

Moses Lake, Washington
December 24, 1963

THE WHITE HOUSE

Dec 28 11 31 AM '63

RECEIVED

President Lyndon B. Johnson
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

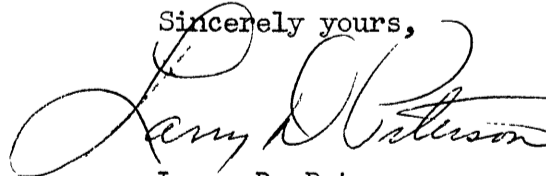
In assuming the Presidency a month ago, you made a reference in one of your first statements promising continued strong efforts toward the realization of equal rights and opportunities for all Americans, regardless of race, creed or religion. You sounded as though you felt very strong about it and meant every word you said. I hope, with the many things that will be requiring your time and effort, that you will be able to see to it that a sound program will be maintained in this matter. The gains that have been made in the past three years are certainly encouragement for the work that lies ahead. I think you will have the growing support of the American people in this work.

I hope the efforts toward making the Alliance for Progress more effective will meet with good success. It will be more difficult to make progress in this work than in civil rights, I think, but it is certainly next to it in importance.

I think the continued maintenance of strength and the willingness to do what is necessary is the required path in our relationship with the Communist countries; together with realistic exploration of ways to achieve better understanding. Unfortunately, we do have to question their motives.

I pray for God's blessings upon you and your work. I think it must be nice to have so many people pulling for you.

Sincerely yours,



Larry D. Peterson
Local Superintendent
Grant County PUD
Box 1726
Moses Lake
Washington 98837

gab

②
EXECUTIVE
HU 2/MC
76135
SP

November 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Harry McPherson
 Jack Valenti
 Lee White

FROM: Joe Califano

Attached you will find the Katzenbach draft of the Civil Rights speech for the President. Comments should be submitted to Mr. McPherson at his home tonight.

Enclosure



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: Joseph Califano
Special Assistant to The President

Attached is a new draft on proposed remarks for the
President to make in greeting the Civil Rights Conference
Planning Session tomorrow night.

W. J. [Signature]
Attorney General

Attachment
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

PROPOSED REMARKS FOR TUESDAY NIGHT RECEPTION
CIVIL RIGHTS PLANNING SESSION

We are joined, in name, spirit, but also in fact, "To Fulfill These Rights."

It is not enough now -- if it ever was -- to convene here in order to repeat our sympathetic awareness of the Negro conditions -- reflected by too many children without homes, mothers without hope, fathers without jobs or pride. The time for noble intentions and rich rhetoric is gone. The time for fulfillment has arrived.

It is accurate, troublingly accurate, to say we are dealing with the rights and expectations of 20 million Americans. But this is more than a statistical problem.

It is accurate to say we are dealing with averting violence. But this is more than a problem of devising palliatives against racial unrest.

It is accurate to say we are dealing with the ability of a democratic government to solve deep domestic problems. But this is more than a problem of abstract political science.

We are dealing with human lives. Each life lost through blind racial hatred, each life diminished by the grinding of impersonal prejudice saps the freedom of a free nation.

For a Negro oppressed by local officials to be denied the vote that can effectively strike out against oppression diminishes freedom for us all.

For a Negro boy, with visions of becoming a doctor to be told he should be realistic -- and become a mechanic instead -- diminishes freedom for us all.

For a Negro mother to have to say, as one did not long ago, "I watched my boys go bad like milk you know is standing too long . . . so it gets sour" saps the freedom of us all.

The barriers, assuredly, are many; they are interwoven; they are complex. But it takes little sophistication, little grasp of complexity to recognize injustice. And it is injustice which we must not only recognize, but act on.

Millions of Negroes remain trapped -- trapped in ghettos, trapped in unskilled joblessness, trapped in lack of respect from others, trapped, most brutally, in lack of respect for themselves.

These are injustices against which America is already working. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are landmarks of our journey toward legal, economic and social justice for the Negro American -- a journey which must be traversed not only by government but by all of society.

-- In the field of voting, for example, nearly 200,000 Negro citizens already have registered to vote in the wake of the Voting Rights Act. But many hundreds of thousands have not. I spoke, at the time I signed the Act, of a challenge to the Negro leadership -- to work around the clock to teach people their responsibilities and to lead them to exercise those rights and to fulfill those responsibilities.

The challenge in large part remains. The opportunity to vote is only as a hollow legislative triumph if it is not acted on by Negro citizens whose right to vote is now insured.

-- In the field of criminal justice, all of us recognize that the jury system -- the very prism of the law -- too often has refracted not legal rights, but injustice.

This is a field in which the Department of Justice already is seeking effective remedies under existing authority. We have recent, tragic evidence of the need for additional authority and I have asked the Attorney General to submit to me, prior to the next session of Congress, legislative proposals by which we can insure equal justice under law in all the courts of the land -- irrespective of the color of the man in the dock or the men in the jury box.

