

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Press Releases

1966 &
Undated



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FEBRUARY 26, 1966

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced the formation of a Council to the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." The Council, composed of a cross section of the nation's leadership, will devote evenings and weekends to preparations for the Conference first proposed by the President in his speech at Howard University in June, 1965. The Conference will be held in Washington June 1 and 2.

The President charged the Council, under the Chairmanship of Ben W. Heineman with the responsibility of sifting through the concepts, proposals, and programs outlined in the 1965 Planning Session and developing through their experience and knowledge a substantive agenda. It will be the task of the Council to consult with experts across the country; then develop programs for change to be presented to the Conference participants for their consideration and action.

In his speech at Howard University, the President announced he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

The Planning Session, held November 17 and 18, brought together approximately 250 scholars, leaders, and experts in civil rights problems from across the nation to consider some of the outstanding problems involved in bringing minority groups in this country from opportunity to achievement.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph is the Honorary Chairman of the Conference. The members of the Council will include:

Ben W. Heineman
Chairman of the Board
Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company

Morris Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

Honorable Edward T. Breathitt
Governor of Kentucky

Jerome Bruner
Director, Center for Cognitive Studies
Harvard University

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Dilks

Stephen Currier
Taconic Foundation, Inc.

Professor Allison Davis
University of Chicago

John S. Gleason, Jr.
Vice President
First National Bank of Chicago

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Courtlandt S. Gross
Chairman
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation

Miss Dorothy Height
President
National Council of Negro Women

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
President
Notre Dame University

Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
U. S. District Court of Philadelphia

Rafer Johnson
Former Olympic Decathlon Champion

Vernon E. Jordan
Project Director
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Martin Luther King
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

John Lewis
Chairman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

James A. Linen III
President
Time, Inc.

Honorable Theodore McKeldin
Mayor of Baltimore

Floyd McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

James G. Maddox
Professor of Agriculture
University of North Carolina

~~WALTER P. REAGAN~~ Joseph Malony
Vice President
United Steelworkers of America

Burke Marshall
General Counsel
IBM

J. Irwin Miller
Chairman
Cummins Engine Company

William Miller
Textron, Inc.

-MORE-



Professor Robert Spike
University of Chicago

George Meany
President
AFL-CIO

Roy Wilkins
President
NAACP

Whitney Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, Director, Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Edward Sylvester, Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U. S. Department of Labor, as Vice Chairmen of the Conference will assist Mr. Heineman. Mr. Berl Bernhard, who served as Executive Director of the Planning Session, will act as Special Counsel to Mr. Heineman and the Conference.

The first meeting of the Council has been scheduled for Saturday, March 5.

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INSIDE REPORT: *A Civil Rights Risk*

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON.

There is deep grumbling inside the civil rights movement over the selection of a militant young lieutenant of Martin Luther King as vice-chairman of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights.

He is the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, head of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Washington. In that role he has consistently sided with the Negro radicals, who are bitterly antagonistic to President Johnson's enlightened civil rights policy.

To those inside the movement who have backed up the President, at the risk of being branded Uncle Toms, Fauntroy's appointment is another case of rewarding enemies and punishing friends. They view it as similar to last August, when the President invited his enemies but not his friends to his signing of the voting rights bill.

SCLC is only a paper organization in Washington. The most important militant group in the teeming Washington Negro ghetto today is the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headed by tough, intransigent Marion Barry (a radical who was arrested last August when far Left demonstrators stormed the Capitol to protest the Viet Nam war).

As viewed by some responsible Negro leaders here,

Fauntroy has been serving as a respectable front man for Barry. What particularly upset them was Fauntroy's support of Barry's threatened boycott of Washington merchants who refused to support or contribute money to home rule for the District of Columbia. Like most SNCC campaigns, it hurt the cause it was supposed to help.

Apart from Fauntroy's support of SNCC, there is some question whether the White House job should have gone to a leader of one of the more responsible civil rights organizations—such as NAACP or the Urban League—rather than to an SCLC man.

When then was Fauntroy picked? President Johnson himself delegated the decision to his aids. Some of these aids are naive about undercurrents in the civil rights movement. Those who aren't agreed to Fauntroy as a calculated risk in hopes of weaning him away from Barry and SNCC, which are regarded by the Administration as unredeemable.

The risk is what now happens to the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Its chairman—the highly competent Ben Heineman, chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway—is alien to the jungle of civil rights politics. He will have to rely on Fauntroy for guidance.

Fauntroy is regarded as a talented and intelligent young man who could do the job if he can pry himself loose from the dogma of militancy. In large part, it will be up to Fauntroy whether the conference churns out solid proposals aimed at overcoming the Negro's

economic plight, or bogs down in ideological bickering as the earlier planning session did last fall.

CHURCH AND LBJ

Sen. Frank Church, the boyish Democrat from Idaho, continues to be the most reluctant and cautious member of the Senate's peace bloc—and is suffering from it, particularly in the opinion held of him at the White House. Never very high, it has hit a new low.

