

124-A-1 SCHOOL DECISION (2)



**G.F.**

124-A-1  
Schools

RECEIVED  
MAR - 6 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

March 5, 1957

Dear Mr. Bishop:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter concerning segregation in the District of Columbia schools. \*CF36-13-1

Your interest in writing to give him this expression of your views is very much appreciated.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb  
Secretary to the Cabinet

Mr. Tom Bishop  
President \*  
N. A. A. C. P.  
Racine \*CF124-A-2  
Wisconsin

SW

↓

RECEIVED  
WEB

RECEIVED  
JAN 10 1957  
RACINE, WISCONSIN

111

Racine, Wisconsin  
January 8, 1957

Dear Sir:

Attached is a letter which is to be considered our protest against the House Sub-Committee's report on the school integration in Washington D.C. We formally request that you, in your capacity as chief executive, look into the manner in which these hearings were conducted and the manner in which the information was presented. It is our feeling that the report is no credit to the administration, and certainly does not reflect the thinking of the administration regarding civil rights. We feel that much damage has been done to the great cause of better race relations. The fight will be much harder because of this report. Will you, as chief executive, do something to help repair the damage this report has caused?

Mr. President, is the taxpayers money to be used to further the aims and objectives of the segregationists in Congress? Many taxpayers are seeking an answer to this question. Many taxpayers are waiting to see just what action you will take on this matter.

Respectfully,

*Tom Bishop*  
Tom Bishop  
President Racine Branch  
N.A.A.C.P. x

*J.E. Byrd*  
J.E. Byrd  
Publicity Director  
Racine Branch  
N.A.A.C.P.

**RE:** That controversial report on Washington D.C. school integration.

I cannot help but feel that the four Southern congressmen who authored this report have done a distinct service to this country, but not intentionally I'm afraid, and certainly not the service they intended.

These "Southern Gentlemen" have given excellent publicity to some things that sociologists and other experts have been trying to spotlight for years, namely, the potentially diastereous effects of segregation, to say nothing of the tremendous cost of supporting it. Although the motives of the "Southern Gentlemen" were certainly not the purest, the information, actual and implied, to be gained from this report are significant. Before we proceed, however, it will be necessary to destroy any illusion that the conclusions of the congressmen are concomitant with any facts brought out. Also, and most important the facts, as such, referred to here in connection with the report, constitute a very minor portion of that report, and do not in any wise support the conclusions drawn by the Southern congressmen. The report itself is a shameless distortion of these few facts, and is loaded with prejudice, ridiculous conclusions, and presumptuous statements of personal opinion, designed to give the ring of truth to the report as a whole, and its "recommendations". It is propagandising at the lowest level. The old truck of sprinkling misleading statistics throughout a piece of propaganda in an attempt to establish its credibility has been shamefully used in this report, and it is my hope that the public will see through it.

The initial proposition that these men supposedly started out to demonstrate was that the "sudden" integration of the Washington schools has had undesirable effects, created problems, and caused readjustments in the setup of classes, to the detriment of all students concerned. BUT, the conclusion that they had "decided" to reach beforehand was that integration began "too abruptly", could not be contained, and REsegregation was the only solution.

When someone sets up a conclusion then begins selecting and tailoring information to attempt a "proof" of that conclusion, he is merely demonstrating the complete worthlessness of both his method and his information. The basis of all scientific investigation is diametrically opposed to such a method. Such methods have been used by tyrants, bigots, and propagandists since time began.

Now let us glean some facts from this report and see for ourselves just what logical conclusions are apparent;

**ONE:** A number of white residents are moving out of the metropolitan district.

**CONCLUSION:** In itself, no valid argument against integration.

**TWO:** Some teachers have some problems on their hands and some feel unable to cope with them.

**CONCLUSION:** In itself, no valid argument against integration, but rather a reflection on the system and some of its personnel.

**THREE:** There has been an increase in some behavior problems.

**CONCLUSION:** Based on experience, such fluctuations occur in any major regrouping. No valid argument against integration.

**FOUR:** Some students are integrated on levels not commensurate with their learning to date.

**CONCLUSION:** Based on experience, such disparities occur in any major regrouping. No valid argument against integration.

(It is significant to note here that the committee chairman, with



Southern lawyer as counsel, heard only witnesses in favor of segregation!)

Let us analyze the above statements:

Two reasons are apparent for the existence of statement #1: that many white people object to having their children sit in the same classroom with Negroes; that statements #3 and #4 are a cause. Now the conclusions of the committees four Southern members as to these two statements is that the Negro has some sort of racial characteristic that causes his ability to learn, to grasp problems, to understand things, to be socially responsible, etc. to be less than that of the white race. This report, and these conclusions blatantly seek to upset conclusions reached by years of scientific investigation in the fields of sociology, anthropology, education, and psychology, and known to any student in any reliable college in the country. To answer such a deliberate lie is but to dignify it.

It is commonly known that the socio-economic background of a group leaves a mark that cannot be erased overnight, and is the real reason for any temporary disparities that occur during any major regrouping in the social stratas. Thus we have the misleading "statistics" found in the "report".

Statements #3 and #4, to however a small degree they exist, are then, actually PRODUCTS OF THE VERY SEGREGATION THAT THE SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN ADVOCATE! In those few cases that do show a temporary inability to "keep up" we must look to social and psychologic findings, and not to the misleading statistics of various tests, etc. given to SELECTED groups. Segregation will only enlarge such problems, while planned integration will erase them. For example, the cases where some tenth grade students showed reading levels of lower grades, it has certainly been established through sources, in this case reliable, that overcrowding and discrimination, and less able personnel, poorer management of Negro schools, and adverse environmental factors, are the cause. There is absolutely no basis in fact for any other conclusion, but of course such testimony was not permitted by the honorable "Southern Gentlemen" of the committee. One proof of such conclusions can easily be established, for instance, by results of Army intelligence tests, which showed thousands of Negro individuals and groups to have higher I.Q.'s than whites supposedly at the same educational level.

Of course, due to the major regrouping in Washington schools some problems and disparities exist, as they do in any major regrouping in any social strata, but it is certainly a fact that this is no argument against integration as the Southern congressmen would have us believe. The transition to integration is something that must be done, and certainly can be done, as has been ably demonstrated for years in Northern schools. Apparently the Southern congressmen are completely blind to this fact.

Speed is not the question, but rather it is THE USING OF AVAILABLE MACHINERY to cope with the changeover. TO REsegregate would be to take a step in a backward direction, and certainly intelligent Americans must realize this. The social, socio-economic, and psychologic factors mentioned here are certainly the answer to the question, "Why do these school integration problems exist at all?" These factors coupled with the few facts brought to light by the report, disprove to a complete degree every single conclusion in the report, and give the lie to them so clearly. It is certain in this respect that these congressmen have done a distinct service to the public, in their attempt to mislead the public, that boomeranged!

They have proven that segregation provides an opportunity to create an artificial "White Supremacy" doctrine, and to make it seem believable

by falsely claiming that the segregation was the only solution to a situation where there was a "superiority" in the first place! The big lie, of course, is the statement that implied the superiority existed inherently! And since many people are prone to "judge a book by its cover", their witnessing the environment of the African Negroe and their stage of cultural progress gave superficial believability to the lie!

Let it be constantly kept in mind that integration as a whole IS working in Washington, and that the picture painted by the Southern congressmen is a terribly exaggerated one based on method and testimony that would turn a decent lawyers stomach.

This then is my conclusion: "Integration in Washington schools was not "too hasty", but rather LITTLE PROVISION WAS MADE TO ANTICIPATE SOME RESULTING PROBLEMS, AND THAT THIS IS A RESULT OF POOR PLANNING AND ATTITUDE, AND NOT THE RESULT OF THE INTEGRATION ITSELF, OR THE CHARACTER OF THE NEGRO STUDENTS."

Obvious recommendations, of course, would be the same as those that are being practiced daily in school all over the country, especially in June and February; namely, additional attention and supervision regarding any problem that occurs as a result of major regrouping. Separate classes, temporarily, for certain individuals, with social and psychological counseling where necessary. It should be noted that Washington schools were handling these problems well and bringing them to successful conclusions long before the committee was ever formed.

The situation that this report indirectly helped publicise, (and this was the only good constructive thing to come out of the whole affair) was the socio-economic condition forced upon the Negro by the white race. Of course, the underlying viciousness and the lengths to which responsible (?) members of our society will go to attain their hateful, tyrannical ends, was well publicised. To bring this out into the open puts these Congressmen and their adherents into the same class as the John Kaspers of the world!

I would recommend to these congressmen and to anyone who sincerely feels that there are potential dangers in the forms of hate and segregation like these men support and promote, to work towards the following ends:

1. Increased health, education, and welfare to areas needing same.
2. Increased opportunity for the Negro and abolishment of all discriminatory practices.
3. Studies of any of the thousands of areas that have successfully integrated.
4. A program of public education on the subject of segregation, integration, Negro-White relationships, etc., presenting the Negro in a fair, factual manner.
5. A determined effort, a sincere effort on the part of clergyment and public officials to bring the proper understanding of the problems to the man-on-the-street, and certainly to parents, teachers and students.

These recommendations are given as general good policy, not intending to infer that any problems of serious proportions exists in Washington schools specifically. In fact, the weight of reliable evidence indicates that no such problem exists that would justify any investigation, and that the travesty imposed upon the people by certain "Southern Gentlemen" is reminiscent of



the Nazi pogroms against the Jew, to prove Aryan superiority!

One should not lose sight of the fact that the "Blackboard Jungles" of our national school systems are largely found in white areas! The machinery is available to solve any problem the committee claims exists. And the intention to make vigorous use of this machinery, with a sincere effort to make integration work smoothly, should certainly NOT be abandoned as the "Southern gentlemen" recommend!

In my conclusion, may I strongly suggest that one study the "Apartheid" policies of the South African government, compare them with the thinking of these Southern congressmen, then ask them, "Wither would you have us go?"

J. E. Byrd  
1333 St. Patrick St.  
Racine, Wisconsin

125 A-1  
RECORDED

RECEIVED  
MAR - 8 1957  
GENERAL FILES

March 7, 1957

Dear Mr. Edelsberg:

This will acknowledge your March fourth letter. I appreciate your thought in sending me the pamphlet by Carl F. Hansen about Washington schools.

Sincerely,

*not sent*

*Memo. of ...  
Adjournment  
...  
S. C. ...*

Gerald D. Morgan  
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Herman Edelsberg  
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith  
1003 K Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

*12/10 ...*



*Edelsberg*

# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

1003 K STREET, N. W. (1)

EXecutive 3-5288

HERMAN EDELSBERG  
Director

DAVID A. BRODY  
Counsel

MD - D. C. REGIONAL OFFICE  
WILLIAM KOREY, Director

March 4, 1957

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Secy., Exec. Committee

The Honorable Gerald Morgan  
Special Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Morgan:

I am happy to enclose a copy of the study of de-segregation of the Washington schools, "Miracle of Social Adjustment," prepared by Assistant Superintendent Carl F. Hansen.

The pamphlet has received the widest interest and acclaim, and I believe you will want to have it.

Sincerely yours,

*Herman Edelsberg*  
Herman Edelsberg

HE:ebo  
enc.

G.F.

124-A-1

School Decision

RECEIVED  
APR 13 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

April 12, 1957

Dear Mr. Secretary:

This will acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April tenth to the President, with the enclosed copy of Senate Joint Resolution No. 6 adopted by the Seventieth General Assembly of Illinois. Your courtesy in the transmittal of the Resolution is very much appreciated.

- approving and supporting the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, etc

Sincerely,

x GF123 - Illinois

SHERMAN ADAMS

Honorable Charles F. Carpentier  
Secretary of State  
Springfield, Illinois

MR. MORGAN - by route slip

elb



THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

**ROUTE SLIP**

(To Remain With Correspondence)

RECEIVED  
APR 15 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

TO Mr. Morgan

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.  
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED  
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST  
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN  
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS  
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE  
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date April 12, 1957

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

**ACTION:** Comment \_\_\_\_\_  
Draft reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For direct reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For your information \_\_\_\_\_  
For necessary action \_\_\_\_\_  
For appropriate handling  \_\_\_\_\_  
See below  \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

A formal acknowledgment of the  
Resolution has been made to the  
Secretary of State of Illinois.

By direction of the President:

*A. J. Goodpaster*  
A. J. GOODPASTER  
Staff Secretary  
*JLM*

CHARLES F. CARPENTIER  
SECRETARY OF STATE

STATE OF ILLINOIS  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
SPRINGFIELD

April 10, 1957

THE WHITE HOUSE  
APR 11 1 19 PM '57  
RECEIVED

Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
President of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As authorized, I am enclosing herewith a copy of  
Senate Joint Resolution No. 6 as adopted in the 70th  
General Assembly of this State.

Yours truly,

*Charles F. Carpentier*  
Secretary of State

Index Department  
CFC;DB:lk  
Enc.



STATE OF ILLINOIS

Seventieth General Assembly

SENATE

Senate Joint Resolution No. 6

Offered by Senators Smith, Korshak, Lynch and Libonati

WHEREAS, the United States Supreme Court and various Federal Courts have been subjected to severe criticism as a result of the decisions and decrees in the School Segregation and related cases which declare that segregation and discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin in public schools and facilities violate the principles of the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, these decisions and decrees of the United States Supreme Court and various Federal Courts have been condemned as a usurpation of and encroachment on the reserved powers of the states by the Supreme Court and central government of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the decisions and decrees of the United States Supreme Court and various Federal Courts are being condemned, disregarded and evaded both directly and indirectly by state legislation, procrastination in complying with said decisions and decrees, coercion and intimidation, all under the theory that any state has a right to interpose its sovereignty in opposition to an exercise of power by the Federal government which that state determines has not been granted by the several states to the Federal government; and

WHEREAS, all the states of the United States are bound by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including judicial interpretation of said Constitution and laws, until later changed through Constitutional processes; and

WHEREAS, the Constitution of the United States provides the manner in which said Constitution and laws of the United States are to be enacted, amended or repealed; and

WHEREAS, the Constitution of the United States does not permit any state to act in total disregard of any Federal law, court decision or decree when the state has through an assumption of unconstitutional powers declared that any said law, decree or decision is unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, to permit each state to decide of itself by which provision of the United States Constitution, law, judicial decree or decision it shall be bound would eventually result in the destruction of the Federal system of government; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, By the Senate of the Seventieth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, the House of Representatives concurring herein, that the United States of America is founded upon the principle that everyone is entitled to equal privileges, opportunities, rights, duties and immunities regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, and any public facility which segregates or discriminates against any person because of race, color, religion or national origin is contrary to said principle; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That segregation and discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin in public schools and facilities is prohibited by the Constitution of the United States, and no state has the right to maintain at its own expense racially separate public schools or facilities; and be it further

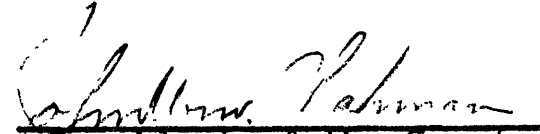
**RESOLVED**, That this Seventieth General Assembly go on record as approving and supporting the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the School Segregation cases; and be it further

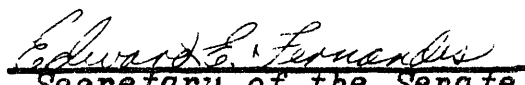
**RESOLVED**, That the Supreme Court of the United States is the final arbiter on questions of Constitutionality, and any disagreement or dissatisfaction this state may have with any decision or decree of said Court should be resolved through the processes provided by the Constitution and laws of the United States; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the theory of interposition, whereby the authority of the government of the United States is disregarded when any state decides it shall interpose its sovereignty in disobedience to that authority, is hereby condemned as a dangerous threat to the Constitution and Federal system of government of the United States; and be it also

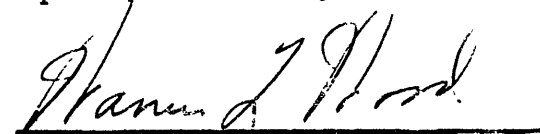
**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this Resolution be sent by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, to each of the Houses of Congress, to Illinois' Representatives and Senators in Congress, to the Governor and Legislature of each of the other States, and to the Supreme Court of the United States.

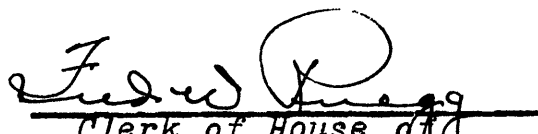
Adopted by the Senate, March 5, 1957.

  
President of the Senate

  
Secretary of the Senate


Concurred in by the House of Representatives,  
March 28, 1957.

  
Speaker of House of  
Representatives

  
Clerk of House of  
Representatives

FILED  
M 2 10 P M

APR 4 1957

  
Secretary of State.

ICE.

124-A-1  
School Decision

May 7, 1957

RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Jane:

Thanks very much for your letter of May first, with the enclosures.

We certainly appreciate your briefing us on the information you have received from Mrs. Sayde Williams and you may be sure it will be brought to the attention of the proper people.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Robert Gray  
Special Assistant

Re 3rd Anniversary of Supreme Ct. School Decision //

Miss Jane H. Todd  
Vice-Chairman  
New York Republican State Committee  
41 East Forty-second Street  
New York 17, N. Y.

124-109-A-2, New York

MR. GRAY:

bkc/gmr

V

L. JUDSON MORHOUSE  
CHAIRMAN

JANE TODD  
VICE-CHAIRMAN

ALGER B. CHAPMAN  
TREASURER

WALTER E. BLIGH  
SECRETARY

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ  
COUNSEL

L. JUDSON MORHOUSE  
DEAN P. TAYLOR  
MRS. CHARLES W. WEIS, JR.  
MEMBERS  
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NEW YORK  
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42ND STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-5828



*Handwritten signature and date: 5/1/57*

May 1, 1957.