-- In the field of education, the common goal of white parents and Negro parents alike is the best possible education for their children. But that goal too often is obscured by inflamed feelings rather than being informed by facts.

Consequently, I am calling on the Commission on Civil Rights to turn its practiced, careful attention to problems of race and education in all parts of the country -- to compile documentation, to probe for causes, to suggest analyses, to develop, in short, a firm foundation of facts on which local, state, and federal governments can build.

-- In the field of federal aid, we are seeking, throughout this Administration, to make racial justice a positive, conscious purpose rather than a distant, gradual goal. I will expect strong and immediate results from the letter just sent out by the Attorney General calling on all relevant federal agencies systematically to seek out discrimination in federal aid programs -- rather than simply wait for complaints.

Beyond such steps, however, millions of Negro citizens remain discouraged, disadvantaged, even disaffected; they remain truly another nation. And that is why we have joined together here, calling on you, who have spent lifetimes in the search for racial justice, to help devise -- creatively, humanely -- effective ways to bring hope and dignity to their lives.

Simultaneously we must focus our most passionate attention to problems of employment and job training, of housing, or education, of community life, of family structure, of welfare administration, of confidence in self and society.

There can be no question that however great our determination, these are tasks of immense difficulty. But we go forward with confidence in the knowledge that the tide of right and the tide of change run with us.

These tides cannot be swept back by bombs, bullets, or burning crosses. They cannot be reversed by the despairing violence of Watts. They can no longer be ignored by the comfortable and complacent.

For those tides are impelled by decency and a love of justice and it rises in the hearts of a people whose mission now is what it was at our beginning: to declare and manifest the brotherhood of man.

The time for fulfillment has arrived.

EXECUTIVE

HU2/MC
PR 2
CA

W

Mr. President:

Louis Martin called me from the Democratic National Committee. He said there are about 55 elected Negro officials in State Legislatures and about 100 in City Councils. He would like to bring them to Washington sometime after the first of the year for some purpose such as Civil Rights and then as an unannounced part of the program have you drop in to talk to them.

GER/cg
8:25, Dec. 2

see file

304
EXECUTIVE
HU2/mc

file

11 NOV 19 11 50 AM '63

11 NOV 19 11 50 AM '63

WA126 PD

ATLANTA GA 19 520P EST

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

I REGRET MY ILLNESS PREVENTED MY MEETING WITH YOU TODAY. SINCERELY
JAMES FORMAN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE.

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1963

FORM 805 PRINTED BY THE STANDARD REGISTER COMPANY, U.S.A.

12/1

RESISTANCE
H02/M2

November 17, 1964

MR. PRESIDENT:

Lee White wants to know (based on this memo underneath) if it is alright to invite Jack Greenberg, Dorothy Height and Wiley Branton to this meeting on Thursday at 10:30 am.

Note attached telegram from Martin Luther King declining the invitation to attend.

Yes _____ No _____

Jack Valenti

RECEIVED
NOV 18 1964

Handwritten initials or signature

12/1

(13)

EXECUTIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Meeting with Negro Leadership. ~~at~~ 10:30 AM THURSDAY

After Jack Valenti told me of your desire to meet this Thursday with the Negro leadership, the attached letter from the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership came to my attention. My original intention was to invite the 6 leaders that we have generally regarded as the "big 6". In the face of this specific request, it seems to me desirable to extend the meeting to include the 2 extra members of this Leadership: Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Education Fund and Miss Dorothy Height of the National Council of Negro Women. This will meet their request for a meeting with you, and I am advised that it will not in any way commit you in the future to include these extra people in your own consultations. In addition, it will permit you to refer to the meeting held at the request of the group or, in the alternative, to be one called at your own initiative. I have checked this out with Roy Wilkins, Louis Martin and Burke Marshall, and all agree that it would be desirable to have the entire group. I have not yet called Greenberg or Miss Height and will do so tomorrow if this meets with your approval.

Wiley Branton, the Executive Director of this Council, is a Negro lawyer from Arkansas who has spent the last 6 months or so on the voter registration program of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. He is exceedingly well regarded by all who know him, and Burke Marshall has suggested that you may wish to extend the invitation to him as well. I do not know Branton personally, but he is apparently first rate. If you wish to include him, I can call him tomorrow as well.

You may also wish to give some thought to having a brief session with Nick Katzenbach, Burke Marshall, Louis Martin and myself prior to the session with the outside people. If you do, I will ask Jack Valenti if he can set up a convenient time.

Although the name of A. Phillip Randolph does not appear on the letter, Roy Wilkins advises me that Randolph is now a member of the Council, and Mr. Randolph has already agreed to attend the Thursday meeting.