Church was the only Senator "unrecorded" in last Tuesday's crucial vote on the Morse amendment to President Johnson's money request for the war in Viet Nam. The fact that Church did not take a formal position was duly noted in the White House—and deeply resented.

The amendment by Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon would have rescinded the 1964 resolution empowering Mr. Johnson to resist Communist aggression there.

The vote was 92 against Morse, 5 for Morse, with 3 absentees. Two of the absentees—Democratic Sens. Frank Lausche of Ohio and Sen. Daniel Brewster of Maryland—formally recorded themselves against the Morse amendment. Church, out in Idaho making a speech, sidestepped. He did not record himself at all.

Church still is silent. His office says that if he had been present and voting, he would have voted against Morse. But the Congressional Record doesn't show it, and the White House doesn't know it. Thus, Church stands as low or even lower with the President than the five Senators backing the Morse amendment.

Rights Conference Set For June 1-2

WASHINGTON—A newly-created Council to the White House Conference, composed of the Big Six of civil rights and a cross section of business, labor, and government officials will meet here Saturday, March 5, to begin work for a substantive program for the historic White House Conference on Civil Rights on June 1-2.

President Johnson last week announced formation of the Council, declaring that they would devote evenings and weekends to develop program changes to be presented to the expected \$2,500 participants in the conference, of which A. Philip Randolph is chairman and Ben W. Heineman is coordinator.

The President also announced the selection of Rev. Walter E

Fauntroy, director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Edward Sylvester, director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, as vice chairman to assist Mr. Heineman in the day-to-day coordination of the conference.

The cross section of leaders who will meet here weekends to

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—Rights Confab

(Continued from Page One)

begin work on the conference includes Rev. Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Mr. Randolph, Floyd McKissick, new CORE national director; and John Lewis of SNCC.

Also Morris Abrams and William T. Coleman, co-chairmen of the Conference's planning session last November; Gov. Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky; Jerome Bruner, Harvard University; Stephen Currier, Taconic Foundation; Dr. Allison Davis, University of Chicago; John S. Gleason, First National Bank of Chicago; Courtland S. Gross, chairman, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Miss Dorothy Hight, National Council of Negro Women; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh,

President, Notre Dame University; Judge Leon Higgenbotham, Jr., Philadelphia; and sports champion Rafer Johnson.

Also Vernon Jordan, director, Voter Education Project; James A. Linen, President, Tuna Inc.; Mayor Theodore McKeldin, Baltimore; James G. Maddox, University of North Carolina; James P. Maloney, vice president, United Steelworkers; Burke Marshall, general counsel of IBM; J. Irwin Miller, chairman, Cummins Engine Co.; William Miller, Textron, Inc.; Prof. Robert Spikes, University of Chicago; and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

The June conference, originally called by the President last June at Howard University, is being arranged "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

PARLEY ON RIGHTS ENJOYS SUPPORT

White House Meeting Seeks Leaders From All Fields

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5 — "The American people would like to get this problem behind them."

The speaker was Ben W. Heineman, the new chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, and the problem, as defined by President Johnson, was how to make the Negro American a full partner in society.

Mr. Heineman, who also is chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, has set out to broaden the responsibility for finding and achieving solutions.

"I would hope the Federal Government will continue to play a major role in the whole area," he said in an interview. "But I also feel strongly that more must be done by the pri-

vate sector and by the state and local governments."

This new emphasis is reflected in the make-up of a 29-member council the President has appointed to develop an agenda for the conference, which will be held here June 1 and 2.

Many Key Leaders

In addition to civil rights, government, education and labor leaders, who traditionally have been concerned with racial matters, the council includes the following:

James A. Linen 3d, president of Time, Inc.; James G. Maddox, professor of agriculture, University of North Carolina; J. Irwin Miller, chairman of Cummins Engine Company; Rafer Johnson, former Olympic decathlon champion; Courtlandt S. Gross, chairman of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; John S. Gleason Jr., vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago, and United States District Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. of Philadelphia.

A Philip Randolph, the Negro labor leader, is honorary chairman of the conference. New vice-chairmen under Mr. Heineman are the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, director of the Washington Bureau of the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Edward Sylvester, director of the Labor Department's Office of Contract Compliance.

Mr. Heineman said the council would sift the many ideas made at a planning session of 250 delegates last November, consult experts in the fields involved and draw up proposals for conference action.

The conference may include as many as 2,000 delegates from all walks of life. It will come one year after President Johnson announced he would call such a session "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

Mr. Heineman said no attempt would be made to narrow the proposals to any area. While urban problems are particularly pressing, he said, the conference will also be concerned with Negro life in the rural South.

"The whole society is not deeply enough involved," Mr. Heineman said. "I haven't any doubt at all that the American people will respond to this problem if we are able to show them how and what to do."

Fauntroy given top post for White House meeting

Last November when the planning session for the White House Conference on Civil Rights was held here in Washington, several critical barbs were directed at the composition of the body responsible for the session.

There was a feeling that civil rights leaders had been bypassed and as a result the conference was not truly representative of the community at large.