Dear Rob:

Mrs. Sadye Williams has just been in to give me some information which we both feel the White House should have right away.

The enclosed posters are being distributed by Church Groups in Metropolitan, N. Y. and we are trying to find out where else.

A. Philip Randolph is the head of the Pullman Porters of the U. S. Rev. King, you know about and, of course, Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. *X*

The story that Mrs. Williams gets is that the Committee has chosen noon on Friday, the 17th, believing that all the "top brass" in various government departments will have left for long week ends and will not be in Washington to hear their case. They can then use this against the administration.

Mrs. Williams also finds that the N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League still hope to get one of their own members appointed as Racial Relations Consultant. The enclosed clipping from the Amsterdam News is for your information. *X NY 124-A-2 X WP 114-15 T X*

Am reporting this all to you because you will know what to do about it.

Sincerely,

*Handwritten signature: Jane Todd*

Jane H. Todd.  
Vice-Chairman.

Hon. Robert Gray  
Special Assistant  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

*Handwritten checkmark*



# UPTOWN LOWDOWN *with JIMMY BOOKER*

## Top Draw Stuff:

John Kasper, the racist, who is stirring up trouble in the South, might like to know that the jurist who signed the order evicting him from his Greenwich Village flat last month was Municipal Court Justice Darwin Telesford, a Negro . . . Negro leaders expect President Eisenhower will accept A. Philip Randolph's request and call a confab with Negro and white leaders after May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage . . . Attorneys for Joe Louis are working on a deal whereby they will be able to settle Joe's back tax bill to the government for less than \$100,000 Joe owes over a million . . . Mrs. Willie Mays had to have Willie tell off an uptown socialite who called and left a number with her for Willie to call, but refused to leave her name.

## Around Town:

New York Branch NAACP has taken over another room at its W. 131st St. address . . . Publicist Mae Drummond is having her lawyers look into

a situation about the Arthur Murray Dance studios. Seems as if she won a contest of some sort via the pick a name gimmick, and when she showed up to collect the winnings, a free dance course, she was told she had been rescheduled. The rescheduled group was composed of all Negroes . . . Dr. Freddie Carter proudly admits he has walked around Manhattan in four separate jaunts in last few weeks . . .

Eugene Buffalo, the one-time middleweight fighter who nearly upset Sugar Ray Robinson, faces a stiff jail term if he is convicted on the narcotics rap. He is due for trial Wednesday . . . Attorney James M. Strong joining law firm of Randolph and Holland at 200 W. 135th St. . . . Incidentally, rumor has it that the partners in an uptown law firm have their mates worried because some of the partnership business is personal . . .



Booker

## Political Potpourri:

Manhattan Boro President and Mrs. Hulan Jack to visit Brazil in June as guests of the government . . . Uptown ministers happy over Deputy Chief Inspector McGowan's granting of four-hour parking in blocks where the ministers hold their conferences on Mondays . . . As a result of long-standing complaints, Mayor Wagner has ordered a check of top Negroes in civil service who are long overdue for promotions. It's election year, you know . . . Former State Senator Julius Archibald being mentioned for a possible state post . . .

Housing experts in the New York area met last week in a hush hush meeting at the National Urban League to jointly back a candidate for a racial relations post and to begin a campaign criticizing the GOP administration's housing program. They feel it is at a standstill as far as minority groups go . . . Attorney-General Louis Lefkowitz promises to be vigilant on bias cases that enter his office . . .

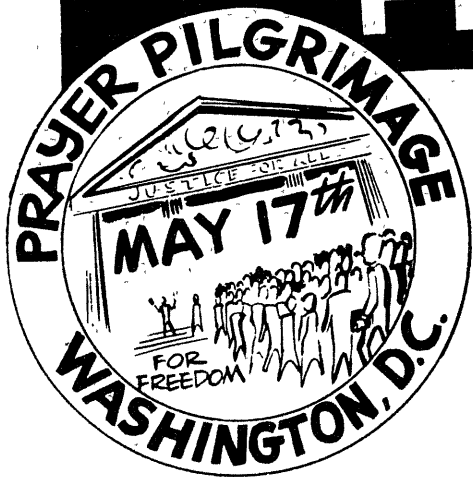
## Late Ticker:

For the first time in nearly seven years the Renaissance Casino was forced to use tables around the floor to accommodate the crowd for Chick Solomon's Associated Models fashion show Sunday . . . Tip to new owners of the Hotel Theresa's Gold Room. You have too many Indian chiefs . . . Mrs. Joe Louis admitted she has political ambitions on television last week. Hmmm . . . A group of Negro reporters who cover the White House protested last week to Bernard Shanley, White House aide, that the President is not recognizing any Negro reporters at his press conferences . . . The Interior Dept. first denied the Lincoln Memorial to the Prayer Pilgrimage last week until NAACP's Clarence Mitchell became infuriated and went over and charged discrimination, asserting that if a group of people couldn't pray there, what could they do around the Lincoln Memorial . . . all of which brings us around to saying, that's 30.

*PLEASE POST*

**JOIN**

**PRAYER  
PILGRIMAGE  
FOR  
FREEDOM**



*to*  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

**May 17<sup>th</sup>**  
*at 12 noon*

**"TO AROUSE THE CONSCIENCE  
OF THE NATION!"**

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH — REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr. — ROY WILKINS  
CO-CHAIRMEN

G.F.

12-10-57  
Silvera

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1957  
GENERAL FILES

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

May 10, 1957

Dear Charlie:

Many thanks for your letter of the sixth, enclosing Mr. Silvera's helpful suggestions.

We have been aware of the potential difficulties which might arise from this situation and are watching it very carefully.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

WILSON ADAMS

The Honorable Charles F. Willis, Jr.  
52nd Floor  
Chrysler Building  
New York 17, New York

js

REC'D  
MAY 11  
MAY 11 1951

TO THE PRESIDENT  
FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY  
Dest Office:

MAY 10 1951

THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

201100  
C.F.

Sum of New  
Rat

O.K.  
MMK



RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1957  
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

MAY 10 1957

WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS SIMPSON

FROM: Maxwell M. Rabb *MMR*

The following is a suggested draft of a reply to Charles Willis:

Thank you for your letter of the 6th, enclosing Mr. Silvera's helpful suggestions.

We have been aware of the potential difficulties which might arise from this situation and are watching it very carefully.

END

✓

*Cy not filed 5/11/57*

MINY  
VAL  
RECEI

EW

CHARLES F. WILLIS, JR.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MAY 7 2 59 PM '57  
RECEIVED

May 6, 1957

Dear Governor:

With the thought that you should be apprised of this situation, enclosed is a memorandum sent me by a young man who worked with the Citizens for Eisenhower group in 1952 and 1956. He is devoted to the President, and is fearful that the prayer meeting called for May 17th in Washington will turn out to be a demonstration against the President.

Val Washington, I understand, is aware of this situation.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



Honorable Sherman Adams  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

EW

y

WILLIS  
11/11/54

STOCK FORM 105 Simax Stationery Co., New York

INTER OFFICE  
MEMORANDUM

FROM..... Silvera..... DATE.....  
TO..... Charles F. Willis Jr..... SUBJECT.....

1. Attached is the Call for the May 17th Pilgrimage of Prayer
2. The Administration should make every attempt to keep this from turning into an anti- Eisenhower demonstration. At this point it looks as though it might well be that.
3. Principal thing to be done at this late date is :
  - a. a statement from the President at the next Press Conference concerning the Pilgrimage.
  - b. an official declaration from the Civil Service Commission ~~granting~~ time-off for employees who wish to attend.
  - c. making available all government facilities for the occasion.
4. I would like to discuss the entire situation with you in person

*Call to a*

## **PRAYER PILGRIMAGE**

*for*



*freedom*

**AS** we approach the third anniversary of the ruling of the United States Supreme Court against racially segregated public school systems, we invite all believers in the God-given concept of the brotherhood of man and in the American ideal of equality, to assemble, review the national scene, give thanks for the progress to date, and pray for the wiping out of the evils that still beset our nation.

The May 17, 1954, ruling against state-imposed segregation came about in orderly fashion, through the courts, from the lowest to the highest. Our appeal was based upon the Constitution of the United States of America. It was made after fifty-eight years of enduring the grossly unequal "separate-but-equal" doctrine laid down in 1896. It came after decades of patience and of reliance on morality and justice. It came slowly, step by step.

It came without violence, terror, or assassination. No bombs were thrown. No school shacks were burned down. No Jim Crow trains were dynamited. *What was then the law of the land was not defied.*

The Negro citizens of the land made the most of their circumstances. They got what education they could for their children. They "made out" with little or no public recreation. When they traveled they endured insult and physical assaults. They took such jobs as they could get at such wages as they were paid. They lived where they were herded. They were barred from the ballot boxes on election day. They abided by the kind of justice they received in the courts. They served their country in a Jim Crow army. They were victims of the bestial crime of lynching. However, this blanket of inequality and oppression did not completely smother the struggle for human rights. Time after

✓



time the challenge was met with steadfastness and courage, even in the face of disheartening odds. The valiant freedom fighters for civil rights became inspiring heroes for our time.

**T**HE May 17 decision, then, was a New Emancipation. At last Negroes were to be recognized as citizens and the states were forbidden to set them off by law, solely because of race, in public education and elsewhere. In Montgomery the people caught the meaning of the hour and struck a mighty spiritual blow for human dignity.

On the public school question, nine states and the District of Columbia have either completed desegregation or have made a beginning. But eight states have defied the nation's highest court and have refused to begin in good faith, with all deliberate speed, to comply with its ruling. In these states privately organized groups have exerted economic pressure upon Negro citizens who have simply asked obedience to the Supreme Court. Men and women have been fired from their jobs. Merchants have been refused credit and goods. Farmers have been denied loans.

The governments of these states have joined the assault on democracy by moving to put the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People out of business. While the NAACP is the declared target of these actions, the true victims are the white and Negro citizens who are thereby restricted in the exercise of their right to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and petition, and freedom to seek redress of grievances through the courts.

In view of the historic role the Association has played in the life of American Negroes, the attack upon it becomes a very special and particular one upon the constitutional rights of Negro citizens. Abridging the basic rights of citizens is in itself a high crime; but depriving them of the agency through which they have sought, in the courts, to

secure these very rights is shameful compounding of the felony. It makes a mockery of citizenship.

The law enforcement agencies of these states have permitted violence to be visited upon individuals and institutions which oppose segregation. Ministers have been arrested, threatened and shot. Churches and homes have been bombed. School children have been threatened by mobs.

Accompanying all this has been a campaign of racial slander of the most vicious and reprehensible nature, typified by characterization of the Negro as inherently criminal and diseased, and as a mental incompetent.

**T**HIS defiance, this legislative harassment, this economic pressure, this slander and violence have been encouraged by public officials, including Mayors, Governors, Attorneys General, and United States Senators.

At the Federal level the civil rights bill has been trimmed and delayed in the Congress by members from the states where defiance of the Supreme Court is state policy. The avowed purpose is either to whittle it down to nothing, or to kill it altogether.

One hundred years ago, in the Dred Scott decision, it was held that the Constitution did not include Negroes in its protection of the rights of citizens. Even though a war was fought and the Constitution amended, some states today are seeking to wipe out history and to restore to force the Dred Scott decision of 1857.

In the words of Abraham Lincoln, this is a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." We believe its people treasure the heritage of equality before the law. They uphold this principle because they know that every man, whatever his race, religion, or station, must be free if our nation is to remain strong.

**W**E believe Americans are deeply religious and wish to order their lives and their country according to the great moral truths to be found in our common religious heritage.

As the Founding Americans prayed for strength and wisdom in the wilderness of a new land, as the slaves and their descendants prayed for emancipation and human dignity, as men of every color

and clime in time of crisis have sought Divine guidance, so we now, in these troubled and momentous years, call upon all who love justice and dignity and liberty, who love their country, and who love mankind, to join in a Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington on May 17, 1957, where we shall renew our strength, communicate our unity, and rededicate our efforts, firmly but peaceably, to the attainment of freedom.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
President, Brotherhood of  
Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO



REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
President, Southern Leaders Conference

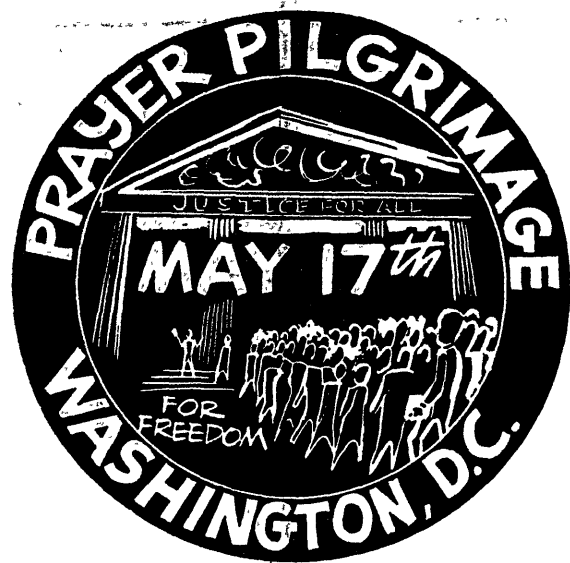


ROY WILKINS  
Executive Secretary  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People

Washington, D.C.

April 5, 1957

***“To arouse the conscience of the nation”***



FOR INFORMATION WRITE TO:

***Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom***

REV. THOMAS KILGORE, JR.  
*National Director*  
20 West 40th Street  
New York 18, N. Y.

OR

REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY  
*Southern Director*  
First Baptist Church  
347 Ripley Street  
Montgomery, Alabama

G.F.

June 3, 1957

RECEIVED  
JUN - 4 1957  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Harris:

Mrs. Eisenhower has asked me to thank you and the members of your organization for your letter of May 21st, enclosing a copy of "The Integration Song".

Your interest in writing to give her this expression of your views is very much appreciated.

With kind regard,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb  
Secretary to the Cabinet

Mrs. Viola M. Harris  
President  
Western States Missionary Baptist Convention  
2815 Lafayette Street  
Denver 5, Colorado

SW

*T*  
*see cc: Integration*  
*End*

**WOMAN'S CONVENTION**  
AUXILIARY TO THE  
**Western States Missionary Baptist Convention**

COLORADO — WYOMING — UTAH

MRS. VIOLA M. HARRIS, President  
2815 Lafayette Street  
Denver 5, Colorado

May 21, 1957

1st. Vice President,  
MRS. R. C. ROBINSON  
2405 Gilpin St.  
Denver, Colorado

2nd Vice President  
MRS. PEARL SMOOT  
614 West Arroya  
Pueblo, Colorado

3rd Vice President  
MRS. H. MEANS  
1904 S. 4th East  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Recording Secretary  
MRS. MARY SOWELL  
1860 Marion St.  
Denver, Colorado

Treasurer  
MRS. VIRGINIA BASS  
2322 Gilpin St.  
Denver, Colorado

Devotional Leader  
MRS. BETTIE MACK  
2420 Emerson St.  
Denver, Colorado

Institute Leader  
MISS BERNICE SHELTON  
623 E. Maple  
Colorado Spgs., Colo.

Pianist  
MRS. HELEN MARTIN  
511 W. Arroya Ave.  
Pueblo, Colo

Director of Music  
MRS. L A DENMON  
909 Grant  
Denver, Colorado

Historian  
MRS. GREGORY EVERETT  
305 Lewis Ave.  
La Junta, Colo

Youth Director  
MRS. ORA V. SMITH  
2211 Marion St.  
Denver, Colorado

MRS. ETHEL WASHINGTON  
2029 Lincoln Ave.  
Ogden, Utah

MRS. CORA ROBINSON  
2824 Marion St.  
Denver, Colorado

MRS ALVERNE STARR  
1104 Spruce  
Pueblo, Colo

Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower  
First Lady of U.S.A.  
White House  
Washington, District of Columbia.

Dear Mrs. Eisenhower:

Today is the 3rd Anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision regarding integration in the public school systems of our nation.

We, the women of the Western States Missionary Baptist Convention, of Colorado, Wyoming & Utah, in our Executive Board Session, May 17, 1957 are deeply concerned with the silence of our president on the problems of integration that are distressing our nation and making us objects of ridicule to the world.

We, therefore, do earnestly implore you to speak to your husband, our president, that he will speak to the nation, that we and the peoples of the world may hear and know his firm position in these matters. And we believe that the rest of the nation and all the nations of the earth will follow where he leads.

Enclosed is a copy of "The Integration Song"

Anxiously yours,

THE WOMAN'S CONVENTION,  
Auxiliary to the Western States  
Missionary Baptist Convention,  
Colorado-Wyoming-Utah

*Viola M. Harris*

Viola M. Harris, President

*Mary Sowell*

Mary Sowell, Secretary

RECEIVED  
MAY 21 1957



# **JUSTICE!**

## **THE INTEGRATION SONG**

By NANNIE H. BURROUGHS  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Sing the wondrous love of Justice,  
Sing its mercy and its grace,  
Let all nations know its power  
To bring hope to every face.

Chorus:

When we all know Justice,  
What a day of rejoicing that will be,  
When we all have Justice,  
We'll live in peace and harmony.

2. The world knows the blessed Story  
Of the loyalty of the race.  
How in war gave its devotion  
To defend Old Glory's place.

3. Justice is the nation's promise,  
It has made in words that burn,  
Nothing less will save our country,  
Never from her promise turn.

---

(TUNE: "WHEN WE ALL GET TO HEAVEN")

NOTE: The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., in session at Denver, Colorado, September 8, 1956, voted unanimously to urge Christians to make this Song their NATIONAL ANTHEM. Then on MAY 17, 1957 to dedicate it to the cause of Justice.

G.F.

