained in a message delivered to the portuguese synagogue at Newport:

Mr. Dawбon. The chairman is exactly right.
Yet it is only in recent years that the federal courts haye given real meaning to that promise of equal protection, and equal justice for all, under equal. laws.
all of us are proud that during the past four years the federal courts have swept away the false doctrine of legalized Eegregation which supported fo many cruel and indecent dis24 of iminations against millions of Anericanc. . Hr. . Justice getraxian'g famous plea that "our Constitution is color blind":
has becore the law of the land, and it should now be clear that fovermmental power may no longer be legally used to

8 fic ompel or cause racial segregation.
We can take even greater pride that this progress is
\& being supported by the majoxity of Americane, speaking both as individwals and through their organizations, including the churches of all faiths, the professions, business, labor, veterans - - Indeed, by all who understand the noble heritage of equal justice that constitutes the American ideal.

However, in may areas there are groups, some small and fanatical, others large, well-financed and well-organized, that refuse to comply with the requirements of the Constitution and the law of the land. They strive to reverse the rulings of the courts by obstructive tactics, by economic coercion, by physical violence, by terror, by harassuents, and by as wide a variety of devices as their ingenuity can conceive.

The recent revelation of the terrorisn and fear: which local police use in Dawson, Georgia --that is just a few miles from the epot where $I$ was born $=-$ to oppress the colored residente of that commuity has been shocking and sickening. Such official tyramay is reminiacent of the police brutality fostered by the Hitler and Stalin regimes, and the current nussian texror behind the Iron Curtain. It shamos Amexica in the eyes of the world.

But Dawson, Ceorgia, is not the only place in our country where brutal disregard of human rights has occurred. Milford, Delaware; Belzoni, Mississippi; Birmingham, Alabama; Little Rock Arikansas, and many other places have witnessed a mounting crisis of widespread resistance to law and order.

Law abiding citizens are being denied their right to vote; they axe bombed; they are excluded from public schools to which they are entitled to go; they are oppressed in their livelihood; they are subjected to indignities and indecencies. In short, they are being denied the liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the basic rights which the Constitution bas guaranteed to them.

This crisis which America faces has been fomented by persons who fail to understand the heritage of America. They seek to preserve an outmoded system of caste and second class citizenship. They strive to repeal court rulings by intimidation, violence, and coercion.

The recent order by Judge Lemley forbidding integration in the public schools of little Rock for the $2-1 / 2$ years remaining in Governor Faubus' tern is a direct outgrowth of that intimidation and coercion. It will surely encourage the mobs to use orgauized violence to subvert the supreme law of the land.

I am confident that in the long run they will fail in their objectives. But in the meantime they are creating

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protection of the civil rights of our fellow-Americans. Some of these bills provide civil remedies. Others would streagthen the criminal laws for the purpose of providing penal sanctions to protect civil rights.

Several of these bills are similar to bills which 1 have introduced in previous Congresses. All of them would constitute "appropriate" legislation to help protect the guarantees of equal protection of the laws and the due process of law to which all Americans are entitled. They would encourage and give heart to the many people, in the South as well as the North, who deplore the present drift to chaos. The South is not monolithic, and many of its white people are opposed to the new tide of racism and totalitariansim.

If and when any or all of these bills come to the floor of the House, I shall support them with all my strength. I know that manyeof you will do so too.

I have introduced H.R. 10928 for the purpose of dealing with the mounting crisis of widespread resistance to law and order that is growing in many areas.

My bill is intended to prescribe additional practical means for protecting the existing rights of all persons to recelve the equal protection of the laws. It would provide legislative direction to the Bxecutive Branch of government to furnish technical assistance and to make financial grants
have introduced in previous Congresses. All of then would



mm-51. 1 to local communities, as well as establish specific administrative procedures, for moving ahead in complying with the decisions of the Suprene Court of the United States.

Under Title I of my bill, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would utilize educational means to help communities prevent or eliminate denials of constitutional rights, not only in the public schools, but in other activities as well.
H.f. 10928 would authorize appropriations of up to $\$ 3,000,000$ each year for gathering and publishing information concerning the problem, assisting in calling conferences on the subject, and providing trained specialists to aid the states and localities in oliminating governmentally imposed segregation 1 a public education. These things should have been done years ago.