Over the weekend, the White House made certain that no such complaints could be voiced about the session itself by appointing the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, director of the Washington



REV. WALTER FAUNTROY

office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Edward Sylvester, director of the Federal Contracts Compliance Office, as co-chairman.

The Rev. Mr. Fauntroy, pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church, is a close associate of Martin Luther King, and has been intimately involved in local civil rights affairs.

As a co-chairman of the Coalition of Conscience, he has usually adopted a militant stance and is one of the city's most respected civil rights leaders.

Sylvester has only been in charge of the Compliance Office for several weeks, but already he has clearly established his sincerity in enforcing non-discriminatory clauses in government contracts.

The two men will serve as chairmen of the 30-man advisory council for the meeting set June 1 and 2.

EDWARD A. BRENT, chairman of the Board of Deacons New Bethel Baptist Church has announced that the Joint Board of Officers of the Church has voted to grant the Rev. Mr. Fauntroy leave of absence from pastoral duties in order to serve as vice chairman.

Mr. Fauntroy is expected

(Continued on Page 2)

Fauntroy given

(Continued from Page 1)

to work on this temporary appointment through to its conclusion. Deacon Brent said that while Rev. Mr. Fauntroy will continue his preaching ministry on Sundays, all other pastoral duties will be assumed by the Rev. Arnor S. Davis, director of Christian Education at New Bethel Baptist Church.

John R. Kidd, chairman of the board of trustees of

the Church, said that "The members of New Bethel are very proud and happy to release their Pastor for this very important work with the President in the development of a Conference that can be of such monumental importance not only to the White House but to our race and our nation as well."

THE PRESIDENT said it would be the task of the council to consult with experts across the country and then develop programs for change to be presented to the conference participants for their consideration and action.

A Phillip Randolph is honorary chairman, Ben W. Heineman, chairman of the Board, Chicago and Northwestern Railway Co., is chairman.

Among other members are Attorney William T. Coleman, Jr., Philadelphia; Miss Dorothy Height, President National Council of Negro Women; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., of the U.S. District Court of Philadelphia; Rafer Johnson, former Olympic decathlon champion, Dr. Martin Luther King, president of SCLC; John Lewis, chairman of SNCC; Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE; Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Whit-

ney Young Jr., Urban League.

Other members of the council include Edward T. Breathitt, Governor of Kentucky; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University; James A. Linen, III, president of Time, Inc.; Burke Marshall, general council IBM; George Meany, president AFL-CIO; G. William Miller, president of Textron Inc., and former chairman of Plans for Progress Advisory Council.

New Need For Leadership

By JAMES BOOKER

Name Dropping:

Bill Booth, the busy chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, planning a major reorganization of his office as soon as he completes a study of staff functions at the agency. Some more heads to roll. . . The White House has

picked militant Washington Rev. Walter E. Fauntleroy and Edward Sylvester, director of the Office of Compliance, U.S. Labor Department, to be the chief mechanics for making the forthcoming civil rights conference run smoothly.

Close to 2,500 persons **BOOKER** will be invited to participate in the early June sessions so we understand...

Lack of direct action leadership that people have faith in is one of Harlem's more serious problems. The Urban League of Greater New York is seeking a new executive director, the NAACP national wants the local branch prexy to quit, CORE is getting new national and local leaders, and the HARYOU-ACT board and its funding officials can't agree. All of which are holding up the kind of direct community leadership needed on immediate problems. Added to this is the local political situation where, with a new administration, new faces are being added so that you can't tell a player without a program. And the people still have nobody to turn to to help them with their day-to-day problems.

Clubhouse Row:

Veteran Baltimore newsman Jimmy Williams slated to get a top anti-poverty post in Washington. . . . Attorney Robert Burns resigning as secretary to Justice



Nat Sorkin to go into private law practice.... District 10 Planning Council seeking a new chairman to replace George Gregory, Jr., who has resigned after 15 years in the post.... Mat Eder, of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce, reports that traffic going eastbound between 120th and 132nd St., will be extremely jammed once the spring hits because of the one-way traffic on Fifth and Madison. Comm. Barnes should investigate..

Former Deputy Relocation Comm. Maurice Callender feted by his former co-workers at Gassners last week.... Mad scramble on now for posts of delegates to the 1967 Constitutional Convention for which delegates must run in this year's primary. They will pay the same salary as an Assemblyman. Ger Daniels' New Era Dems at the Rockland Saturday....

Late Ticker:

Well-known Seventh Ave. figure being hit by a back alimony suit by his ex-wife.... That television station had better give me a better reason than the Neilsen ratings for dropping the Sammy Davis show.... Assemblyman Mark Southall deserves plaudits for putting spotlight on growing crime in the uptown area.

Merchants throughout the uptown area including hotel owners, barmen, and others have been hit recently by a crime wave, some by young hoodlums. Such evil abounds when local police take a lackadaisical attitude, as many are doing in the furor over the review issue, and community residents remain silent or just talk to each other about it. Make the protests to government officials and public servants.... All of which brings us around to saying, that's 30, Princess.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

James Booker
Director of Information
Room 1121

FOR RELEASE
MONDAY APRIL 11, 1966

WASHINGTON--The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1-2 Conference on three problem areas--Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare, Education, and Housing.