124-A-1

School Decision

July 1, 1957

RECEIVED  
JUL - 2 1957  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Aldrich:

Many thanks indeed for your letter. I do appreciate your thoughtfulness and courtesy in writing to me and the suggestions you make.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

James C. Hagerty  
Press Secretary  
to the President

re School Segregation Decision  
#

X  
Mrs. Ruby Aldrich  
891 Amsterdam Avenue  
New York 25, N. Y.

mmc

Mrs Ruby Aldrich-  
891 Amsterdam Ave.,  
New York 25,-N.Y.

Mr James Haggerty, JR.,  
Secretary to Pres.,  
White House, Washington,  
D.C.

My Dear Mr Haggerty;

Your mother And I were once close friends ,when I kept the door for her at the Roosevelt hotel when she gave lectures based on "John ,of the Bible"-and also met you and your father at luncheon at your house.-

Also met Sam Rayburn in the  
" Southern Womans Democratic club (of N.Y.C.) under mrs Nonidez-  
and escorted him to platform (as the hostess, at the time) -

Please pardon my presumption in writing you- was a democrat from Texas- but voted twice for "Ike"- and do not know the best channel to approach with my idea-

Anticipating trouble we may have over integration in schools- and now while our colored race is so uneducated, uncultured, and ever race consious,;

Why not return the two billion dollars planned for other countries to our own U.S.A. and build negro schools (maybe <sup>For</sup> with Porto Ricans too)persuading the Supreme Court to give us a "rain che eck for a few years and lift the colored nearer our race consciouness - when mixing would be more advisable - Separate schools would cost little more, as provision has to be made anyway- Am also mailing a copy of this to Speaker Sam Rayburn- and could you possibly give to <sup>me</sup> someone else- Maybe a miracle might be performed- Sincerely yours,

(WIDOW) (Mrs) Ruby Aldrich

P.S. - Added Data-

Am seventy -nine years old- living ina lovely old ladies  
home- It is one block long, housing <sup>100</sup> ~~110~~ and ten since the  
civil war- between 103rd and 104th streets- ,with two acres  
of garden and trees back of us-

They have demolished three blocks of old style houses  
and have built EIGHT-- TWENTY STORY apartment Buildings  
with more to follow- In the fall will be occupied by negroes,  
Porto Ricans and whites-

There also is already a negro, and  
Porto Rocan public school(with a few whites) at Amsterdam  
and 104th St. -

- This soon will be another HARLEM, I  
suppose is their goal-  
My apologies for boring you , yet  
hoping for results-

(Mrs) Ruby Aldrich-

Have just mailed my entry to the Pepsodent jingle contest-

Segregate;- mix colored and white-

A few years and even pepsodent

" " " " " "  
Will not wonder where the yellow went.

-----  
In Porto Rico they name it- " Touched with a tar brush"

-----  
In five years ;- Your golden haired, ,pink and white girl  
might soon have a black baby-

-----  
History tells us that/

Nature proves it-

So will the supreme court/

*IN TIME*

G.F.

124-A-1

School

RECEIVED  
JUN 22 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

June 8, 1957

Dear Dr. Michaels:

As Mr. Rabb is out of the city for a few days,  
I am acknowledging receipt of the report. X  
"Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation"  
X which you sent to him. #

I am sure Mr. Rabb will be interested in reading  
this publication and will appreciate your thought-  
fulness in making it available to him.

With kind regard,

Sincerely,

Sallie Wymard  
Secretary to  
Maxwell M. Rabb

Dr. J. J. Michaels X  
115 Beatrice Circle  
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

SW



HEW-30  
REV 10-54

ROUTE SLIP

DATE  
8-27-57

TO: CONSTIT. ORGAN. BLDG. ROOM  
1. Mr. Edward A. McCabe  
2. Associate Special Counsel  
3. to the President  
4. The White House  
5.  
6.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> APPROVAL                             | <input type="checkbox"/> AS REQUESTED             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> NECESSARY ACTION                     | <input type="checkbox"/> FOR YOUR INFORMATION     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> INVESTIGATE AND REPORT               | <input type="checkbox"/> RETURN WITH MORE DETAILS |
| <input type="checkbox"/> NOTE AND FILE                        | <input type="checkbox"/> NOTE AND SEE ME          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> PREPARE REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF _____ |   |

REMARKS

Attached copy of letter to Mr. Josh Callan of Arabi, Louisiana, is forwarded to you as requested in your memorandum of August 15, 1957.

Fold Here for Return

From	Melvin W. Sneed, Director	PHONE
To	Laws and Legislation Branch	
	Office of Education	
BUILDING	Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	ROOM

DEPARTMENT OF  
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

August 26, 1957

Mr. Josh Callan  
413 Parish Drive  
Arabi, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Callan:

The White House has asked this Office to reply to your letter of August 10, 1957, addressed to the President, regarding the school construction bill. Please be assured that the President appreciates your writing to him as you did. I believe your inquiry may best be answered by the following quotation from a recent letter which Secretary M. B. Folsom addressed to a newspaper editor.

"The school construction issue came to the House floor this year in the form of a bipartisan compromise worked out and agreed upon by all the members of the House Education and Labor Committee who favored Federal aid to school construction. In most respects the compromise bill followed the administration's recommendations. The chief difference between this bill and the administration bill was that the former provided twice as much in Federal funds per pupil in the lowest income States as in the highest income States, while the administration bill provided for a 3 to 1 ratio. Under both bills, Federal grants would have been available only to the neediest districts within each State.

"At the time when the compromise bill came to the House floor, the President had made his position clear. He had emphatically and repeatedly urged the enactment of an emergency school construction program without any amendment complicating the orderly judicial administration of the Supreme Court's decision on integration. In reply to a letter requesting his views on the compromise bill, he referred to it as adhering to principles which he considered 'basic to sound Federal legislation on this subject,' adding that he hoped Congress would give close attention to that portion of the bill which allocated funds on the basis of need. On the eve of the floor debate, after discussing the matter with Congressman McConnell and myself and taking it up with the Republican Congressional leaders, he stated that he would accept the compromise bill if enacted, although he would prefer greater recognition of relative financial need.

"As matters developed on the House floor, substitution of the administration bill for the compromise bill at one point seemed imminent. At that moment, however, came the preferential motion to kill the entire bill. This motion was adopted by the narrow margin to 208 to 203.

CEI

124-A-1

School Decision

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE  
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

137-4-1  
GHI

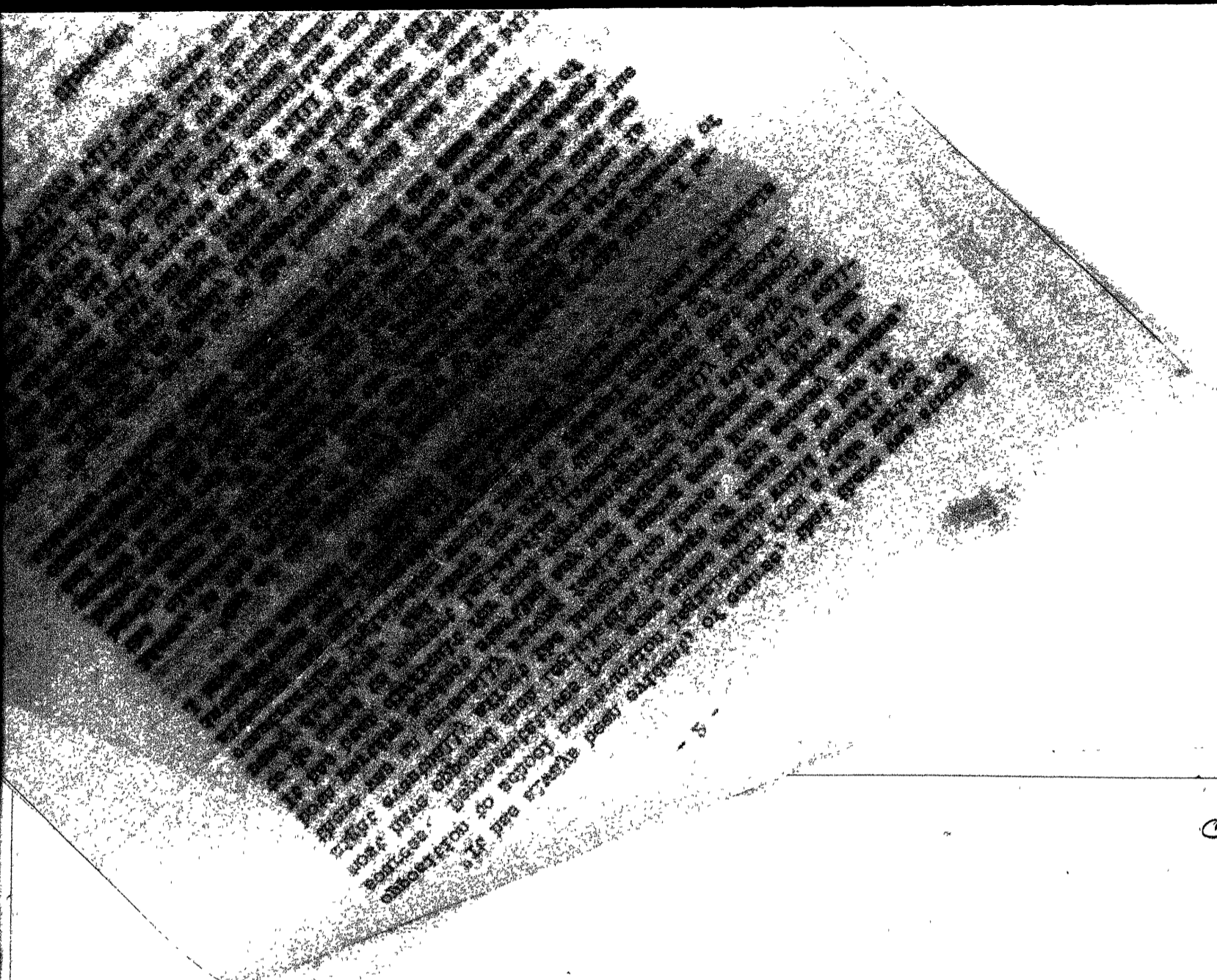
"It has always been evident, of course, that there was strong opposition to school construction legislation from a wide variety of sources. Representatives from some areas which would benefit the most have opposed such legislation because of fears as to how it might eventually affect the integration issue. For economy reasons, there was an unusually strong feeling among some House members in both parties against starting any new Federal program at this time. It has been difficult for some representatives from relatively well-to-do areas to support legislation intended primarily to help more needy districts. And there are still those who argue that school construction legislation would lead to Federal control of schools, although the bill specifically and strongly prohibited Federal interference and although all the Federal, State, or local officials I know are opposed to Federal control.

"One of the underlying reasons for defeat of the bill, I believe, is the failure of many people to understand the seriousness of the classroom shortage. Even the parents of children affected hardly seem to understand how the education of their children is being retarded. If someone were to propose, for example that two months be cut off the school term for millions of children, the hue and cry would be very great. And yet many people seem to accept complacently half-day school sessions and gross overcrowding of classes, although these conditions have much the same effect.

"These seem to me to be the reasons which lead to the bill's defeat. Although I am deeply disappointed, I recognize that forward steps on such difficult issues often take a long time. Regardless of all the reasons that can be cited for defeat of the bill, the classroom shortage still persists and it still handicaps education of many children. We all hope that local communities and the States will increase their efforts to build the classrooms which they need. We in the administration will be reviewing the situation between now and the reconvening of Congress next January with the aim of then recommending such actions as we believe will best serve the interests of the whole country."

Sincerely yours,

Melvin W. Sneed  
Director, Laws and  
Legislation Branch



C.F.

August 15, 1957

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

**The Honorable Marion B. Folsom  
The Secretary of Health, Education,  
and Welfare**

Attached for appropriate acknowledgment is an August tenth letter addressed to the President, dealing with integration and school legislation, from Josh Callan of Arabi, Louisiana. Could you send us a copy of the reply you make to Mr. Callan?

**Edward A. McCabe  
Associate Special Counsel  
to the President**

**Enclosure**

from Josh Callan  
Ltr dtd Aug 10 to the Pres/dealing with integration.

**EAM/bjm**



G.F.

124-A-1

*School Decision*

RECEIVED  
AUG 16 1957  
GENERAL FILES

August 15, 1957

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**

**The Honorable Marion B. Folsom  
The Secretary of Health, Education,  
and Welfare**

Attached for appropriate acknowledgment is an August tenth letter addressed to the President, dealing with integration and school legislation, from Josh Callan of Arabi, Louisiana. Could you send us a copy of the reply you make to Mr. Callan?

*x*  
*S*  
**Edward A. McCabe  
Associate Special Counsel  
to the President**

**Enclosure**

from Josh Callan  
Ltr dtd Aug 10 to the Pres/dealing with integration.

EAM/bjm

G.F!

124-A-1  
School

RECEIVED  
SEP 17 1957  
GENERAL FILES

September 9, 1957

Dear Dr. Ginsburg:

I have just received the report of the Group  
for the Advancement of Psychiatry on  
"Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation".

This publication has great interest for me  
and I am looking forward to reading it in the  
immediate future. I am grateful to you and  
to Dr. Eli Ginsberg for making it available  
to me.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb  
Secretary to the Cabinet

Dr. Sol W. Ginsburg  
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry  
12 East 97th Street  
New York 29, New York

MMR:sw



1956-1957 received by the Board of the Group

Dear Dr. Ginsburg:

September 3, 1957

CEI

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

- Dr. Dana L. Farnsworth, President  
15 Holyoke St., Cambridge 38, Mass.
- Dr. Marlon E. Kenworthy, Vice-Pres.  
1035 Fifth Avenue, New York 28, N. Y.
- Dr. Malcolm J. Farrell, Sec.-Treas.  
P. O. Box C, Waverley 78, Mass.
- Dr. Paul Huston, Associate Secretary  
500 Newton Rd., Iowa City, Iowa
- Dr. Hugh T. Carmichael, 1956-58
- Dr. Joseph J. Michaels, 1956-58
- Dr. Charlotte Babcock, 1957-59
- Dr. Robert T. Morse, 1957-59

**Finance Committee**  
Dr. Leo H. Bartemeler, Chairman

**Committee on Aging**  
Dr. D. G. McKerracher, Chairman

**Committee on Child Psychiatry**  
Dr. John A. Rose, Chairman

**Committee on the College Student**  
Dr. William M. Shanahan, Chairman

**Committee on Coop. with Governmental (Federal) Agencies**  
Dr. Edward O. Harper, Chairman

**Committee on the Family**  
Dr. John P. Spiegel, Chairman

**Committee on Hospitals**  
Dr. Alfred P. Bay, Chairman

**Committee on International Relations**  
Dr. Bertram Schaffner, Chairman

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Dr. Jerome D. Frank, Chairman

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Dr. Gale H. Walker, Chairman

**Committee on Preventive Psychiatry**  
Dr. Gerald Caplan, Chairman

**Committee on Psychiatric Nursing**  
Dr. David A. Young, Chairman

**Committee on Psychiatry in Industry**  
Dr. Graham C. Taylor, Chairman

**Committee on Psychiatry and Law**  
Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman, Chairman

**Committee on Psychiatry and Religion**  
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**Committee on Research**  
Dr. Alfred H. Stanton, Chairman

**Committee on Social Issues**  
Dr. Viola Bernard, Chairman

**Committee on Therapy**  
Dr. M. M. Frohlich, Chairman

**Publications Office:**  
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

## Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

September 6, 1957

12 East 97th Street  
New York 29, N. Y.

Mr. Maxwell Rabb  
Secretary to the Cabinet  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rabb:

At the suggestion of Dr. Eli Ginzberg I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of the report of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry on "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation".

I hope you will find this of interest, and we would be very grateful indeed for any comments you might wish to make about it.

Very sincerely yours,

Sol W. Ginsburg, M. D.

SWG:m  
enc.

2.7.57

RECEIVED  
SEP 21 1957  
CENTRAL

WU23 PD DURHAM NCAR 5 340PME  
JAMES HAGGERTY  
PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY  
NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND

WOULD APPRECIATE ANY PRESIDENTIAL COMMENT ON PEACEFUL  
INTEGRATION MOVES THIS WEEK IN NORTH CAROLINA SCHOOLS  
WOULD LIKE TO MAKE RADIO TAPE INTERVIEW WITH YOU ON  
THIS SUBJECT IF COMMENTS AVAILABLE PLEASE CONTACT ME  
AT DURHAM 26267 COLLECT

PAUL MASON NEWS DIRECTOR    WSSB RADIO STATION  
26267

*file -  
Mr. Haggerty  
did not answer.  
mc.*

347PME SEPT 5 1957 HP

G.t.

124-A-1  
School Decision

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED  
OCT 14 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

October 1, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MINNICH

FROM: Sallie Wymard

not sent to her  
10/14/57

In Mr. Rabb's absence, I am forwarding this request which I received today from Val Washington.

He is preparing literature regarding the school integration problem to be used during the New Jersey and perhaps Virginia campaigns. Along with the views of Southerners who support the actions of the President, he would like to use some of the telegrams and letters which the President has received from Negro leaders. He would, of course, secure permission of these leaders before using their messages.

x GF 109-A-2, Va.  
x GF 109-A-2, Virginia

Sallie

Have told Mr. Washington that project seemed inadvisable at this time (per Mr. Hagerty)  
JAW

W.P.C.P. Leodua  
Wick  
Mitchell  
Fobias  
Marshall  
Bishop Greene  
Jackson - Baptist  
Robinson

W.P.C.P.