Title II would authorize appropriations of up to $\$ 50,000,000$ each year to assist states and localities in meeting the costs necessary to comply with the Suprene Court's decision against compulsory segregation in the public schools, including costs of additional teachers, in-service training for teachers, providing group relations specialists, replacement of state funds withdrawn from local districts which are eliminating segregation, and construction of additional facilities where necessary. Detailed provisions are present in my bill to insure that the grants are made in the most economical and effective maner possible.

Under Title III of my bill, the Secretary of Health,
min 52 Education and Yelfare would cooperate with the particular communities to work out plans for desegregation of public schools. Rvery effort would be made to develop such plans by agreement and persuasion. Only as a last resort would the Attorney General institute civil action to enforce compliance with the approved plan of school desegregation.

Mr. Chairman, and members of this Committee, I want to emphasize my deep feeling that the expenditure of these sums by the federal government would be the best possible investnent in democracy and good government. We face a great national peril, and the amounts here authorized are indeed small for the task.

The cost of these programs would be more than repaid by the protection of both property and persons from the threats of violence and civil disorder, and even more by the enhancement of our democratic ideals and traditions that will result from such efforts by the government. We cannot afford to be without such programs.

Title IV of my bill would supplement the Civil Rights Act of 1957 which authorized the Attorney General to institute civil actions to protect voting rights. Title IV of my bill would authorize the Attorney ceneral to institute civil. actions in those cases where any person or group of persons is being deprived of any of his or their constitutional. rights by reason of race, color, religion, ancestry or
min-53 1 mational origin.
Before doing so, the Attorney General would have to receive a signed complaint and certify that the person or group whose rights are injured is unable to obtain effective hegal protection of his constitutional rights.

Section 401 of my bill which requires the signed complaint, does not specify who shall sign it. It is my intention in requiring the signed complaint, that the Attorney General phould not act simply on an anonymous allegation. But it is not my intention that the signature must be by the very person or group who are being deprived of their constitutional rights.
people who are being oppressed are often too fearful to place their own name to an official complaint. Therefore, a complaint signed by any person or any representative of an organization, interested in the natter, would be sufficient basis upon which the Attorney General could give consideration to the allegation.

The Attorney ceneral would also be specifically authorized to institute civil actions against persons who seek to prevent federal, state and local officials from according to others their Constitutional rights, and against persons who seek to prevent ze 38 $3:$ or hinder the performance of court orders which protect the right to the equal protection of the laws without regard to race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin.

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It would also authorize such civil actions by the Attorney General against those who strive to injure the constitutional rights of any person simply because he has expressed opposition to the denial of such constitutional rights for other persons. Thus, white people who oppose euch discrimination against colored people could be protected against denials of their constitutional rights.

These provisions, in my judgment, are essential to combat the miasma of fear that is enveloping many areas of our nation. It is time for Congress to exercise its long dormant duty to protect the civil rights of all Americans.

Some of the bills now pending before your Comittee, which are somewhat similar to my bill H.R. 10928, invoke the power of Congress under the Fourteenth Amendment alone. However, my bill does not purport to rest solely on the Fourteenth Amendment, but draws on the entire Constitution for its strength.

I think this is important in view of the history of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. As you will remeber, the Supreme Court invalidated the 1857 Act in the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 ( 1883 ) on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment did not authorize legislation against private violation of civil rights.

Later, when it was sought to apply the 1875 Act to a common carrier in interstate commerce, which is a field

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clearly subject to the Congressional power under the Commerce Clause of the Constilution, the Supreme Court invalidated such appilication on the ground that Congress had intended to utilize only its power under the Fourteenth Amendment and that the 1875 Act was not separable.

That decision was rendered in 1913, in the case of Butts v. Merchants Transportation Company, 230 U.S. 126, Subsequentiy, the supreme court invalidated racial discrimination under the Commerce Clause in Morgan v. Virginia, 328 U.S. 373 (1946), and under the Interstate Commerce Act, in Henderson $Y$. United States, 339 U.S. 816 (1950 and Mitchell v. United States, 313 U.S. 80 (1941). The lesson we learn from these cases is that we should draw upon the entire Constitution whenver we can, rather than simply one clause thereof, when we draft legislation to protect human rights. I belleve that the enactment of H.R. 10928 can be of inestimable value to every section of our country. I hope that it will be favorably reported by your Comittee, and approved by the House of Representatives.

1 recognize that legislative obstacles in the Senate may weaken the chances of enactment. But the representatives of the people must never become despondent or discouraged. We must do all in our power to further the cause of justice.

I believe that the enactment of the bill by the House, plus the growing national realization of the tragic possibilities

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