"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the American Negro, the Council was of the opinion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, Council Chairman, declared.

Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The Council has held meetings on March 5, 19, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the Administration of Justice and Health for possible inclusion on the Conference agenda.

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June in a speech at Howard University, when he said its object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two-day session which will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph, dean of the nation's civil rights leaders, is the Honorary Chairman of the Conference.

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Mr. Heineman, who is Chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway Company, explained that task forces, under the supervision of Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., Vice Chairman of the Conference, have been assisting the Council in developing action-oriented programs in Housing, Education, and Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare.

"Without in any way minimizing the vital role of the Federal Government, the major purpose of this Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society--business, labor, and state and local governments--into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society," Mr. Heineman said.

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, also a Conference Vice Chairman, who is Washington Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has been meeting with leaders of a cross section of groups and organizations throughout the country to further explain the Conference goals and to solicit their ideas and suggestions in the major problem areas.

Currently staff members, under the direction of Berl I. Bernhard, Special Counsel to Mr. Heineman and the Conference, are seeking to develop the widest possible participation.

Mr. Heineman has emphasized that "it is the Council's desire that this will be a how-to-do-it Conference, rather than a mere re-identification of the problems.

"I have been greatly encouraged by the devoted work and energy of the Council, composed of a cross section of the nation's leadership in civil rights, business, labor, and local and state governments, in going over the wide range of concepts, proposals, and

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programs outlined during the 1965 Planning Session, and in developing new thoughts and programs based on their own knowledge and experience," Mr. Heineman said.

Members of the Council are: Morris B. Abram, Co-Chairman, Planning Session; William T. Coleman, Jr., Co-Chairman, Planning Session; Honorable Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., Governor of Kentucky; Dr. Jerome Bruner, Director, Center of Cognitive Studies, Harvard University; Stephen Currier, President, Taconic Foundation, Inc.; Dr. Allison Davis, School of Education, University of Chicago; John S. Gleason, Jr., Vice President, First National Bank of Chicago; Eli Goldston, President, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates; Courtlandt S. Gross, Chairman, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Miss Dorothy I. Height, President, National Council of Negro Women; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, President, Notre Dame University; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., U.S. District Court, Philadelphia; Rafer Johnson, Former Olympic Decathlon Champion; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director, Voter Education Project, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; James A. Linen, III, President, Time Inc.; Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Mayor, City of Baltimore; Floyd McKissick, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.

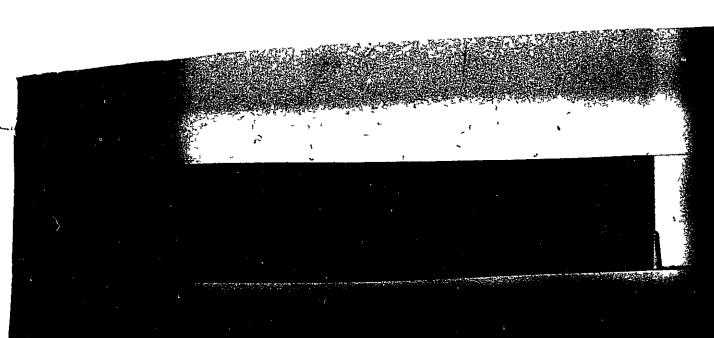
Still others are: Dr. James G. Maddox, School of Agriculture & Life Sciences, North Carolina State University; Burke Marshall, General Counsel, IBM Corporation; J. Irwin Miller, Chairman, Cummins Engine Company, Inc.; G. William Miller, President, Textron Inc.;

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Dr. Robert Spike, Divinity School, University of Chicago; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.

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(EDITORS)
HARRISBURG, PA.--WILLIAM T. COLEMAN JR., CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, TODAY TOLD A GROUP OF PENNSYLVANIA EDITORS THAT NEWSPAPERS HAVE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE SUCCESS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

COLEMAN, OF PHILADELPHIA, ADDRESSED THE SEMINAR SPONSORED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS (PSNE) IN COOPERATION WITH THE PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION (PNPA).

HE SAID NEWSPAPERS MUST HELP CONVINCING WHITE AMERICA THAT AN END TO DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IS THE BEST THING FOR THEM.

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Conference

Conference

Publicity men

Ofield Dukes has been appointed to serve on the public affairs staff of the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The White House Conference, which will be held June 1 and 2, is being convened by President Lyndon B. Johnson "to help the colored American fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

* * *

MR. DUKES also worked on the staff for the Planning Session held last November.

Dukes currently serves as information officer for the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Department of Labor, and as a public relations consultant to Plans for Progress.

James Booker, who is on loan from the New York Amsterdam News, is director of public affairs for the White House Conference. Mr. Booker also served on the staff for the Planning Session.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

NEWS

1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506—Tele: 737-9010

HOLD FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

Welcome Address by A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman, White House Conference
Wednesday morning, June 1, 1966

Mr. Heineman, distinguished leader of industry and Chairman of the Conference "To Fulfill These Rights:" distinguished members of the Council, builders of this Conference, and citizens from all walks of life in our great country.