W.P.C.P.  
Sengstork  
Murphy  
Walker

---

Pro  
Gov. Fisher's action

**CLASS OF SERVICE**  
 This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol

# WESTERN UNION

**SYMBOLS**  
 DL=Day Letter  
 NL=Night Letter  
 LT=International Letter Telegram

**TELEGRAM**  
 124-A-1  
 G.P.  
 STEW P MARSHALL, PRESIDENT  
 1201

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

BA017 SYA197

GENERAL FILES

*Milly check back*

SEP 29 AM 11 12

SY GLA012 PD=GLENCOVE NY 29 1038AME=

HON DWIGHT D EISENHOWER=

: PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES NEWPORT RI=

WHITE HOUSE  
 OCT 1 2 01 PM '57  
 RECEIVED

MY DEAR MR PRESIDENT. MAY WE RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST THAT YOU CONSIDER DEFERRING SCHOOL INTERGRATION AND PUT THE QUESTION TO A NATION WIDE REFERENDUM AT THE GENERAL ELECTION IN NOVEMBER 1958 LETTER FOLLOWS=

JOSEPHINE L AND HERBERT A SAVAGE=

*Savage held until 10/31*  
*Letter mentioned not used*  
*no file 10/21*

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



G.F.

124-A-1  
Schools Reintegration

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

RECEIVED  
OCT - 7 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

**ROUTE SLIP**

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO The Attorney General

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.  
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED  
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST  
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN  
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS  
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE  
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date October 5, 1957

**FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY**

**ACTION:** Comment \_\_\_\_\_  
Draft reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For direct reply \_\_\_\_\_  
For your information \_\_\_\_\_  
For necessary action \_\_\_\_\_  
For appropriate handling  \_\_\_\_\_  
See below \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

XGF 125-B, W

GPO 16-71264-1

Tel of 10/4/57 to the P from Mayor Howell By direction of the President:  
B. Price, Pres., Arkansas Municipal League,  
West Memphis, Ark.; recommends action by  
Federal and State Govts which would allow each  
school district or city which operates the school  
system to place on ballot the question for or  
against integration. *in schools*

A. J. GOODPASTER  
Staff Secretary

*JAM*

XGF 109-C

elb

URGENT 10/4/58  
10:00 AM  
10/4/58

CLINIC OF THE CIVIL SERVICE  
SUBMITTED BY THE CIVIL SERVICE  
THE BELIEF OF THE CIVIL SERVICE  
AND THE CIVIL SERVICE IS  
BEING HANDLED BY THE CIVIL SERVICE  
OFFICE

RECEIVED  
OCT 4 1958

**ACTION:**  
**FROM THE CIVIL SERVICE**

**FILE 6713**  
THE CIVIL SERVICE OFFICE

The White House  
Washington

0  
WA063 PD

1957 OCT 4 PM 7 58

WEST MEMPHIS ARK OCT 4 425PMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

MR. PRESIDENT- THE PRINCIPLE OF MUNICIPAL INDEPENDENCE  
CARRIES WITH IT THE OBLIGATION OF CITIES TO FACE THEIR  
OWN PROBLEMS TO MEET THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES THEREFORE  
AS PRESIDENT OF THE ARKANSAS MUNICIPAL LEAGUE AND MAYOR OF WEST  
MEMPHIS ARKANSAS, I SUGGEST THAT CITIZENS OF CITIES HAVE BOTH THE  
POWER AND THE DUTY TO REQUIRE THEIR CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES TO

CONSTANTLY SEEK THE BEST METHODS OF OPERATING ACTIVITIES IN THEIR  
AREAS. HOME RULE BEING THE ANSWER THEREFORE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF ELECTIONS SCHOOLS AND POLICE MUST ALWAYS REMAIN WITHIN  
THE CONTROL OF STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT  
CANNOT BE EASILY OVERTHROWN BY A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT AS  
LONG AS THE ELECTIONS ARE LOCAL. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM UNDER  
STATE AND LOCAL CONTROL AND THE POLICE ARE PRIMARILY UNDER LOCAL  
JURISDICTION. I RECOMMEND ACTION BY FEDERAL AND STATE  
GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD ALLOW EACH SCHOOL DISTRICT OR CITY  
WHICH OPERATES THE SCHOOL SYSTEM TO PLACE ON BALLOT THE QUESTION

FOR OR AGAINST INTEGRATION. THE RESULT OF EACH ELECTION  
WOULD BE THE PEOPLE FURNISHING EQUAL FACILITIES FOR ALL RACES. THIS  
IN MY OPINION WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM SINCE THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY  
SHOULD PREVAIL LOCALLY. YOUR WHOLE HEARTED CONSIDERATION IN  
RECOMMENDING THE ENACTMENT OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO CARRY  
OUT THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE MOST APPRECIATED. SINCERELY  
MAYOR HOWELL B PRICE PRES ARKANSAS MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

G.F.

*CPA  
Sch...*

October 15, 1957

RECEIVED  
OCT 18 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. Mentee:

Thank you for your recent letter to the President.

Your views have been read with understanding and with genuine appreciation that you have taken the time to communicate them to us in writing. The President and his entire staff are most interested in what you and many others have had to say about the integration question.

The President's decisions and actions with regard to matters in Arkansas have been taken in what the President sincerely and deeply believes to be the national interest. From your letter it is apparent that you disagree. Before you come to a final judgment on this issue, however, I wonder if you wouldn't first care to read the enclosed copy of the President's address on this matter and the transcript of his remarks at a recent news conference as he explained, more eloquently than I could, the reasons for his actions.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Henry Roemer McPhee  
Assistant Special Counsel  
to the President

Mr. J. W. Mentee  
227 Biddle Street  
Kane, Pennsylvania

Enclosures

SW

J. W. Menteer

General Contractor

Sept. 16th 57

Kane, Penna.

Honorable Dwight Eisenhower,  
Dear Sir I am 84 years old and  
have voted the republican ticket ever  
since I was 21-years old and helped  
to elect you twice to the position you now  
hold. I know you have been harassed  
ever since you have been in office  
almost beyond endurance but you  
had sense enough to keep pegging  
away. I think you exceed any  
president we have had in many  
years. but now they have put you  
on the spot. as far as this school  
question is concerned it looks  
strictly politics. and too big a  
question for one or two men to  
decide. in the contrary it should  
go before the voters of the whole  
United States for a two thirds  
vote. The whites in the South →



-2-

J. W. Mentzer  
General Contractor

Kane, Penna.

Dont want mixed schools and  
the negros in the south dont want  
mixed schools so if it goes through the  
way your opponants want it under  
your administration you will gain  
a few votes on one side and lose  
twice as many on the other side  
and if they mix the whites and  
the blacks in the schools we  
will never be able to put another  
Republican president in the white  
house in a hundred years.

Respectfully,

J. W. Mentzer.

P.S. This is simply my opinion  
gathered from what i have read in the  
Papers.

S.K.  
124-111  
School Records

RECEIVED  
OCT 18 1957  
GENERAL FILES

October 15, 1957

Dear Joanna:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter. Your questions have been received with genuine appreciation of the interest you share with your class in this important matter.

I am enclosing the transcript of the President's remarks at a recent news conference as he discussed the fundamental factors involved as well as a copy of his address on this subject. I believe this material will be helpful with respect to your first two questions.

The First Amendment of the Constitution states that "Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press..." Our founding fathers wisely realized that a free press, even if at times intemperate, is a vital part of any democracy.

Sincerely,

*Maxwell M. Rabb*

Maxwell M. Rabb

X  
Miss Joanna Myers  
2237 Cherry Street  
Denver, Colorado

Enclosures

sw

1 9/20 Joanna Myers  
2237 Cherry St.  
Denver, Colorado  
President Eisenhower 9/20/57  
White House  
Washington D.C.

Dear President Eisenhower,  
I am in my junior  
year at East High School.

The problem of integ-  
ration and segregation  
has been making head-  
lines through the nation,  
and this issue also seems  
to be the favorite issue  
right now in my Amer-  
ican History class. I am  
particularly interested in  
this subject, so if you  
or one of your secretaries  
could give me some  
information, not only

2.  
would I profit, but  
also the students and  
my teacher would great-  
ly appreciate this.

When our Constitution  
was put into law, it  
was said that "The  
Constitution is the  
Supreme Law of the  
Land." If this is true,  
why is this law being  
dis-obeyed? In Arkansas,  
does the governor have  
more power than Congress?

Article I, Section 8 of  
the Constitution states:  
"Congress is to provide  
for organizing and  
disciplining the militia."  
If Congress has so

much power, why don't they call off the National Guard in Arkansas?

The last question I would like to have answered is this:

Why is the national press permitted to publish such vile and vulgar language? Certainly, if the United States citizens are to keep up their high standards of living, this will have to be solved somehow.

I have been raised among the colored folks but <sup>later</sup> giving quite a lot of consideration to this

---

subject, I have come  
to the conclusion that  
this will always depend  
on the way a person is  
trained.

I would appreciate  
answers to the questions  
I have asked. In this  
way, I will be able to  
better myself as an  
American Citizen.

Sincerely yours,  
Joanna Myers



*File  
124-11-1  
School Division*

October 18, 1957

Dear Mr. Zavadil:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of September twenty-third.

Your views have been read with understanding and with genuine appreciation that you have taken the time to communicate them to us in writing. The President and his entire staff are most interested in what you and many others have had to say on the general subject of your letter.

I believe the answer to your first numbered question is to be found in the sixth paragraph on page two of the enclosed Transcript of the President's News Conference of October 3, 1957.

With regard to your second question, I am aware that such a contention is being made in some quarters. It would seem, however, that this argument, if not altogether without legal reality or merit, is at best academic. The fourteenth amendment was adopted many decades ago and numerous cases have been brought and decided under it. Further, I know of no challenges to the validity of its adoption in any court proceeding in recent times.

The President's decisions and actions with regard to matters in Arkansas have been taken in what the President sincerely and deeply believes to be the national interest. I am also enclosing for your consideration a copy of the President's recent address in which he explained the reasons for his actions.

With kind regards,

*H. McPhee*  
Sincerely,

Henry Roemer McPhee  
Assistant Special Counsel  
to the President

#  
X  
Mr. George Zavadil  
3713 Rexmere Road  
Baltimore 18, Maryland

HRM/leb

Enclosures

6  
Pouch

9/28

3713 Rexmere Road  
Baltimore, 18, Md.  
23 September, 1957.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower  
U. S. Naval Station  
Newport, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. President:

From the citizens of the United States who are residents of a so far successfully integrated state (Maryland) have come some troublesome thoughts I have solidified below:

1. Is it true that you are quoted as having said you would not use force; i.e. troops, to insure integration?

If so, then what does your latest statement mean?

2. Is it true that there is some true legal dispute that the 14th Amendment is not part of our Constitution since it was not properly ratified?

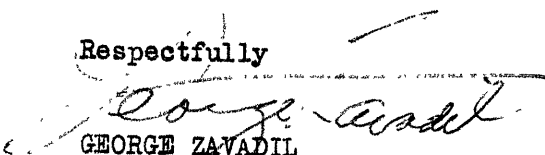
If so, wouldn't this be a tremendous help to the entire United States to bring this out for full discussion? Preferably this should be done by at least a 50-50 North/South legal team. . .and the truth be shown regardless of the negro vote now being sought by both parties.

Being born in New York State, with few negroes in our town, this has never been a problem to me, but living in a border state, with contacts through my business with many people from the south, I feel there must be some justice on their side.

Democracy has always meant to me full consideration of the rights of the minority, but with majority rule. Shouldn't this rule apply to those people in the south who are members of this democracy?

It is becoming apparent to many people that government is ruled by pressure blocs; farm; labor, negro, religious, racial, and this is brought about by small people in political jobs who think small; i.e. city job, county job, district job, state job. I for one do not believe it should be allowed in the higher echelons.

Respectfully

  
GEORGE ZAVADIL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED  
NOV - 5 1957  
10/23  
CENTRAL FILES

Mary:

xGF 15-A

Governor said to send this to the AG  
under confidential cover.

CF

124-A-1  
School Decision

L.

Memorandum  
Marcus  
Bill Francis

under confidential cover:  
Governor ask to send this to the VC  
WFLA:

WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
October 23, 1957

Governor:

The attached is sent to you merely for your information and to call to your attention a potentially dangerous situation. At sometime Bill Francis will probably talk to you about it.

Perhaps this should be forwarded to the Attorney General for his information.

*Max*  
Maxwell M. Rabb  
↓

will properly talk to you about it.  
situation. At sometime Bill Egan  
your attention & potentially dangerous  
for your information and to call to  
The attached is sent to you merely  
Yemen and you were  
COAGIHOT:

October 33, 1951  
WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

10/25

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 10

Governor:

Mr. Francis (Def.) would like  
to see you in next couple weeks  
to talk over school integration  
problems in Dallas. *Jep*

X  
XCF123. *Jep* Mary Burns

*Good  
When?*

*3:00 PM  
10/25*

*re School Integration decision: #*

October 23, 1957

Dear Mr. Waldron:

Your recent letter addressed to Mr. Shanley has been referred to me for acknowledgment.

I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at his news conference of October third as he discussed the fundamental factors concerning the difficult Arkansas situation.

Sincerely,

ENCLOSURE

Mr. Arthur Waldron  
Route One  
Three Rivers, Michigan

Enclosure

avb/mcc



October 22, 1957

1957 OCT 22 11:10 AM

Three Rivers Mich

October 16 1957

10/23/57

Mr. Shanley

Thank you for yours of October 10  
However I would like a few answers  
perhaps only you can give.

Where were the bayonets when the  
riots occurred in Wisconsin, in Ohio  
and here in Michigan? State or local  
did little or nothing to protect a larger  
segment of our people than were  
involved in Little Rock.

Now so such as Beck, Haffa  
and Bridges are allowed to continue above  
the law? To be fair you must be con-  
sistent and if our big power no nigger  
cham player would openly and publicly  
insult and unfairly revile our president.  
Lets enforce all the law on our  
boops not only a persecuted minority  
Arthur Waldman  
Route 1



RECEIVED  
OCT 1 1957  
SECRETARY

CF

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR

Maxwell M. Rabb

Attached for appropriate reply by you  
is a letter to the President from Mr.  
Arthur Waldron, Route One, Three  
Rivers, Michigan, requesting an  
interview on segregation.

B. M. S.

Bernard M. Shanley

10/7/57

Miss Waldron in the  
Rabb's office called Macomber  
& said she was returning  
attached for Mr. Shanley's  
office to handle directly.

No 24 in file 10 1957

Three Rivers Mich  
7/23

PM 9-20-57

Mr President

I am requesting a conference  
with you.

you conferred with Gov. Danbo  
you confer with Rep Powell.

I have no connections hold no  
office am just a plain citizen who  
this question affects as much as  
any one. Is there any reason why I  
should not be heard also? I have  
never seen anything on any ballot  
concerning this issue where I or  
any one else can voice their belief and  
opinion. Therefore I do not think  
this request unreasonable. yours

Phone 2.R. 34436

Arthur Waldron  
Route 1

10

G.F.

124-A-1

School Decision

PAN  
per GPM

RECEIVED  
DEC-3 1957  
GENERAL FILES

4448 Lowell Ave.,  
Los Angeles, 32.  
November 12, 1957.

Hon. Dwight P. Eisenhower,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Eisenhower:-

No doubt you are familiar with the George

Lichner case, as outlined in the November 15th issue of the  
U.S. <sup>News + Report</sup> ~~World News~~. I am sure that you believe in fair play and

GF 150B

that you will see that this youth is restored to the rolls  
of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. The treatment given  
this high school student is a disgrace to United States. It  
does not seem to me that our Supreme Court understands our  
Constitution very well.

Respectfully,

Student of  
Thomas Kelly High School  
Chicago Ill.  
\* GF 127-A

William A. Sherborne  
William A. Sherborne

Re School Decision  
#

## Fate of a Schoolboy Who Asked for Segregation

**This is what George Lichner did: He wrote a petition against mixed schools, got 13 school-mates to sign it.**

**This is what happened to George: He was suspended from high school, arrested, charged with disorderly conduct, given a psychiatric test, placed under court supervision for one year.**

**Now questions are being asked about George's rights.**

### CHICAGO

George Lichner is an 18-year-old junior at Thomas Kelly High School in Chicago. He is white. There are 50 Negroes among Kelly High's 3,500 students.

A few weeks ago, after hearing about the controversy over integration in Little Rock, Ark., George tore a page from his notebook and wrote a petition asking his school principal and the Chicago board of education to follow a policy of racial segregation. He circulated the petition in his class and got 13 signatures on it.

George says: "It was just a joke. I didn't even know what I was going to do with the petition when I got through."

Chicago authorities, however, did not treat George's action as a joke.

**Suspension and arrest.** The school principal, Dr. Amerigo R. Sansone, sum-

moned George to his office. He confiscated the petition. He suspended George from school for two weeks and each of the 13 signers for one week.

Dr. Sansone says he did that because no student has a right to disrupt study by circulating petitions. He says that ordinarily he would have let the matter rest there. But he feared that racial trouble might erupt at Kelly High, "so I notified the police as a precaution."

Three detectives arrested George, took him to Brighton Park police station and charged him with disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor under city ordinances.

A police official, commenting later, said: "This is America. Negroes, Japanese, everybody has a right to go to that school. When you get right down to it, he's going against the Constitution of the United States."

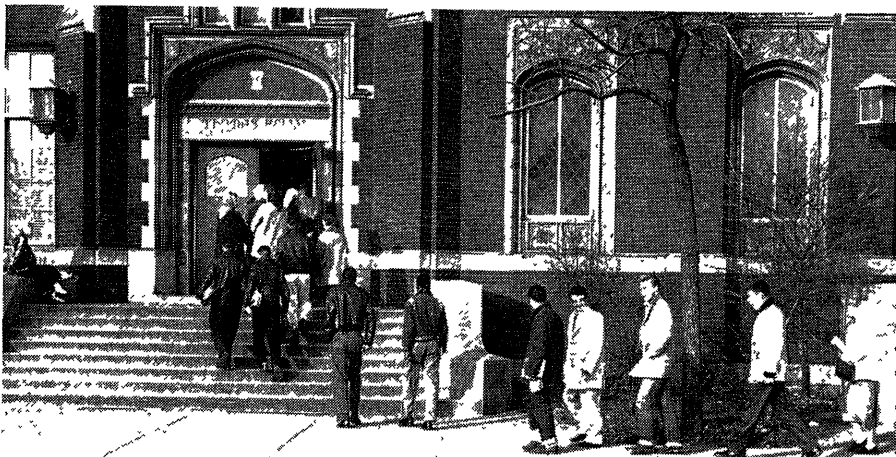
George's father, a machine-shop foreman, got George released on \$10 bond, pending his hearing.