In the spirit of the Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," I welcome you.

And let me hail and salute the President of the United States, whose vision and wisdom expressed in that historic speech at Howard University, June 1964, provided the inspiration and foundation of this Conference.

When the President stated in that speech, with boldness and humility: "But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

"You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled with chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race, and then say 'you are free to compete with all others, and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

"Thus, it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

These declarations express a profound moral commitment to the highest ideals of the Brotherhood of Man.

And here we are, men and women of the church, labor, business, and government, assembled in a great Conference, to become more deeply involved, in what we, more and more, recognize to be the most tremendous social challenge of conflict and change, in our country today, The Civil Rights Revolution.

It is our fervent plea for strong voices to be raised from all areas of our society out of varying traditions and interests, to arouse the conscience of our land, in order to achieve in fact that which has already been won in law and what always has been in the hearts of good men, equality, justice, freedom and human dignity for all men irrespective of color or creed or country.

To millions of people of the Old World, America represented a land of promise, a land where people were free, a land where the individual could move about and up in his opportunities, his job, his income, and his social status. America was hope. It was promises.

This meant horizontal and vertical mobility. Verily, a man could better himself. The level he would find was largely up to him. It was this vision of a land of promise that drew men and women from the Old World. True, practically all these people lived in ghettos. Some of them may still persist. But for most of them, the nationality ghettos were only waystations, thresholds inviting the newcomer to make his adjustment and then move out into membership in the larger American community.

But the problem of the Negro is different. The ghettos we are concerned about are neither voluntary or temporary. They are for the most part compulsory and permanent.

Precisely because the Negro is a substantial part of the total population, and because it presents the critical problem and extreme challenge to American democracy, this Conference to "Fulfill These Rights" seeks to awaken and cause all Americans to make a serious effort to understand and face up to their moral responsibilities.

Of all the groups who have settled in the United States and have become part of this nation, the Negroes are the one people, who were brought here originally against their will. They were brought here in chains. The slave trade was a profitable business. Much of the culture of New England the life of Southern aristocracy, were based on it. No other people were in slavery, and exploited so mercilessly even by the founding fathers of the Nation. Although slavery had existed in the ancient world and down through the centuries in many parts of the world, the American institution of slavery was the worst.

Slaves had no rights in American laws, moral codes or customs. Husbands and wives could become separated, and children could be taken from their parents. They were denied education and any hope of a better life.

No other people had a Civil War fought over their condition, a war which divided the nation with a bloody and bitter conflict, and kept the slaves landless, moneyless, friendless, voteless, and hopeless. To their deprivation was added the loss of the Reconstruction Revolution by the rise of the Confederate Counter Revolution which virtually nullified the Thirteenth Amendment of 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868, the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by a U. S. Supreme Court decision of 1883 and the decision of Plessy versus Ferguson in 1896 which handed down the doctrine of "Separate but Equal," which provided the foundation of racial segregation and discrimination.

Thus, after over three hundred years of slavery, the mass of the Negro people were the victim of segregation and inequality for another hundred years.

And to these human agonies of physical brutalization and mental humiliation which were suffered by no other group in the population, I must add the mark of color.

Other groups had moved out of the ghettos, the Irish, the Germans, the Jews, the Polish, the Italians. They had moved ahead in education and employment. They enjoyed exposure to the stimuli of

America's material and spiritual development. They could better themselves and become a part of the mainstream of American Civilization. If they suffered from the prejudices of their neighbors, they still had a fighting chance of overcoming the barriers of discrimination. But for the Negro, discrimination and segregation and organized persecution and intimidation were a part of a conscious and determined plan to hold the Negro down.

During the first World War, masses of Negro families fled the Southern plantations and rural and urban areas to seek jobs and a new life in the North. They were forced to settle in restricted areas in the great cities of the North. And here again they ran into the same patterns of Jim Crow. These patterns of housing and employment, of deprivation and rejection, were not written into laws. But prejudice, custom, and practice made for the same thing. Indeed many will testify that the Negro ghetto in the cities are fire-traps; mice, rats and vermin multiply due to a lack of adequate sanitation. The increase of the Negro population through migration from the South and the increased birth rate, result in extreme density of population and overcrowding. The people are hemmed in, unable to move out or escape the slums even if they have the money to move. The rents they pay are higher than those paid by white people. They get less of housing for the dollars they pay for rent. Instead of paying a fourth of their income for rent, they often have to pay as much as a third, leaving them with less money out of low wages for food, clothing, medicines, education and recreation.

The racial ghetto suffers a double evil: it suffers from racial segregation and also from poverty. The people have no margin of security. There are no shelves with extra food for the next meal or next day. There are no bank savings or insurance policies, for the starvation wages require a weekly supplement of welfare.

There is nothing the people can show as security for loans in times of unemployment, family sickness, accidents or other misfortunes. There is no wonder that life expectancy is shorter than that in a white community. The incident of disease and death due to tuberculosis and cancer is many times that of the white community. Child death in the first day of life, and in the first month of life and year of life, is over twice that for other parts of the city.

To the physical illnesses we have to note the ill effects on family life. The man of the family is supposed to be the protector and support of the family. But if he is denied education and employment, if he cannot play his role as a husband and a father, the family breaks down. Thus, men plagued with forced idleness, women have to carry the burden of providing the income and at the same time for caring for their children. Is it any wonder that alcohol and narcotics and gambling and various forms of anti-social patterns are found in the black ghettos. And is it any wonder that children and youth are damaged emotionally and mentally. The destructive and devastating impact of the ghetto is frightfully continuous and total. There are families that have been on welfare rolls for two, three and

four generations. The result is a sense of hopelessness and helplessness and powerlessness.

But despite the seemingly insurmountable obstacles and difficulties most of the men and women of the black ghettos struggle to find work and maintain family life. And despite the adverse conditions, most youth remain in school and strive to better their conditions. They try to believe in the American promise and they try to obey the law and look forward to participation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the nation. But the youth that are damaged are incalculable.

First, are those who lose faith in their families, in themselves, in the larger community. They reject themselves and develop a sense of self-hate and despair. They accept any evaluation of themselves. Those who suffer from self-rejection tend to withdraw. They undergo an inner death. They lose an appetite for food or learning. Some end with mental illness and seek escape in suicide.

Second, are those who react with bitterness and rage. They are ready to strike against others. Their respect for life and law is destroyed. They fill the jails and houses of detention and the prisons. Their hatred is against authority and especially the police who they consider their enemy and oppressor. They hurt not only the white population but also they strike out against the life and property within the ghetto.

Third, are those whose anger becomes a social force of mass propositions. This is the volcanic force which builds its explosive power to a pitch that it breaks out into race riots and in a violence such as is symbolized by events in the summer of 1965 in Watts, a ghetto in the City of Los Angeles. It took only a trivial incident involving policy ineptness, to light the flames of racial violence. Those who participated in the riot were chiefly youth. They set fire to 600 buildings and destroyed 200 completely. They broke store windows and looted the shops. Thirty-six persons were killed. A thousand were injured. Four thousand were arrested. Over 150 millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed or damaged. It took the National Guard to bring about law and order.

Let me warn this Conference that the Negro ghettos in every city are now centers of tension and socio-racial dynamite, near the brink of similar racial explosions of violence.

What can be done to right the wrongs of the Negro people of this county? What can be done to bring about social and racial justice and fulfill the promises of American life for all of our people both the black working poor and white working poor. Is there any hope we can solve the deep-rooted and complex problem which affects the life of every American and threatens the survival of this nation? How can we abolish the racial ghettos?

Let us realize that children learn their prejudices. They are not born with them. They learn the ways of racial inequalities from their parents, from their attitudes and words and behaviour

patterns. And they learn from the experience of racial inequality from the television, radio, press, church, school, playgrounds, employment, and government.

Can we re-educate our children? Can we re-educate ourselves? Americans tend to believe that education is the cure-all'ills. We must realize that the relations of the races and the roots of racism in the American culture are deep.

Because of these difficulties it is unrealistic to depend on appeals to conscience and good-will alone. Because of the daily experience of segregation, it is unrealistic to think that education for racial equality and intergroup and intercultural programs can solve the problem. If the Negro and the White Americans have to wait until their neighbors are educated out of their prejudices, they will be trapped in the ghettos of America for generations to come. If our people have to wait until everybody loves his neighbor, we may have to wait many a moon, or liberation may never come. Most Negroes are not asking white people to love them or like them or understand them. They want their neighbors to accept them. They insist that they be granted their rights as citizens and human beings.

Thus the purpose of this Conference is to involve all Americans in the great social enterprise of respect for sacredness of the dignity of the personality of every human being which is reflected in recognizing the rights of every person to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Every day's delay in breaking down the barriers of segregation in housing, schools and discrimination in jobs, means irreparable damage to hundreds of thousands of human beings. The damage is not merely to the Negro. It is a liability to white people as well. For we live in a world whose population is eighty percent colored. It is no rational kindness to permit a white child to grow up in a home which is segregated or in a school which is segregated, and in a white community which is an isolated sector in the total world community. In the large cities where white families have moved to the suburbs, the white child is being brought up without knowledge or understanding of his colored neighbor. A white youth rarely if ever meets or communicates with a Negro youth though both are fellow citizens of this nation and fellow human beings.

How can persons or property be secure in a community where invisible racial walls keep children and youth and adults apart. Tension, fear and hate are likely to plague personal lives and communities for generations unless we equalize conditions and plan for the transformation of urban life so that the great metropolitan complexes are more truly democratic places of human habitation.

Finally, this is a difficult age, made so by the revolution of science, technology, industrialism, and the Revolution of the Colored World for freedom and status, peace and plenty.

Insecurity and conflict throughout the world have made it an age of anxieties. Yet for each of us there are compensations. This is an exciting time, a time of changes and possibilities. If there is insecurity, anxiety and fear, there is also a tremendous sense of possibilities beyond what men dared to hope for in the past.