George had no attorney when he appeared before Judge Daniel J. McNamara in boys' court. Asked by the judge why he had circulated the petition, George said it was only a joke.

Later, to reporters, George explained that he really does not object to the presence of Negroes in Kelly High, but he does resent one Negro boy's "firting with white girls."

**Next, an ink-blot test.** Judge McNamara ordered that George be given a psychiatric examination. He says he did that because: "The young man impressed

*(Continued on page 102)*



CHICAGO'S THOMAS KELLY HIGH SCHOOL . . .  
. . . where a schoolboy's petition for segregation led to arrest

—Jarecki

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go, in snow



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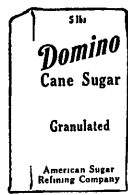
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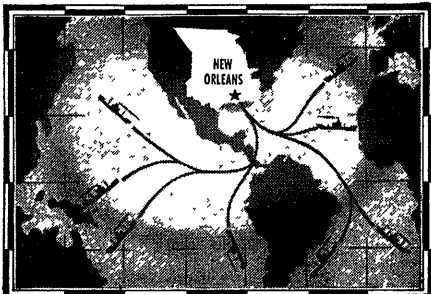
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Ship via



## PORT OF NEW ORLEANS U.S.A.



## U. S. News & World Report

[continued]

### WHEN A BOY ASKED FOR SEGREGATION—

me as being a bit odd and I felt that dismissal of the charge wouldn't be helpful to a somewhat explosive situation."

A woman psychologist examined George for two hours. George relates:

"She showed me a big ink blot and asked me what it looked like. Then she put a picture in front of me and said, 'Tell me a story about it.' I busted out laughing at all that stuff."

Back in boys' court, the psychologist reported that George should have "psychiatric help." Dr. Edward J. Kelleher, director of the psychiatric institute at which the test was conducted, said later that "there is nothing much wrong with the boy," but that he revealed "conflicts" by objecting to the Negro boy's attentions to white girls.

George's mother scoffs at these findings, saying: "My son doesn't need any psychiatric treatment, but maybe some of those big shots do." Teachers and friends of George's say he is an entirely normal youth.

After hearing the psychiatric report, Judge McNamara ordered George put under the supervision of the court for one year.

Back in school after his suspension ended, George found he had been dismissed from the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

**What of George's rights?** Around Chicago, George's case has aroused considerable comment, with many people questioning whether a schoolboy prank merited such treatment.

The American Civil Liberties Union is investigating George Lichner's case. Donald P. Moore, staff counsel, says:

"It appears that there may well have been a violation of Lichner's rights under the First and Fourteenth Amendments, or at least conduct by the school officials which violates the spirit, if not the letter, of those provisions."

The Chicago "Tribune," in an editorial about the Lichner case, said:

"All this is unpleasantly suggestive of situations elsewhere, in which spokesmen for minority views are restrained on the specious plea that the mere expression of their opinions is in itself a disturbance of the peace."

George says: "I read about the First Amendment to the Constitution in my civics classes—about freedom of speech and freedom of petition—and I thought I had a constitutional right to do something like that, even if it was a joke. But it doesn't seem that way." [END]



GF

124-A-1  
School Decision

November 27, 1957

RECEIVED  
NOV 29 1957  
GENERAL FILES

Dear Mr. Clements:

Many thanks indeed for sending me a copy of your report -- and my apologies for the delay in acknowledging it. Although I haven't been able to finish reading it through, it is very interesting, and I hope soon to have some leisure time to finish it.

All my best.

Sincerely,

<sup>#</sup>  
Re School decision  
& Communist Party  
x 65-150-C-1

James C. Hagerty  
Press Secretary  
to the President

x Mr. John A. Clements x  
Hearst Magazine  
57th Street at 8th Avenue  
New York 19, N. Y.

gmr

✓

HEARST MAGAZINES

Cosmopolitan \* Good Housekeeping \* Town & Country \* Harper's Bazaar  
House Beautiful \* Sports Afield \* Motor \* Motor Boating \* American Druggist

BRITISH PUBLICATIONS:

Connoisseur \* Good Housekeeping \* Vanity Fair \* Harper's Bazaar \* House Beautiful \* She

*filed  
11/27/57  
Gow*

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE

57TH STREET AT 8TH AVENUE  
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

November 1, 1957

Mr. James C. Hagerty  
Press Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim Hagerty:

I am sending you herewith a report which you might find of interest. It is fully documented and might prove of value to some of your people.

*Not looked up* I hope you will accept my thanks for your kind help in the matter of King Leopold in Newport. We greatly appreciate it, and Mrs. Kuhn and I are most grateful.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

*John A. Clements*  
John A. Clements

JAC:lg  
Enc.

### INTRODUCTION

In the pages which follow, certain propositions will emerge from the evidence submitted. For the most part, original Communist sources have been cited in order to let the Communists speak for themselves. It should be clear that --

1) The Communists are at work, with their customary fanatical dedication, in stirring up trouble in the field of public school integration in the South;

2) The Communists have been at work for some thirty years in the field of agitation among Negroes;

3) The Communists have organized and promoted a succession of united fronts and fronts designed especially for winning Negroes to Communism;

4) The tactics of Communist agitation among Negroes are greatly altered from time to time, but the basic objective of violent revolution remains unchanged;

5) Whatever the line of the Communist Party on the Negro question may be at a given moment, it is based upon the so-called Marxist-Leninist analysis and is dictated by Moscow in the special interests of the Soviet Union;

6) There is a vast Communist literature on the subject of Communism and the American Negro;

7) One of the announced goals of the Communist program is the confiscation without compensation of the property of the white capitalists and landowners in the South;

8) The Communists favor racial amalgamation and assert that a Communist revolution would speed up the process;

9) The Communists have established friendly contacts with the Negro leaders of most of the recent integration incidents in the South;

10) The Communists rely chiefly upon the support which they are able to command from misguided Southern liberals;

11) This is an era in Communist strategy when the Party has reverted to the united front policy which prevailed immediately prior to and during World War II;

12) Communist leaders have asserted that "Negro liberation" is their Number One issue on the domestic front.

---

COMMUNISTS, NEGROES, AND INTEGRATION

The Communist Party has long been expert at the business of fishing in troubled waters -- the more troubled, the more to its liking.

The Communist Party is at it again today; and, unfortunately, the "Keep Off" signs have been taken down by order of the U. S. Supreme Court, in its decisions of June 17, 1957, affecting the Communist conspiracy.

If any issue in our society today may be properly characterized as troubled waters, it is unquestionably the issue raised by the Supreme Court's desegregation order of May 17, 1954. And there is no hazard in predicting that these waters will be troubled for a long time to come.

The situation is one which the Communists have welcomed eagerly. It offers them an almost unparalleled opportunity to exploit, for their own ulterior and revolutionary purposes, the inevitable social turbulence resulting from the Supreme Court's order for public school integration. Violent agitation is the meat on which Communism feeds.

The Bait: Negro Liberation

The bait on the Communist hook is "Negro liberation," a phrase which has been reiterated by Communist leaders with such frequency over the years that it has become a cliché. It matters not that liberation at the hands of Communists is demonstrably a cruel euphemism for a slavery worse than that from which Lincoln's

Emancipation Proclamation freed the Negroes. The Communists still approach the Negro people of the United States with the promise of liberation dangling from their hook.

As long ago as 1928, the Communist Party of the United States published a pamphlet written by John Pepper, the representative of the Communist International in the United States, in which Pepper said: "The Communists must participate in all national liberation movements of the Negroes which have a real mass character." (American Negro Problems, p.14; emphasis in original)

In a Communist pamphlet entitled "The Road to Negro Liberation," published in 1934, Harry Haywood wrote about "Party leadership in the Negro liberation movement." (p.62)

In 1937, the Communist Party issued a pamphlet entitled "The Road to Liberation for the Negro People," by Abner W. Berry and others.

Ten years later, in 1947, Negro Communist leader Benjamin J. Davis published his pamphlet entitled "The Path of Negro Liberation," in which he wrote:

Consequently the Negro people are moving in the direction of some form of statehood in the Black Belt. This would mean an adjustment or rectification of the lines demarking 12 states through which runs the Black Belt area where the Negro people are in a majority. (p. 19, 20)

In 1948, Negro Communist leader Harry Haywood published a book entitled Negro Liberation.

That "Negro liberation" has priority on the Communist Party's agenda today is confirmed by the foremost Negro Communist leader in the United States. Writing in Political Affairs, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which lays down the Party line, Benjamin J. Davis declares:

The struggle for Negro rights -- particularly in the deep South -- is the single most crucial and decisive issue in the United States today...The massive significance of the national liberation struggles of the Negro and colonial people, here and abroad, envelops this work with additional importance. (p.13)

Negro Republic in the Black Belt

The Communist slogan of "Negro Liberation" is simply a watered-down version of the Party's original slogan of "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt." The propaganda which the Communist Party conducted on the basis of the latter slogan fell flat in its appeal to Negroes and only served to show how far the Kremlin's agents are removed from the realities of the American scene.

In October, 1930, the Communist International adopted a resolution "on the Negro Question in the United States." It was published in the United States by Workers Library Publishers, the publishing adjunct of the Communist Party, in a pamphlet entitled The Communist Position on the Negro Question.

On the subject of an independent Negro republic in the Black Belt, the Comintern took the position that "as long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States." (p.51) But, in the event of the establishment of a Soviet government in the whole United States, Communist Negroes would come out against "separation of the Negro Republic from federation with the United States," while unconditionally giving "the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question." (p.50-51)

The Comintern's resolution held that there was a "prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement," and that in such a situation the Communist Party must "stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt." (p.51-52)

William Z. Foster points out that the Program of the Communist International declares for:

The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to State separation. (Toward Soviet America, p. 304)

Foster then applies this principle of self-determination and State separation (or secession from the United States) to the Negro population in the Black Belt, in the following statement:

Accordingly, the right of self-determination will apply to Negroes in the American Soviet system. In the so-called Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes are in the majority, they will have the fullest right to govern themselves and also such white minorities as may live in the section. (ibid, p. 304)

#### Confiscation

The program of the Communist Party calls for the confiscation of the property of the white people in the so-called Black Belt. According to William Z. Foster, writing in his book entitled Toward Soviet America:

In a Soviet system, the Negro will have the most complete equality -- economically, politically, socially...He will have ample land, confiscated from the great white landlords...Socialism will mean the first real freedom for the Negro. He is beginning to realize this, hence his mass



turning to the Communist party for leadership, and the consequent deep alarm of the capitalists and big landowners at this growing unity of white and black toilers. (p. 303)

There is no doubt about the Communist program of confiscation. But, after 40 years of Communist agitation, there is no evidence of the "mass turning" of Negroes to the Communist Party -- a fact which William Z. Foster knows very well now, and which he knew very well when he wrote about it.

Communist Aim: Racial Amalgamation

In their franker moments, Communist leaders in the United States have stated bluntly that one of their aims is to bring about racial amalgamation. Thus, William Z. Foster, present head of the Communist Party in America, declared in his book entitled Toward Soviet America:

The American Soviet will, of course, abolish all restrictions upon racial intermarriage...The revolution will only hasten this process of integration, already proceeding throughout the world with increasing tempo. (p.305-306)

Kremlin's Guidance and Control

William Z. Foster is frank in asserting that Lenin has been the source of the Communist Party's line on agitation among Negroes. In his book, The Negro People in American History, published in 1954, Foster writes:

The American Communist Party got its eventual scientific understanding of the Negro question in the United States from the writings and personal counsel of Lenin. This was one of the many basic services to the American labor movement rendered by the Communist International, but it was not to be realized until 1929. (p.454)

It has already been shown that the representative of the Communist International, John Pepper, dictated the line of the American Communists on the so-called Negro question.

On Penetrating Non-Communist Organizations

In addition to building their own Party-controlled organizations, the Communist Party has from the beginning pursued a policy of sending its members into non-Communist organizations. Their own word for this type of activity is "penetration." The Communist objectives in penetrating other groups are varied. In some instances, the goal of penetration is outright control. In other instances, the objective is to disseminate and gain support for the views of the Party apparatus outside the immediate circle of Communists or, in other words, to win fellow travelers on specific issues. In yet other and rarer cases, the aim of penetration is to destroy the organization which is penetrated.

At times, the Communist Party directives have frankly set forth the tactics of penetration, without the slightest attempt at secrecy and subtlety. Thus, a report to the Plenum of the Communist Party in 1935 records some successes in penetration. Excerpts from this report were published in the Party Organizer of March, 1935, under the title of "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations." The first excerpt gives an illuminating example of the tactics of Communist penetration. It reads as follows:

We have some excellent experiences in New York. In Queens we have been able, just on one issue, and maybe this is the secret of it, to get together over 60 various organizations of the Negro people on the question of discrimination in the hospital in Queens. We have the Alpha Benevolent Association, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Amity Baptist Church, Arrawat Democratic Club, Bayside City League, N.A.A.C.P., etc., about 70 organizations that have come together and conducted a struggle in Queens for the right of Negroes in the hospitals in the City of New York. (p.20)

The tactic of concentrating on "one issue" in order to penetrate non-Communist Negro organizations was further illustrated in the second excerpt of the report to the Plenum of the Communist Party. In this instance, the "one issue" was a forthcoming conference on unemployment in Washington, D.C., a conference engineered and controlled by the Communist Party. With respect to this example of successful penetration of non-Communist Negro organizations, the Plenum report said:

These experiences have shown us that it was possible to get this united front by simply taking up one section, one issue, one grievance of the Negro people and developing a struggle around it. In this case we can see that if we properly approach these organizations there is a possibility of getting into the Negro organizations for a united front. We have had in Harlem in the preparations for the unemployed conference at Washington, a conference of 29 organizations, different organizations than we have had heretofore, into a conference at Abyssinia Baptist Church, the N.A.A.C.P., church organizations, etc. Comrade /Herbert/ Benjamin spoke there, and we elected delegates to the congress at Washington. We had also the followers of Father Divine, the Negro "God." (p.20)

(Again and again, the Communist Party has successfully penetrated the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Representative Adam Clayton Powell was and is the pastor.)

Still another example of the use of the tactic of "one issue" was the united front which the Communist Party organized around the Italian war against Ethiopia. In an article entitled "The United Front on Ethiopia," published in the Party Organizer of July, 1935, James W. Ford wrote as follows:

This time we organized a broad united front on the issue of the struggle for the defense of the Ethiopian people, which ultimately involved at least 60 Negro organizations. (p.16)

In this campaign of penetration, the Communist Party again had the use of Congressman Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church.

Wrote James W. Ford in the Party Organizer:

The first action was on May 7 [1935] in Harlem at the Abyssinian Church. There were 3,000 Negroes present, most of whom were not Communists. There the Communists spoke from the same platform as these other people. (p.17)

In the work of penetrating non-Communist organizations, the Communists went prepared for any eventuality. According to Ford, the Communist Party on one occasion sent a number of the followers of Marcus Garvey, whose organization the Party had penetrated, to a meeting of the Party's Italian Workers' Center "where our comrades discussed the Abyssinian question." Ford added that these Negro Garveyites "were so afraid of their reception [at the Italian Communist center] that they went there armed with knives." (p.17) The precautionary arming was, of course, wholly unnecessary; they were received most hospitably. From this particular affair, Ford drew the following conclusion:

It is along these lines that we must work among the Negroes, patiently overcoming their suspicions and hesitations.

This experience in Harlem opens up a perspective of wider actions not only in Harlem, but throughout the country. Committees on Ethiopia should be set up on a nation-wide scale. (p.17)

If ever two movements possessed antithetical ideologies, they were the Communist Party and Father Divine's group. Notwithstanding this sharp clash of basic views, the Communist Party successfully penetrated the ranks of Father Divine's movement. On this subject, James W. Ford made the following comment:

Another question that is bothering a number of comrades in New York is the Father Divine movement in connection with the united front...the comrades in Harlem have taken

very seriously the question which was raised at the last plenum -- of going into the church organizations, making friends with these people. Through our united front with Father Divine we have been able to effect the penetration of a mass organization of the Negro people. A very important fact to remember in connection with the Father Divine movement is the fact that the followers of Father Divine are workers, toiling people; that is why we are attempting to penetrate into this movement.

The united front with the Father Divine movement has been made on the basis of certain concrete issues. (p.17, 18)

For more than 20 years, the Communist Party has pursued this tactic of penetration of non-Communist organizations and groups. With the current dwindling of its membership, the Party is pursuing the tactic more assiduously than ever. Recently, it has applied the tactic on a broad scale among scientists on the issue of radioactive fall-out. It hopes to reap vast gains on the issue of integration in the public schools of the South. Communists measure their gains in terms of social turbulence. Wherever they are permitted, they will penetrate non-Communist groups which favor federal intervention by force in the field of integration, hoping thereby to increase turmoil and incite to violence. The indispensable pre-conditions of Communist revolutionary sentiment are chaos and violence.

The Communist Party cared little or nothing about racial discrimination in the Queens hospital, about the fate of the Scottsboro boys or Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, about the Italian war against Ethiopia, or about the unemployed; it cares much about fishing in troubled waters. Only so can it serve its Kremlin master.