This Conference to "Fulfill These Rights" will broaden the horizon for the Negro and white American and the entire world of color now in the revolutionary flames of discontent.

All honor to President Johnson for his imagination and sense of innovation which made this Conference possible. He will be remembered in history as the Human Rights, Education and Anti-Poverty President, and the Civil Rights Revolution was the motivation and inspiration.

The implementation of the Report of the Conference to "Fulfill These Rights" will constitute a major and powerful thrust in giving Negroes the ability to walk through the gate of opportunity and achieve first-class citizenship in America. To the men and women, black and white, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, participating in this Conference, "Quit ye like men - Be strong! We shall overcome!"

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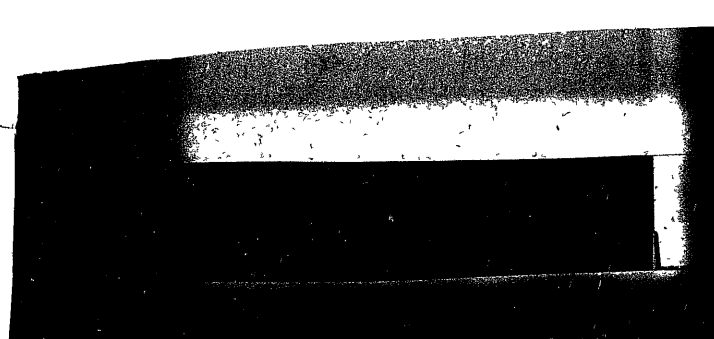
WASHINGTON--Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, announced this week that George Schermer, a well-known Washington, D.C., housing expert, has been appointed director of a special task force on Housing and Urban Affairs.

This task force is one of three set up by a Council of leadership persons appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson to plan the Conference, which will be held June 1-2. The other task forces are concerned with Jobs, Economic Security and Welfare; and Education.

The task forces will review recommendations from last November's Planning Session for the White House Conference and receive additional suggestions and guidelines from the 29-member Council in developing an extensive program of action, to serve as a major discussion item on the Conference agenda.

Mr. Schermer joined the Chicago Housing Authority in 1938, and in subsequent years worked as Assistant Director, Detroit Housing Commission; Detroit-Area Director, Public Housing Authority, and Executive Director, Detroit Inter-Racial Committee. From 1953 to 1963, he was Director of the Philadelphia Human Relations Commission.

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For the past three years, Mr. Schermer has worked out of Washington as a human relations consultant.

Serving with him on the Housing and Urban Affairs Task Force are: Kermit Bailor, Department of Housing and Urban Development; Jack T. Conway, Executive Director, Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO; Robert Harris, Professor, Law School, University of Michigan; Arthur Levin, Staff Director, Potomac Institute; George B. Nesbitt, Department of Housing and Urban Development; William Rafsky, Executive Director, Old Philadelphia Development Corporation; Nathaniel Rogg, Executive Vice President, National Association of Home Builders; and Jack Wood, Associate Executive Director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. A wide range of consultants will also review the task force report before it is presented to the Conference.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Council, and Chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, said the major purpose of the Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society-- business, labor, and state and local governments--into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society.

Mr. Schermer's task force is drawing heavily on the recommendations from the Planning Session for the Conference held last fall and receiving additional suggestions and guidelines from Council members in compiling their report on short and long range programs.

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WASHINGTON--Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, nationally prominent economist and President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, has been named Director of a special task force on "Economic Security and Welfare" in preparation for the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The Conference, which will be held June 1-2, is being convened by President Lyndon B. Johnson to find new means and methods "to move the American Negro from opportunity to achievement."

A 29-member Council appointed by President Johnson to plan for the Conference has agreed to concentrate major work sessions during the Conference on three problem areas--Jobs, Economic Security, and Welfare; Education; and Housing.

Working under the direction of the Council, the Economic Security task force is responsible for sifting through recommendations on employment from last November's Planning Session and developing a comprehensive, "action-oriented" program, which will be submitted to the Conference for discussion and action.

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Prior to becoming President of Clark College, Dr. Henderson was Chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, for 13 years. He has authored numerous publications on the economic status of the Negro.

Dr. Henderson also served as Director of the task force on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security for the Planning Session of the White House Conference.

Among those serving with Dr. Henderson as task force consultants are: Frank G. Armstrong, Vice President, Industrial Relations Counselors Service, Inc.; Woodrow Ginsburg, Director of Research, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University; Dr. Hylan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Howard University; Mahlon T. Puryear, Deputy Director, National Urban League; Ramon S. Scruggs, Public Relations Manager, American Telephone & Telegraph Company; Dr. Harold L. Sheppard, Staff Social Scientist, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research; Dr. Emory Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council; Dr. Thomas T. Williams, Department of Agricultural Economics, Southern University; and Elmer Winter, President, Manpower, Inc.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Council, and Chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, said the major purpose of the Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society-- business, labor, and state and local governments--into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society.

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Dr. Henderson's task force is drawing heavily on the recommendations from the Planning Session for the Conference held last fall and receiving additional suggestions and guidelines from Council members in compiling their report on short and long range programs.

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Washington--The "Big Six" of the nation's civil rights leaders are playing a prominent role in developing an "action-oriented" agenda for the White House Conference on Civil Rights, to be held June 1 and 2.

Leaders of these major civil rights organizations are serving on a 29-member Council to the White House Conference. The Council, which is comprised of a cross section of national leaders is holding a series of weekend "work sessions" at the White House to work out the format and a substantive agenda for the historic Conference.

Among those serving on the Council are: A. Philip Randolph, the dean of the civil rights leaders, who is also Honorary Chairman of the Conference; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney^H Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League; Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Floyd McKissick,

National Director, Congress on Racial Equality; John Lewis, Chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; and Miss Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women.

President Lyndon B. Johnson proposed the Conference in his commencement address at Howard University last June 4 when he said its object would be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

In appointing the Council last month, the President explained that it would have the responsibility for sifting through the concepts, proposals and programs outlined in the November 17-18 Planning Session and develop "programs for change" to be presented to the Conference participants for their consideration and action.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Board, Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company and who was selected by the President to serve as Chairman of the Conference, emphasized at a press briefing last week that it will be a "how-to-do-it" conference, rather than a mere identification of the problems, and will seek to broaden the participation of "all segments of the community to the cause of making the Negro an equal partner in the American society."

Mr. Heineman added, "The problems have been identified and we have the valuable reports of the Planning Session's work, from which we plan to build an action-oriented program concerned with implementation."

Assisting the Council on a full-time basis are two Conference Vice Chairmen--Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., and the Rev. Walter Fauntroy. Mr. Sylvester, who is Director of the Office of Federal Contract

Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor, is in charge of the day-to-day staff operations.

Rev. Fauntroy, Director of the Washington Bureau of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will travel throughout the country to meet with grassroots and indigenous leadership to assure their full participation in all phases of the Conference and with other local leaders who have first hand knowledge of the problems.

Other members of the Council include: Morris B. Abram, Co-Chairman, Planning Session; William T. Coleman, Jr., Co-Chairman, Planning Session; Honorable Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., Governor of Kentucky; Dr. Jerome Bruner, Director, Center for Cognitive Studies, Harvard University; Stephen Currier, President, Taconic Foundation, Inc.; Dr. Allison Davis, School of Education, University of Chicago; John S. Gleason, Jr., Vice President, First National Bank of Chicago; Eli Goldston, President, Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates; Courtlandt S. Gross, Chairman of the Board, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, President, Notre Dame University; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., U. S. District Court, Philadelphia and Rafer John, Former Olympic Decathlon Champion.

Still others are: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director, Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, Inc.; James A. Linen, III, President, Time, Incorporated; Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Mayor, City of Baltimore; Dr. James G. Maddox, School of Agriculture & Life Sciences, North Carolina State University; Joseph P. Molony, Vice President, United Steelworkers of America; Burke Marshall, General Counsel, IBM

Corporation; George Meany, President, AFL-CIO; J. Irwin Miller,
Chairman of the Board, Cummins Engine Company, Incorporated;
G. William Miller, President, Textron, Incorporated; and Dr. Robert
Spike, Divinity School, University of Chicago.

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WASHINGTON--Dr. Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Population Research and Training Center and Chicago Community Inventory, at the University of Chicago, has been selected as the Director of a special task force on Education in preparation for the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

The task force, working under the direction of a 29-member Council for the Conference, is assisting in developing a comprehensive "action-oriented" program to be submitted to the Conference for discussion and action.

The Conference, which will be held June 1-2 at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, is being convened by President Lyndon B. Johnson "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights, which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

The Council has agreed to concentrate major work sessions during the historic Conference on three problem area--Jobs, Economic Security and Welfare; Education; and Housing.

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Among those serving with Dr. Hauser as consultants to the task force are: Dr. Edward Brice, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Professor Martin Deutsch, Institute for Developmental Studies, New York Medical College; George William Foster, University of Wisconsin Law School; Father Neal McClusky; Samuel Nabrit, President, Texas Southern University; Lester W. Nelson, Education Consultant; William R. Odell, School of Education, Stanford University; Truman Pierce, Auburn University; Leonard H. Robinson, Office of Research Administration, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College; and Dr. Margaret Rowley, Morris Brown College.

Other consultants will also be added by the Council to assist the task force.

One of the nation's prominent educators, Dr. Hauser has served as Chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago since 1956 and formerly worked as Acting Director and Assistant Chief Statistician for Population to the U.S. Bureau of the Census. He was chairman of the Advisory panel on Integration of the Public Schools to the Chicago Board of Education in 1963-64.

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Council, and Chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, said the major purpose of the Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society--business, labor and state and local governments--into the cause of helping to make the American Negro an equal partner in the society.

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Dr. Hauser's task force is drawing heavily on the recommendations from the Planning Session for the Conference held last fall and receiving additional suggestions and guidelines from Council members in compiling their report on short and long range programs that can be implemented to carry out the President's wishes "to move the American Negro from opportunity to achievement."

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