Negro College Presidents

The Communist-front apparatus has gained support, in one degree or another, among 60 percent of Negro college and university presidents. The following heads of Negro institutions of higher learning were affiliated with the National Negro Congress:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.  
John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.  
David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.  
R. O'Hara Lanier, Texas Southern University, Houston, Tex.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
Jacob L. Reddix, Jackson State College, Jackson, Miss.

The following were affiliated with the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.  
William H. Bell, Alcorn A. & M. College, Alcorn, Miss.  
Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Pa.  
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.  
Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.  
Edgar H. Goold, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.  
Arthur Howe, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.  
Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Mordecai Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.  
J. R. E. Lee, Florida A. & M. University, Tallahassee, Fla.  
Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.  
James E. Shepard, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.  
H. C. Trenholm, Alabama State College for Negroes,  
Montgomery, Ala.  
John Brown Watson, Arkansas State A. & M. and Normal College,  
Pine Bluff, Ark.  
M. F. Whittaker, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S.C.

The following have been affiliated with the currently functioning Southern Conference Educational Fund:

Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.  
William Augustus Bell, Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.  
Miller W. Boyd, Morristown College, Morristown, Tenn.  
James P. Brawley, Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.  
Tandy W. Coggs, Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock, Ark.  
James A. Colston, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.  
John W. Davis, West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va.

Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.  
John M. Ellison, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.  
M. LaFayette Harris, Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.  
Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Mordecai W. Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.  
Richard I. McKinney, Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.  
Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.  
E. C. Peters, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.  
Hollis F. Price, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.  
O. R. Reuben, Morris College School of Religion, Sumter, S.C.  
Joseph J. Rhoads, Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.  
William R. Strassner, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

There is no implication in the foregoing listings that any of these heads of Negro institutions are Communists. They represent, however, a high degree of Communist penetration into the ranks of the administrators of Negro education.

Forty-five different heads of Negro institutions of higher learning have had a total of 291 separate affiliations with the Communist-front apparatus. It is apparent that the Communists have established a sizeable beachhead in Negro education.

Many of these affiliations mean that Communists or pro-Communists have made personal contact with the top administrators of Negro education. That is one of the aims of the Communist-front technique. And, of course, the Communists acquire a certain amount of prestige for their projects.

If the so-called Negro masses were as susceptible to Communist-front propaganda as the so-called Negro intellectuals, the situation would be alarming. In his condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, Arnold Rose makes the following observation:

Still the Communists have not succeeded in getting any appreciable following among Negroes in America, especially among the masses. During the depression and again since the war, a number of leaders and intellectuals have become Communists or "fellow travelers"... To begin with, poor, uneducated, and socially disadvantages groups have never been particularly susceptible to radical propaganda. It is usually the intellectuals and higher strata of the working class that have been reached first. (The Negro in America, p.166)



National Council of Churches Penetrated

Remembering James W. Ford's statement about the Communist Party's policy "of going into the church organizations," some statistical data with respect to this question are enlightening.

The Communist Party has been strikingly successful in its efforts at infiltrating the Federal and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. during the past 20-odd years.

In view of the fact that the philosophical bases of Communism and Christianity are as antithetical as two philosophies could possibly be, the success of the Communists in penetrating the ranks of the Protestant clergy is hard for some to understand. Nevertheless, the cold statistical facts are a matter of public record. It is not necessary to rely upon anybody's opinions.

The National Council of Churches was officially constituted on November 29, 1950, in Cleveland, Ohio. It was, in fact, nothing more than a reorganization of the Federal Council of Churches.

In the formal constituting of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland, one representative from each of the participating communions signed the official book which became the Document of Record. Eleven of these 29 signers of the official book have public records of affiliation with pro-Communist enterprises.

Their names and respective denominations are as follows:

Bishop S. L. Greene -- African Methodist Episcopal  
Bishop W. J. Walls -- African Methodist Episcopal Zion  
Dr. E. H. Pruden -- American Baptist Convention  
Dr. Desmond W. Bittinger -- Church of the Brethren  
Bishop Bertram W. Doyle -- Colored Methodist Episcopal  
Dr. Vere V. Loper -- Congregational Christian  
Rev. Josef A. Barton -- Czech Moravian  
Bishop J. Ralph Magee -- Methodist  
Dr. W. H. Jernagin -- National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.  
Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill -- Protestant Episcopal  
Dr. Henry A. Vruwink -- Reformed Church in America

It will be noted that 4 of the 11 signers of the Document of Record -- Greene, Walls, Doyle, and Jernagin -- were representatives of all-Negro denominations. This is a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen. Whatever the reasons may be, it is a fact that Negro professional groups have been more susceptible to Communist penetration than their white counterparts.

There were 358 clergymen who were voting delegates to the constituting convention of the National Council of Churches in Cleveland. Of these clergymen, 123 (or 34 percent) have had affiliations with Communist projects and enterprises. That represents a high degree of penetration.

These 123 voting delegates were divided as follows: 84 white and 39 Negroes. The total number of their public pro-Communist affiliations is 659, of which 359 are affiliations of the white clergymen and 300 are affiliations of the Negro clergymen. Again, these figures indicate a disproportionately large number of Negro clergymen with Communist affiliations, and a higher degree of susceptibility to the appeals of Communist causes. The average number of affiliations for the Negro delegates is 7.7, while that of the whites is 4.2.

The greater Communist penetration of the higher ranks of Negro church dignitaries is evidenced by the fact that 57 percent of the total number of currently active Negro bishops of four Protestant denominations have records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations and enterprises. The following Negro bishops fall into this category:

African Methodist Episcopal Church --

George W. Baber, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Frank Madison Reid, Kittrell, N. C.  
Joseph Gomez, Cleveland, O.  
Frederick D. Jordan, Hollywood, Calif.  
R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Carey A. Gibbs, Birmingham, Ala.  
D. Ward Nichols, Jacksonville, Fla.  
Sherman L. Greene, Atlanta, Ga.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church --

William Jacob Walls, Chicago, Ill.  
Raymond Luther Jones, Salisbury, N. C.  
Hampton Thomas Medford, Washington, D. C.  
Herbert Bell Shaw, Wilmington, N. C.  
Stephen Gill Spottswood, Washington, D. C.  
Charles Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, Ky.  
Charles Cecil Coleman, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church --

J. A. Hamlett, Kansas City, Kan.  
W. Y. Bell, South Boston, Va.  
F. L. Lewis, Shreveport, La.  
Bertram W. Doyle, Nashville, Tenn.  
A. W. Womack, Indianapolis, Ind.  
B. Julian Smith, Chicago, Ill.

Methodist Church --

J. W. E. Bowen, Atlanta, Ga.  
Matthew W. Clair, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.  
Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, Md.

Eight of the above-named, currently active, Negro bishops are officially connected with the Southern Conference Educational Fund. They are Bishop S. L. Greene, Bishop F. L. Lewis, Bishop Edgar A. Love, Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood, Bishop Charles Ewbank Tucker, Bishop Charles Cecil Coleman, and Bishop Frank Madison Reid.

The aim of the Communist penetration of non-Communist organizations is not necessarily to recruit members of the Party, but rather to create a favorable climate of opinion for certain limited objectives of the Communist program. In this way, the stain of Communism is removed from these objectives, and thus they appear to be the objectives of men of goodwill.

Highlander Folk School Seminar

Over the Labor Day weekend (August 30-September 2, 1957), Highlander Folk School, at Monteagle, Tennessee, staged its 25th anniversary seminar on "the human aspects of the integration struggle." Notorious Communists, veteran Communist fellow travelers, and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the seminar (The incident of Little Rock had not yet occurred.)

Before taking up the records of the prominent integrationists who were present, it is necessary to take a look at the Highlander Folk School and its ideological orientation.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Myles Horton and Don West. (See testimony of Paul Crouch, May 6, 1949, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, page 193.) In his testimony, Mr. Crouch said: "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. [James] Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined."

Paul Crouch, who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School, was the top Communist Party functionary in the South. His Communist record given to a Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance:

The major positions I held in the Communist Party were the head of the Communist Party's department for infiltration of the Armed Forces of the United States, a representative of the Communist Party of the United States to the executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow, a member of a commission in Moscow to draft plans to infiltrate and subvert all the armed forces of the world, and operate as honorary regimental commander of the Red Army, a special student at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow; I was a

member of the editorial staff of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, a member of the various commissions of the central and national committee of the party, State or district organizer for Florida, for Utah, for North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, editor of the Communist magazine, The New South, the official organ for the Southern States, member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, and chairman of the control commission of the Communist Party for that area, a member of the district bureau of the Communist Party for California, for Nevada, and Hawaii, national secretary of the Anti Imperialist League, and many other minor positions.

Speaking of James Dombrowski, Mr. Crouch testified as follows: "I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee...at this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership, without taking the risk of actual Party membership."

In March 1954, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security held hearings in New Orleans on the subject of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., of which James Dombrowski was and is the executive director. Among the witnesses who testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in New Orleans was one John Butler who had formerly been a functionary of the Communist Party in Alabama.

In the course of his testimony, Mr. Butler stated that he attended a meeting of Communist Party leaders in July of 1942, in the Thomas Jefferson Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama. Mr. Butler stated that Alton Lawrence introduced James Dombrowski to him on that occasion as a Communist Party member. (See Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security Hearings, March 18, 1954, page 45.) According to Mr. Butler, this meeting of

Communist Party leaders was held in Dombrowski's own hotel room. In November, 1956, Alton Lawrence was indicted on a charge of conspiring to file a false non-Communist affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board, which non-Communist affidavit is required of trade union officials by the Taft-Hartley Act. (See New York Times, November 17, 1956.) Alton Lawrence is currently an official of the Communist-controlled International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, Alton Lawrence was a member of its faculty. On August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, testified before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, and Myles Horton as persons who "attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South." Mr. Frey further testified: "In connection with this I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three C.I.O. organizers took a very prominent part." (See Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, page 126.)

Paul Crouch testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, as follows: "The Highlander Folk School is a school operated at Monteagle, Tennessee, ostensibly as an independent labor school, but actually working in close co-operation with the Communist Party." (See Hearings, page 47.) Dombrowski was an instructor at the Highlander Folk School for a number of years.

The following colloquy took place between Senator Eastland, Committee Counsel Arens, and Mr. Crouch during the latter's testimony:

SENATOR EASTLAND. Mr. Crouch, did you ever visit Dr. Dombrowski's home?

MR. CROUCH. I visited the Highlander Folk School where he was working. I didn't visit at his home, but we spent a night at the same home together, Caroline Stevenson's, and he and Leo Sheiner discussed in my presence the actual hideout of Communist leaders the night we were traveling to Winter Haven.

MR. ARENS. He and Sheiner discussed in your presence the hideouts for Communist leaders, top flight leaders; is that correct?

MR. CROUCH. That is correct, sir. (See hearings, p.52.)

Don West, who has already been mentioned as connected with the Highlander Folk School, was district director of the Communist Party of North Carolina. (See House Committee Hearings, May 6, 1949, page 191.)

At the New Orleans hearings of the Senate Committee, on March 20, 1954, Myles Horton was ejected by the United States Marshal from the witness stand and the hearing room, for disorderly conduct.

James Dombrowski's record of pro-Communist activities and connections will be discussed under the section on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization which is playing a key role in the drive for integration in the South.

Abner W. Berry

The presence of a prominent Communist Party Negro leader at the Highlander Folk School seminar is of major significance. Through Abner W. Berry, the Communist Party established personal contacts with the Southern leaders of the fight for integration.



The Party, in its present-day strategy, sets the highest value on such personal contacts. It is the current strategy of penetration.

Abner W. Berry is a veteran Communist Party leader. More than 25 years ago, he was a member of the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, a Communist sputnik which will be discussed later. For 20 years, Berry has been a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He has also been a member of the smaller central committee of the Party (Daily Worker, May 23, 1938, p. 5). In 1946, he was educational director of the Communist Party of Michigan (Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1946, p. 5). He was an instructor at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science for several years before the school closed in December, 1956.

Abner W. Berry is, and has been for years, a feature writer for the Daily Worker. In this newspaper of the Communist Party, Berry made a lengthy report on his visit to the Highlander Folk School. In his report, Berry said:

Here for four days Negro and white leaders of the South, representing millions of southerners, had the precious communications established with each other that had been disconnected during the past few years. (Daily Worker, Sept. 10, 1957, p.5)

Berry has been a writer for other Communist publications: Masses & Mainstream, Michigan Herald, New Masses, People's Daily World, and Political Affairs. He served for a number of years on the editorial board of Political Affairs, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party.

It is apparent that Abner W. Berry is a high ranking leader of the Communist Party. It goes without saying that the Party

sent him to the Highlander Folk School seminar. Such leaders receive their assignments from the highest command of the Communist Party; they do not go anywhere on their own. The cordial reception which Berry was accorded at the Highlander Folk School is convincing evidence of the school's ideological orientation.

Berry states that "two southern NAACP branch presidents" attended the Highlander Folk School seminar on integration.

Pete Seeger

Another individual who has a long record of Communist affiliations and activity was also a prominent participant in the Labor Day weekend conference at the Highlander Folk School, namely, Pete Seeger.

Pete Seeger is a nationally known folk singer who has been prominently identified with the Communist movement in this country for many years. He has been named as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony.

On August 18, 1955, Pete Seeger was a witness before the house Committee on Un-American Activities. Time and time again, Seeger defiantly refused to answer questions concerning his past or present membership in the Communist Party. He also declined to answer any questions concerning his affiliations with numerous Communist-front organizations. He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment; he simply and contemptuously refused to answer pertinent questions. He was accompanied by Paul L. Ross as counsel. Ross has also been prominent in Communist activity for many years. (See pages 2448-2460 of the Hearings, 1955.)

Among his many Communist connections, Pete Seeger has been publicly affiliated with the following Communist organizations and enterprises which are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief; American Youth Congress; American Youth for Democracy; Civil Rights Congress; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; Committee for the Negro in the Arts; Communist Party; Council on African Affairs; Jefferson School of Social Science; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Nature Friends of America; New Masses; Voice of Freedom Committee; and Win-the-Peace Conference.

Seeger entertained with his guitar and folk songs at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

John B. Thompson

The Rev. John B. Thompson was billed as seminar director at the Highlander Folk School Labor Day weekend affair. Thompson is dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel at the University of Chicago.

Few clergymen have better claims to qualification as veteran Communist fellow travelers than John B. Thompson. He has served the Communist apparatus long and faithfully in many capacities.

Thompson was national chairman of the American Peace Mobilization (Daily Worker, Sept. 3, 1940, p.4) and national chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War (letterhead, Aug. 10, 1940). These were organizations set up by the Communists during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. On the very day that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the

American Peace Mobilization dropped its anti-war stand and changed its name to the American People's Mobilization with John B. Thompson still at its head.

In testimony before a committee set up by the Illinois State Legislature in 1949, John B. Thompson tried to say that the American Peace Mobilization was merely a reflection of the general anti-war sentiment prevailing in the United States in 1939, 1940, and 1941. Such a claim is either dishonest or incredibly stupid. The bona fide anti-war sentiment of the American people prevailed right up until the day of Pearl Harbor. The phony anti-war stand of the APM and the Communists prevailed right up until June 22, 1941, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. The bona fide American peace advocates were ready to go to war only when the United States was attacked; the phony APM and Communist Peace advocates were ready and eager to go to war when their beloved Soviet Union was attacked. The former were America Firsters; the latter were Russia Firsters.

Ten weeks before Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the APM, under Thompson's chairmanship, declared: "This is not a war to wipe out the evils of Hitlerism and tyranny...It is a war to line the pockets of corporate interests at the expense of the peoples of the World."

In one of its official statements in March, 1941, the APM said: "An English victory will result in the same sort of imperialist, anti-democratic peace as will a Nazi victory."

From 1940 to 1942, John B. Thompson was head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a Communist organization which will be discussed later.

Among the many other Communist organizations with which Thompson has been affiliated, the following are on the Attorney General's list: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; International Labor Defense; Emergency Peace Mobilization; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; and People's Institute of Applied Religion.

Aubrey Williams

Aubrey Williams and the Rev. Martin Luther King were the two featured speakers at the closing session of the Highlander Folk School seminar.

As president of the highly influential Southern Conference Educational Fund, Aubrey Williams ranks among top leaders of all-out integration.

Williams was director of the National Youth Administration under President Roosevelt. He also held other high positions in the New Deal. In 1945, however, the U. S. Senate rejected his appointment as administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, after his affiliations with the Communist apparatus had been placed in the record. He is at present editor and publisher of the Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery, Alabama, which has a circulation of 800,000.

On March 19, 1954, Williams was subpoenaed to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In the course of his examination by committee counsel Richard Arens, Williams testified that the following passage was a part of a speech which he had delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on September

11, 1947, under the auspices of the Communist-controlled Progressive Citizens of America:

What they demand is that any man who admits to being a member of the Communist Party be fired immediately on the grounds that no man can be loyal to the United States and be a Communist. It is my belief that it is precisely at this point that we take our stand and defend the right of any Communist to maintain his position as an employee of the Government of the United States. To take any less position than this is to throw overboard such primary rights as the freedom to think and to hold whatever beliefs one chooses. (Hearings, p.107; emphasis added)

Anyone holding Aubrey Williams' views on the employment of admitted Communist Party members in the U. S. Government could be expected to welcome the aid of Communist Party members in the drive for integration.

According to Abner W. Berry's account of the Highlander Folk School seminar in the Daily Worker (Sept. 10, 1957, p.5) Aubrey Williams spoke "prophetically" when he declared that the present situation in the South "is only a short step to general violence" and that the "stuff out of which rebellions are made is definitely being planted."

In the later years of its existence, Aubrey Williams was president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The name of Aubrey Williams was attached to a brief amici curiae on behalf of the Communist Party, at the October 1955 Term of the U. S. Supreme Court. Other red-hot integrationists whose names appear on this defense of the Communist Party include the following: John M. Coe, James A. Dombrowski, W. E. B. DuBois, James W. Ford, W. A. Hunton, and William L. Patterson.

Aubrey Williams is, and has been for many years, a member of the executive committee of the Highlander Folk School.

It would be superfluous to add further details of the many Communist affiliations of Aubrey Williams.

Martin Luther King

The Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery (Ala.) Improvement Association and pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, delivered the closing address at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

King is the nationally acclaimed Negro leader of the integration forces in the South. He is scheduled as one of the featured speakers at the forthcoming assembly of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., in December.

It is of great significance that King is in close touch with such Communists and pro-Communists as were assembled at the Highlander Folk School seminar. The Communists would like nothing better than to take him under their wing.

Leading Communists have been writing enthusiastically about King's movement. In the April, 1957, issue of Political Affairs, Benjamin J. Davis writes of "the national upsurge of the Negroes in the South, spearheaded by the non-violent integration movement." (p. 13). In his new book entitled Toward Negro Freedom, the editor of Political Affairs, Herbert Aptheker, writes of King's bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, as follows:

And in Montgomery, Alabama, there is the epic struggle of the entire 50,000 members of its Negro community...Here, with women in the lead, is the unparalleled and unbreakable splendor of an entire people speaking out to the world in tones of purity and self-sacrifice and saying: "We will live in freedom, in our own day and here in our own city." (p.180)

Such rhetoric is calculated to ingratiate the Communists with the Rev. Martin Luther King and his large following. The



art of flattery is the current tactic of Communist penetration. The tactical crudities of the Party's early years have given way to subtle refinements in penetrating Negro organizations and movements. The Communist Party, however, does not repudiate its former methods which breathed revolutionary fire and brimstone. Writing in Political Affairs, James E. Jackson (one of the top Negro leaders of the Communist Party) says:

It has for three decades been the honorable [sic] task of Communists to set a high standard of devotion to and energetic leadership in the fight for Negro rights. Recognizing the special national character of this question, we have raised our voices among the workers when others stood mute. (Resolution presented to the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA by James E. Jackson, chairman of the Subcommittee on Negro Rights; Political Affairs, March, 1957, p.34)

Jackson thus fondly embraces the Communist Party's record in the African Blood Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the National Negro Congress, and other misadventures in its efforts to kindle revolutionary ardor among American Negroes.

Now, the Party looks upon Martin Luther King's work and movement as a new opportunity to incite racial animosity, and upon King's attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar as a most desirable contact.

In its present adulation of Martin Luther King and his kind of "liberation" movement, the Communist Party still bows reverently at the altar of Marxist-Leninist Theory. James E. Jackson, quoted above on the subject of the Party's past, turns to the Communist Party's present and writes:

As the advance guard of the American working class, the Communist Party must continue to make its contributions to the fight for Negro rights, under the changed conditions

of today, as effectively, as honorably, as it did in previous periods of struggle. The fight for Negro rights needs the contribution which Communists, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, are in a position to make. (p.34)

On February 21, 1956, after the bus boycott in Montgomery had run for 11 weeks, the Negro leaders of the boycott were arrested and charged with violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. The Rev. Martin Luther King was among those arrested. On March 22, he was found guilty and fined \$500. The case is on appeal.

It is interesting to note that the proponents of public school integration in the South make a great to-do about the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, by claiming with unparalleled vehemence that the decision is "the law of the land." On the other hand, they ignore with complete unanimity the U. S. Supreme Court's decision of 1908 declaring the organized boycott of the Danbury Hatters to be in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the principle of which decision is reflected in Alabama's anti-boycott statute.

Mrs. Rosa Parks

It goes almost without saying that Mrs. Rosa Parks was in attendance at the Highlander Folk School seminar.

It was Mrs. Parks who started the Montgomery bus boycott. On December 1, 1955, when she refused to sit in a seat in the rear of a bus, she was arrested and fined \$14. Shortly prior to her dramatic defiance of the segregation ordinance, Mrs. Parks had taken a course at Highlander Folk School.

Mrs. Parks promptly became a heroine to the Communists. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a Communist front,

arranged meetings for her in New York City, including one at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont.

Charles G. Gomillion

Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, was one of the prominent participants in the Labor Day conference at the Highlander Folk School.

As president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, Gomillion received a considerable amount of publicity in the nation's press in the summer of 1957, in connection with his leadership of a Negro boycott against the white merchants of the town of Tuskegee. This was one of the recent militant activities of Southern Negroes. On August 15, 1957, an injunction was issued against the boycott on the ground that it was a violation of Alabama's anti-boycott statute. (New York Times, Aug. 17, 1957)

Gomillion's organized boycott began on June 26, after a mass meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Association in protest against the Alabama legislature's proposed revision of Tuskegee's city limits. Gomillion did not even allege that the white merchants were in any way responsible for the initiation of the revision.

Dean Gomillion's pro-Communist connections have been significant. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 21, 1947, he was identified as a current member and secretary of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, an outright Communist organization (see below).

In a press release dated April 21, 1947, Gomillion was listed as a signer of a manifesto of Negro leaders against the outlawing of the Communist Party. The manifesto was released from 23 West 26th Street, New York City, which is now the

national headquarters of the Communist Party, and which, in 1947, was headquarters of a dozen Communist organizations including the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Co-signers of the manifesto included such Communist stalwarts as Paul Robeson, W. E. B. DuBois, Benjamin J. Davis, and Doxey A. Wilkerson. The signers called upon the President and Congress "to repudiate decisively the fascist-like proposal...to illegalize the Communist Party," and declared: "We will resist with all our power every step taken in that direction."

The Worker, Communist Party Sunday newspaper, of August 29, 1948, carried a full-page advertisement of an enterprise called The First Line of Defense. It was another manifesto in defense of the Communist Party, opening with the following words addressed to the President and the Attorney General: "We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities." This manifesto, too, was signed by Charles G. Gomillion. Co-signers included the following notorious Communist Party leaders of the Negro race: Louis E. Burnham, Ernest Thompson, Abner W. Berry (one of the participants in the Highlander Folk School conference), James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, W. A. Hunton, Richard B. Moore, S. C. Patterson, and Doxey Wilkerson.

Gomillion sponsored a testimonial dinner for W. E. B. DuBois whose services to the Communist cause have been enormous. The dinner was given at Essex House, New York City, on February 23, 1951. Prominent Communists who co-sponsored this DuBois testimonial dinner included the following: Herbert Aptheker,

Mrs. Louise Berman, Howard Fast, Frederick V. Field, Ben Gold, W. A. Hunton, Albert E. Kahn, William L. Patterson, Melba Phillips, Joseph Selly, Howard Selsam, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred K. Stern (who recently fled behind the Iron Curtain to escape indictments for espionage), and Gene Weltfish.

Charles G. Gomillion is a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization whose ideological orientation toward Communism will be discussed later.

Gomillion and his Tuskegee Civic Association are part of an interlocking apparatus which includes the Highlander Folk School and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

In his 1956 presidential report to the Tuskegee Civic Association, Dean Gomillion stated that at one of their meetings in February, 1956, a speaker discussed "the role of the Highlander Folk School, and the search for an effective social action program." He also stated that one of the major roles of the Tuskegee Civic Association was cooperation "with the Highlander Folk School in the effort to develop effective personal and group techniques for facilitating racial desegregation."

In view of the fact that Gomillion and his TCA had been cooperating with the Highlander Folk School for at least a year and a half, it may be presumed that his illegal boycott of the white merchants of Tuskegee was one of the group techniques worked out by the two organizations. Furthermore, it may be assumed that Gomillion's close association with the Communist apparatus, as set forth above, was some kind of preparation for his adoption of the militant boycott technique.

The manager of Tuskegee's largest department store was quoted in the New York Times, as follows: "The Negro leaders picked the wrong target. The merchants didn't have anything to do with Senator Engelhardt's bill. I think they realize that the boycott is unfair. We've worked closely with the Negroes on charity drives and when they asked for credit we extended it without question." It is, of course, standard Communist tactics to exacerbate existing tensions and to create racial strife where none had existed.

Fred B. Routh

The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar in the person of Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh bears the title of assistant director of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council, recipient of a grant of \$245,000 from the Fund for the Republic, is one of the most influential organizations of whites and Negroes in the South. It has been penetrated by the Communist-front apparatus.

The following directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with Communist organizations:

Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College  
Brailsford R. Brazeal, professor at Morehouse College  
Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University  
J. M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University  
Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute  
Charles S. Johnson, late president of Fisk University  
R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University  
Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College  
Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College  
H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State College for Negroes

All of the foregoing directors of the Southern Regional Council are Negroes and all are connected with Negro institutions of higher learning.

Others Present

The Rev. David H. Brooks, Protestant Episcopal high church clergyman (Negro), was a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar. He was a leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott which occurred during the last seven months of 1956.

The Daily Worker, July 1, 1952, carried a front-page story about a petition drawn up by the noted pro-Communist, W. E. B. DuBois, urging President Truman to adopt a policy of "withdrawal of military forces and installations by the U. S. and all other governments from all foreign territory where their presence is not authorized by agreement of all the major powers." Such a policy would, of course, be a Communist booby trap. Of the alleged 160 Negro signers of this DuBois petition, the names of only four were given in the Daily Worker; and one of the four was the name of the Rev. David H. Brooks.

Allen McSwain (Negro) was a speaker who represented the Clinton, Tennessee, school incident.

Bernice Robinson, also a speaker at the Highlander Folk School seminar, discussed the Johns Island, South Carolina, integration incident.

Conrad Browne (white) came to the seminar from Koinonia Farm, an interracial colony near Americus, Georgia. This interracial community has been an incitement to prolonged violence.

Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packing House Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was also a speaker. This union has been heavily infiltrated by known Communists.



A Succession of Sputniks for Negroes

One of the top leaders of the Communist International, Otto Kuusinen, said in a speech before the executive committee of the C.I. that it was the first business of the Communists to launch satellite organizations and committees. In The Communist of May, 1931, Kuusinen was quoted on these satellites of the Communist Party, as follows:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes... We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership). (p.409-423; emphasis in original)

The satellite or sputnik organizations which the Communist Party in the United States has launched especially for Negroes are far too numerous to name all of them. Brief sketches of the principal sputniks in this category will, however, serve to illuminate the aims and tactics of the American Communist Party with respect to the Negroes of the United States.

A partial list of the Communist sputniks for Negroes follows:

African Blood Brotherhood	Abolish Peonage Committee
Alabama Peoples Educational Association	American Negro Labor Congress
Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity	American Negro Labor Council
Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor	Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon
League of Struggle for Negro Rights	Committee for the Negro in the Arts
Negro Labor Victory Committee	Committee to Aid the Fighting South
Southern Negro Youth Congress	Frederick Douglass Educational Center
United Negro and Allied Veterans of America	Martinsville Seven Committee
	National Negro Congress
	Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
	Southern Conference Educational Fund

Of these, only the Southern Conference Educational Fund is still in existence.

African Blood Brotherhood

The African Blood Brotherhood was the first sputnik in the Communist Party's system of satellites. It was penetrated and captured, not originally launched, by the Communists.

Joseph Zack Kornfeder, then a leading member of the Communist Party, has told the following story of the penetration and capture of the African Blood Brotherhood:

...the Communist Party activities amongst the Negroes here in the United States started about 1921, and were prompted by a letter sent to the American Party by Nikolai Lenin... Well, so, of course, the party couldn't ignore a letter from Nikolai Lenin...I was then the junior member of the Central Committee...Well, when I looked around I found that there was simply no Negro membership in the Communist Party ...I knew from the Socialist Party that there were some Negroes in Harlem in a branch of the Socialist Party which was mostly Negroes, although there were also whites in the same branch, and I looked up one of them and he advised me to see an individual by the name of Cyril Briggs. Well, I looked up this individual, and he was the editor of a paper called The Crusader, which was the official organ of a Negro organization called the African Blood Brotherhood. Well, I put in quite an effort on this fellow Briggs, to see whether I could work him over ideologically, and as I got acquainted with him, I noticed that he was having his financial troubles publishing the paper. I didn't tell him that I represented the Communist Party, of course. I just posed as a liberal uncle, who had his sympathies on the Negro side, and was willing to help him. Whenever he ran into some trouble about paying the printer, well, I always obliged with a few hundred dollars. This way I became friends with this Briggs and I worked him over ideologically, and the cant of the journal changed. And, of course, in due time I got at some of his friends who were on the Board of Directors, and, well, it took only about a year before the controlling influence in that organization upon top was exerted through me, and they pretty nearly would do, although they weren't yet in the party, what I wanted them to do. Well, and later on I signed him up into the Communist Party as a member. So that was the first Negro organization that the party got hold of ideologically, at least -- later on organizationally. That's how the thing started. (Subversion in Racial Unrest, Baton Rouge, La., March 6-9, 1957, p. 37)

Cyril Briggs went on to become one of the most prominent Negro leaders in the history of the Communist Party in the United States.

American Negro Labor Congress

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in October, 1925. It was a Communist united front maneuver and the successor to the African Blood Brotherhood.

In his book entitled The Negro People in American History, William Z. Foster writes concerning the ANLC as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress was organized in Chicago in November 1925, mainly upon the initiative of the Communists...The leader of the movement was Lovett Fort-Whiteman, and its journal was The Champion. Outstanding Communist Negro workers in it were James W. Ford, Harry Haywood, Maude White, and many others...Its membership was eventually confined mainly to Communists. (p.460)

Lovett Fort-Whiteman was a student at the Lenin School in Moscow, an institution at which foreign Communists were taught the theory and tactics of propaganda, agitation, and espionage. Fort-Whiteman was also an American delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928. (International Press Correspondence, July 25, 1928, p.708)

Foster says that the ANLC "was handicapped by sectarianism -- by writing too 'left' a program for the masses." Foster also maintains that the ANLC encountered "strong opposition" from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League.

On the eve of the organization of the ANLC, Lovett Fort-Whiteman announced, with pride and obviously gross exaggeration, that --

Each day, everyone promoting the American Negro Labor Congress notes a growing uneasiness in the ruling class of this country in contemplation of the coming American Negro Labor Congress. (Daily Worker, October 7, 1925, p.3)

The Communist International (a mere euphemism for the Kremlin) kept a watchful eye on the American Communist Party and all the little sputniks revolving around it. The American Negro Labor Congress, insignificant as it was, did not escape the attention of the Muscovite bosses of the American Communists.

In a resolution of October 26, 1928, three years after the launching of the sputnik known as the ANLC, the Communist International said:

The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist only nominally. Every effort should be made to strengthen this organization as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership. (The Communist Position on the Negro Question, p.59)

The directives of the Communist International for the American Communist Party were supervised and enforced on the scene by a personal representative of the Communist International. In 1928, one of these agents of the Comintern in the United States was John Pepper. Benjamin Gitlow identifies Pepper in the following words:

A commander of the Hungarian Red Army in 1919, he had fled to Russia after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and along with Bela Kun became an important functionary of the Comintern. In Hungary his name had been Josef Pogany; he came to America as John Pepper. (I Confess, p.136)

In a pamphlet entitled American Negro Problems, published by Workers Library Publishers in 1928, John Pepper wrote concerning the ANLC, as follows:

The American Negro Labor Congress which is still very weak, must be reorganized and activized. The Communists working within this organization should try to make it serve as an intermediary mass organization, as a medium through which

the Party can extend its work among the Negromasses and mobilize the Negro workers under its leadership. (emphasis in original; p.15)

When the sputnik named American Negro Labor Congress petered out, it was brought down and a new one was launched.

James W. Ford, twice vice-presidential candidate on the Communist Party ticket, records that the frank anti-religious position of the American Negro Labor Congress was one of the reasons for its failure. In his book, The Negro and the Democratic Front, published in 1938, Ford wrote:

I recall particularly the strict and unyielding attitude taken by the leaders of the American Negro Labor Congress toward religion. This attitude prevented the Congress from becoming a mass influence among church people. At an A. N. L. C. meeting in Chicago, 1926, composed of a large number of religious people, a leader of the organization in the course of his remarks, said: "To hell with religion; damn the church." (p.82)

Ford then told how the Communist Party changed its tactics and made dupes of church organizations and religious people:

But today in the National Negro Congress church organizations and religious people work co-operatively with non-church people. Our Negro Communists are fraternizing with church people in order to organize them in the struggle for Negro liberation. (ibid, p.82-83)

Ford's meaning is crystal clear: the Communists adopted a policy of tactical silence with respect to their basic contempt for, and hostility toward, religion and the churches -- a policy which continues today.

The last convention of the American Negro Labor Congress was held in St. Louis in November, 1930, where, by unanimous decision, the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. (ibid, p.83)

League of Struggle for Negro Rights

Immediate successor to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was the same old sputnik with a new name. The names of Communist sputniks have had a way of wearing out and, when they do, the Party thinks up new names in order to seduce new followers. Thus, the American League Against War and Fascism became the American League for Peace and Democracy when the new united-front line was adopted after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in 1935. During World War II, the Young Communist League metamorphosed into American Youth for Democracy on October 17, 1943 -- same convention, same officers, same revolutionary objectives. Later on, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare became the Southern Conference Educational Fund in 1947 -- same officers, same address, same telephone number, same publication (Southern Patriot), and same Communist objectives.

There was no attempt to conceal the Communist Party's control of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Among the national council members of the organization were such high functionaries of the Communist Party as William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, James W. Ford, Robert Minor, Benjamin J. Davis, Harry Haywood, Cyril Briggs, Clarence Hathaway, Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock, Israel Amter, Claude Lightfoot, and Abner W. Berry (of the Highlander Folk School seminar). (Equality, Land, and Freedom: A Program for Negro Liberation, published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, New York, 1933, p.44-46)

Langston Hughes was president of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

In its Program for Negro Liberation, the LSNR re-stated the doctrine of Negro nationhood:

We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes are a nation -- a nation striving toward manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American imperialism. The program here presented outlines the only course of action which guarantees the development of the American Negroes to full nationhood, which will elevate them to that rightful place of equality before all and subservience before none. (ibid, p. 7-8)

The program of the LSNR also reiterated the Communist demands for confiscation of the property of the Southern whites:

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers. (ibid, p. 10)

In his Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, held in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, Earl Browder said:

A more broad and all-inclusive organizational form for the Negro liberation struggles is the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This should embrace in its activities all of the basic economic organizations of Negro and white workers standing on the program of Negro liberation, and further unite with them all other sections of the Negro population drawn towards this struggle, especially those large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, professionals, who can and must be won to the national liberation cause. The L.S. N.R. must, in the first place, be an active federation of existing mass organizations; and secondly, it must directly organize its own membership branches composed of its most active forces and all supporters otherwise unorganized. The present beginnings of the L. S. N. R. and its paper, The Liberator, which with only a little attention have already shown mass vitality, must be energetically taken up, and spread throughout the country. (Communism in the United States, 1935, p. 49)

Browder's grandiose conception of the LSNR was a piece of typical Communist wishful thinking. The LSNR gave way to the National Negro Congress in 1936.



National Negro Congress

The fact that the Communist Party was preparing to launch one of its sputniks, the National Negro Congress, was noisily proclaimed long before it was sent revolving around the Party.

The very suggestion that the National Negro Congress be launched was made by the Negro Communist leader, James W. Ford. In his book, The Negro People in American History, William Z. Foster writes:

This broad movement [the National Negro Congress], which operated in the tradition of the historic Negro people's conventions, had been suggested two years before by James W. Ford, in a debate with Oscar de Priest and Frank Crosswaith. (p. 488)

The Party Organizer of March, 1935, let it be known that the Communist Party was laying careful plans to launch the National Negro Congress. This was almost one year before its plans came to fruition. The Party Organizer, in publishing excerpts from a report to one of the plenums of the Communist Party, said:

In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question -- if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations [the churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc.] there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N. Y. District [of the Communist Party] in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in [non-Communist] Negro organizations. (p. 21)

It is obvious that the Communist Party had even selected the name of the new sputnik a year in advance of its launching.

In a condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, Arnold Rose says that "the National Negro Congress grew out of a conference in the spring of 1935 held at Howard University under the joint auspices of its Division of Social Sciences and of the Joint Committee on National Recovery." (The Negro in America, p.262) This joint conference at Howard University was held in May. The Party Organizer of March, 1935, quoted above, is a documentary refutation of the parentage of the National Negro Congress as given in Arnold Rose's condensation of An American Dilemma.

In a confidential memorandum of the Department of Justice, issued for the guidance of the departmental heads of the federal government, the Attorney General of the United States made the following observation concerning the National Negro Congress:

The National Negro Congress, throughout its existence, has closely followed the Communist Party lines, espousing causes and adopting issues sponsored by the Party...In the field of American foreign policy it called for united action on the part of the Democracies (including the Soviet Union) against fascism prior to the Russo-German pact of non-aggression, but after the signing of the pact assailed the "imperialist conflict" as having "nothing to do with saving and extending democracy." When the Nazis attacked Russia, however, the leaders of the (National Negro) Congress advocated all-out aid to the Soviet Union and urged immediate entrance of the United States into the war on the side of Britain and the Allies.

Supporting the foregoing view of the Attorney General, the Third National Negro Congress meeting in Washington, D. C., in April, 1940, adopted the following resolution:

The National Negro Congress declares that the Negro people have everything to lose and nothing to gain by American involvement in the imperialist war and sharply

condemns the Administration for the steps it has taken towards involvement and the partiality it has shown.

On October 16, 1940, speaking under the auspices of the Church League for Industrial Democracy in Kansas City, Missouri, Max Yergen (president of the National Negro Congress) toed the Communist Party line on the subject of the war, in the following words;

We do not believe we have any business allying ourselves with either of the belligerent sides now responsible for the war...It becomes clear that the similarities between fascist and imperialist rule are numerous and strong. (Democracy and the Negro People Today, p.9 and 12)

Max Yergen has since made a clean break with the Communist apparatus.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), was the first president of the National Negro Congress. He was, in fact, already designated as president of the NNC when the new organization was first convened in Chicago on February 14, 1936. The Communist Party had, of course, selected Randolph for the position. The Party had left nothing to chance or the delegates to the Congress.

On account of illness, Randolph was not present at the 1936 sessions of the National Negro Congress. His presidential address, prepared before the Congress met, was read by Charles Wesley Burton, a Negro lawyer from Chicago.

Randolph's address was the kind which might well have been prepared at Communist Party headquarters. With typical soapbox flourishes, Randolph said;

...the Negro people face a hard, deceptive and brutal capitalist order, despite its preachments of Christian love and brotherhood.

What has brought us to this insistent question? The answer in brief lies in the First World War, the sharpening and deepening of capitalist exploitation of the workers of hand and brain, the acceleration of a technological revolution creating a standing army of unemployed, the ripening and maturing of monopoly capitalism thru trustification, rationalization and the rapid march of financial imperialism, and the intensification of racial and religious hatreds, together with increasingly blatant and provocative nationalism.

But the war itself was the effect of a deeper cause and that cause was the profit system which provides and permits the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many... (The Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936, p.8, 9)

Randolph paid his respects to the Communist Party's International Labor Defense. He said;

Those organizations that are serving on the civil rights front effectively for the Negro are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the International Labor Defense. (ibid p.10)

In fairness to A. Philip Randolph, and to complete the record, it must be pointed out that eventually he became disgusted with the Communist domination of the National Negro Congress and resigned from its presidency. After the meeting of the Third Congress, Randolph wrote;

...I consider the Communists a definite menace and a danger to the Negro people and labor, because of their rule or ruin and disruptive tactics in the interest of the Soviet Union...The Congress was deliberately packed with Communists and C. I. O. members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists...

I quit the congress because I was opposed to it, or its officials, expressing sympathy for the Soviet Union, which is the death prison where democracy and liberty have walked their "last mile" and where shocking blood purges wipe out any and all persons who express any dissenting opinions from dictator Stalin.

I quit the congress because I saw that the Communists were firmly in the saddle...Their minds were already made up when they came there by Communists' manipulations, caucuses, and propaganda...I quit the congress because it was not truly a Negro congress. (Congressional Record, May 14, 1940, p.2944-5)

The Communist domination of the National Negro Congress was, of course, evident from the beginning to anyone sufficiently interested in the evidence.

Despite the plain truth about the Communists and the NNC, it received a boost from Norman Thomas, Philip Murray, and Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P. -- all of whom appeared as speakers at the Second National Negro Congress in October, 1937.

The Second National Negro Congress was convened in Philadelphia. The NNC officials made arrangements for a special train from New York to Philadelphia, through World Tourists, a Soviet travel and espionage agency.

In addition to Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., the National Negro Congress was able to attract, as speakers or sponsors, many other Negro leaders among whom were the following; Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute; Rufus B. Atwood, president of Kentucky State College; John M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union University; David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; R. O'Hara Lanier, president of Texas Southern University; and Jacob L. Reddix, president of Jackson State College.

The National Negro Congress also enlisted as stooges the following bishops of Negro churches; Bishop James A. Bray, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop R. A. Carter, Colored Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. J. Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion; Bishop R. R. Wright, African Methodist Episcopal; Bishop W. A. Fountain, African Methodist Episcopal; and Reverdy C. Ransom, African Methodist Episcopal.

The affiliations of these Negro college presidents and Negro bishops indicate that the Communist Party has had a large

measure of success in penetrating the ranks of Negro educators and clergymen.

During the period extending from 1936 to the end of World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party dropped such slogans as "A Negro Republic in the Black Belt" and "The Liberation of the Oppressed Negro Nation." This was in keeping with the Communist Party's new tactical orientation of the People's Front. After World War II, the Communists reverted to their basic disloyalty to the United States. Communists in the armed forces of the United States fought with great zeal in the war against the Axis Powers, not out of any loyalty to their own country but because their adopted "fatherland," the Soviet Union, was a co-belligerent.

Following World War II, the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party showed their true colors. On June 6, 1946, the NNC addressed a petition to the United Nations, requesting that foreign agency to conduct an investigation into the oppression of the Negro people.

Communist tactics are always subject to drastic alteration without notice, but the basic aim of violent revolution is never abandoned.

The National Negro Congress was liquidated in 1947. It had served the purposes of the Communist conspiracy admirably for almost a decade, but during its later years it had become so indelibly stamped as a Soviet sputnik that its influence outside the immediate circle of Communists was rapidly approaching the vanishing point.

Never discouraged, and always ready to start all over again, the Party went on to the launching of new sputniks.

Southern Negro Youth Congress

The Southern Negro Youth Congress originated as the youth section of the National Negro Congress. Its first conference was held in Richmond, Virginia, February 13-14, 1937, at the Fifth Street Baptist Church.

The late Edward E. Strong, Communist Party Negro leader, was chairman of the youth section of the NNC and of the SNYC.

The SNYC was formed during the era of the People's Front, and its behavior was guided accordingly. At its first session, the pastor of the Baptist Church pronounced an invocation. There was nothing of the damn-the-church attitude which had characterized the period of the American Negro Labor Congress, although the Communists were in complete control.

Speakers at the first conference of the SNYC included E. Franklin Frazier, professor at Howard University, Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, and Angelo Herndon.

During the conference, a seminar was devoted to the subject, "The Role of the Negro Church in Solving the Social and Economic Problems of Negro Youth." The leader of the seminar was Herbert M. Smith, dean of the School of Religion, Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. Participants in the seminar discussion were Harold Roland, School of Religion, Howard University, and James A. Cox, School of Religion, Virginia Union University. The Rev. C. E. Queen, pastor of the Leigh Street Methodist Church, also pronounced an invocation.

At one session of the Richmond conference, W. F. Richardson, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, presided. The NAACP national headquarters had a full-page advertisement in the souvenir program.



The SNYC had a Communist affiliate known as the Association of Young Writers and Artists. The association was dedicated to "stimulating and encouraging individual and group expression in the fields of art by Negro youth, increasing the means whereby the finest cultural contributions of Negro youth may be made available to the general public..." Toward this end, the association conducted an essay contest on the subject, "What is your interpretation of the novel 'Freedom Road' by Howard Fast?"

The secretary of the Association of Young Writers and Artists was Louis E. Burnham, Communist Party Negro leader who numbered among his later Communist activities an instructorship in the Jefferson School of Social Science and membership on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The honorary members of the Association of Young Writers and Artists read like a roster of distinguished fellow travelers. Among the honorary members were the following: Louis Adamic, Countee Cullen, W. E. B. DuBois, Oscar Hammerstein, W. C. Handy, Langston Hughes, Canada Lee, Rayford W. Logan, Carey McWilliams, Dorothy Parker, Pearl Primus, and Kenneth Spencer. (People's Daily World, Oct. 2, 1944, p.5)

James W. Ford rushed back to report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the Richmond conference of the SNYC. (The Negro and the Democratic Front, p.113-119) His enthusiasm was unbounded. The Communist Party had made a new and deeper penetration into the South.

William Z. Foster has recently made the following glowing appraisal of the work and influence of the Southern Negro Youth Congress;

Most important was the united front Southern Negro Youth Congress...Leaders in this organization were Edward Strong, James W. Ford, James Jackson, Henry Winston, Louis Burnham, and Esther Cooper...In 1946, when it held its seventh convention in the out-of-the-way Southern city of Columbia, South Carolina, 1,000 delegates were present...The S.N.Y.C. was the most important movement ever conducted by Negro youth. It pioneered many of the constructive developments now taking place in the South... (The Negro People in American History, p.486)

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was liquidated in 1948. The days of the People's Front were over, at least for the time being.

#### Southern Conference for Human Welfare

The first big penetration of the Communist Party into the South came with the launching of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in November 1938. The launching took place in Birmingham, Alabama, with the blessings of the White House. Eleanor Roosevelt was the principal speaker.

On November 22, 1938, Mrs. Roosevelt, addressing the conference, said; "The eyes of the world are upon us...The future of democracy rests with the nation's youth. Face the question with open minds and above all make sure a thing is true before accepting it as true. On this alone can we stake our hopes for democracy." (Report of Proceedings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, p.29)

Franklin D. Roosevelt sent a letter to the Birmingham conference, in which he said; "...if you steer a true course and keep everlastingly at it, the South will long be thankful for this day." (ibid, p.2)

Paul Crouch, John Donovan, James Jackson, Robert F. Hall, and Don West -- all Communist Party members -- manipulated the

conference from behind the scenes. William Z. Foster writes with unusual modesty; "Communist influence was strong in the S.C.H.W. from the start and this was reflected in the advanced program it adopted." (The Negro People in American History, p. 487)

The first president of the SCHW was Frank P. Graham, then president of the University of North Carolina. Later presidents were John B. Thompson (of the Highlander Folk School seminar) and Clark Foreman (now director of the Communist-controlled Emergency Civil Liberties Committee). Throughout most of its existence, which extended down to 1948, James A. Dombrowski was administrator of the SCHW.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities had something to do with the liquidation of the SCHW, but the decisive factor in its demise was the switch from the wartime honeymoon of the Washington-Moscow axis to the Cold War.

Under date of March 29, 1944, the Dies Committee dubbed the SCHW a Communist front, and in a special report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated June 12, 1947, the following indictment of the SCHW was made:

Careful examination of its official publication and its activities will disclose that the conference is being used in devious ways to further basic Soviet and Communist policy. Decisive and key posts are in most instances controlled by persons whose record is faithful to the line of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. (p.1)

In a 1954 report, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reached the following unanimous conclusion: "The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was conceived, financed, and set up by the Communist Party in 1938 as a mass organization to promote communism throughout the Southern States." (p.v)

Southern Conference Educational Fund

Attention has already been called to the fact that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare metamorphosed into the Southern Conference Educational Fund in the middle of 1948. In the shift from one name to the other, the organization maintained the same headquarters, the same telephone number, the same publication, and the same executive director.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported in 1954 that "an objective study of the entire record compels the conclusion that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as a predecessor organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare." By "the same leadership and purposes," the Senate Committee meant that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was "a mass organization to promote Communism throughout the Southern states."

Much has already been said about Aubrey Williams, president, and James A. Dombrowski, executive director, of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It may be added that the names of both Williams and Dombrowski were attached to the brief amici curiae which was submitted to the United States Supreme Court, October, 1955, Term, on behalf of the Communist Party, U. S. A. Their support of this brief amici curiae, written with a typical Communist flair, sufficiently reveals the ideological position of these two principal officials of the SCEF.

As has already been indicated, the Southern Conference Educational Fund exerts a commanding influence in the South today, and is in the vanguard of the pro-Communist integration

forces. The principal function of the Southern Conference Educational Fund is to serve as a bridge between the Communist Party on the one hand and misguided Southern Liberals on the other hand. In this function, it has been remarkably successful.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

A special word concerning the NAACP is necessary. This organization is not a Communist front.

The NAACP has published a pamphlet by its Assistant Field Secretary, Herbert Hill, entitled "The Communist Party -- Enemy of Negro Equality." This pamphlet is a devastating indictment of Communist views and tactics on the Negro question.

In a foreword to the pamphlet by Herbert Hill, Roy Wilkins correctly appraises the Communist interest in the Negro question, as follows: "Far from being sincere about doing something for Negro rights, the Communists use the Negro merely as a pawn in the Soviet campaign against the United States and the western world."

On the other hand, it must be observed that the NAACP has been a prime objective of Communist penetration and, in numerous instances, prominent individuals connected with the NAACP have succumbed to the appeals of the Communist-front apparatus. Proof that the NAACP has been troubled with the problem of Communist penetration is to be found in a resolution adopted at the 1956 annual NAACP convention, which reads as follows: "As in the past, the Association will employ every reasonable measure in keeping with democratic organizational principles to prevent the endorsers, the supporters and defenders of the Communist conspiracy from joining or participating in any way in the work of the NAACP."

GF:

124-A-1  
School Decision

December 17, 1957

RECEIVED  
DEC 17 1957  
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Gillam:

We very much regret the delay in thanking you for the letter and scrapbook of newspaper clippings which you sent to the President.

x GF 114-D, G

I am sure you will understand that the tremendous volume of mail which the President has received recently makes it impossible for him to acknowledge each letter personally. The President and his entire staff are most interested in what you and many others have had to say about this matter. You may be assured that your correspondence was made available to the President and that he appreciated your thoughtfulness in taking the time and trouble to put this material in such easy form for him to read.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mrs. K. J. <sup>x</sup>Gillam, Jr.  
55 Elizabeth Lane, Moreland  
Charleston, South Carolina

SW

Scrapbook in legal file  
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RECEIVED  
NOV 1 1957

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October 31, 1957

President Dwight D. Eisenhower  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Eisenhower:

Many events have happened recently that leaves me to believe you do not have a clear picture of racial problems in all sections of these United States.

Since it is not possible for you to visit every section of the country, I decided to make a scrap book of newspaper clippings and send them to you. Maybe it will be helpful in showing you how the people feel.

My husband says you will never see this scrap book, little alone read it; but I do believe you will show me the courtesy of reading it. You won't find a better way to get so many different opinions of the American people in so short a time.

Being the President, you don't come in contact with these problems as do the average man on the street and neither do your advisors. Please don't be led to think of only one group of people, our nation is made up of many different kinds and groups of people.

I pray that God will give you a clearer understanding of the problems facing all Americans today, whether their skin is yellow, red, black, or white.

Sincerely,  
*Mrs. K. V. Gillam, Jr.*  
Mrs. K. V. Gillam, Jr.  
55 Elizabeth Lane, Moreland  
Charleston, South Carolina