Lee C. White

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE:

A Group of Negro Leaders will come in to see the President off the record at 10:30 AM, Thursday November 19. Lee White is handling and will send list.

Perry Barber

10-12-64
11-12-64
CENTRAL FILES

Council for
UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS
Leadership, Inc.

10 EAST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
MUrray Hill 2-0283

WILEY A. BRANTON, *Executive Director*
LLOYD K. GARRISON, *Treasurer*

DIRECTORS

STEPHEN R. CURRIER
JAMES FARMER
JAMES FORMAN
JACK GREENBERG
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
ROY WILKINS
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

November 11, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We wish to tell you of our enormous delight in your historic victory which is an immense tribute to you as a leader and to the accomplishments of your first year in office. We rejoice in the fact that you won so overwhelmingly on the basis of a campaign which repudiated racism and intolerance in all forms. We rejoice, too, in the unprecedented involvement and enthusiasm of Negro citizens in the political life of their country, as reflected in record registration figures and a giant election day turnout; this massive response demonstrates the confidence our Negro citizens have placed in your administration.

We should like now to urge you to enlist this confidence -- and the new political energy it has brought about -- in behalf of your effort to create the Great Society in this country. Negro citizens, filled with new hope by your huge mandate, would welcome the chance to work with you in implementing the Civil Rights Act and in developing broad and bold new programs to carry on the war on poverty launched by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 -- programs designed to create a distinguished physical and human environment for all Americans of all races. Negro citizens would also welcome the opportunity to join with you in achieving support for and acceptance of these new programs -- and thus to collaborate with you in another and even more challenging endeavor. In other words, Negro citizens do not wish merely to benefit from the bounty that will flow from the Great Society; they wish also to contribute actively and constructively to its establishment.

Page 2, The President, November 11, 1964.

At a recent meeting of the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, we concluded that, as leaders of the major civil rights groups, it was our responsibility and privilege to give first priority to this mission. Accordingly, we should like respectfully to request an opportunity for us, as a group, to confer with you in the near future to discuss ways and means of launching this historic collaborative effort. At such a conference we should also like to discuss the problems which seem to us to lie ahead with respect to the full implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

With repeated and enthusiastic congratulations to you on your magnificent triumph,

Respectfully yours,

James Farmer
James Forman
Jack Greenberg
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

By:


Wiley A. Branton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

HJ 2/11 -

MR. VALENTI

Marvin Watson has the cards
and the original of this.

pb
4/21/65

THE PRESIDENT

April 21, 1965

Lee C. White

Notes for Meeting with Southeastern Negro Leaders.

This group is one of a series with Negro leaders and elected public officials. These 80 or so people are from southern states and are here for a 2-day seminar. The Attorney General, Sargent Shriver and other Administration officials have met with them at the Mayflower Hotel to describe government programs and to answer any questions they may have. According to Louie Martin, who set up the meeting, things have gone very well thus far.

Following are items that I would assume you might discuss with them briefly, and I am confident they will want to ask some questions of you.

1. Poverty Program -- As of March 1, 93 operating projects are underway in 37 states. They will provide work experience and opportunities for over 65,000 enrollees. Interest in Job Corps work possibilities has been particularly encouraging. More than twice the number of available spots have been requested by young people who are dropouts or in the ranks of the unemployed. The Neighborhood Youth Corps has more than 565 proposals from local communities that should aid over 200,000 youths. They can help this program by their coverage and editorial comment.
2. Housing -- Your message on Cities asks for the continuation, at the rate of 40,000 additional units for fiscal year 1966 of the program providing below market interest rate mortgages for middle income families. The new rent supplement program should finance more than one-half million homes over the next 4 years and is aimed at families making between \$3,000 and \$8,000 per year.
3. Education -- Fiscal Year 1966 budget for education requests \$4.1 billion to strengthen state and community education projects. The pre-school program is particularly aimed at children from families earning less than \$2,000 per year. \$1 billion is allocated to several districts for elementary and secondary schools which service the children of the low-income families, generally earning less than \$2,000.

4. Voting Rights -- They had a good session on this with Nick Katzenbach and Barefoot Sanders and raised many questions about the Administration's attitude on the state poll tax. The position we have taken is that we would much prefer not to raise constitutional questions so as to weaken the support that the bill currently has among Midwesterners and Republicans who are reluctant under any circumstances to vote for a bill that contains unconstitutional items. Generally, the discussion has indicated no differences over objectives but only the means of arriving at them. It might also be worth stressing that the right to register is empty unless people have taken advantage of that right and that local leaders, such as they, are the ones who can make the difference.

5. Appointments -- Among recent appointments are Lisle Carter, formerly of HEW, and Ted Berry, both among the top half dozen in the Poverty Program; Andrew Brimmer, who was promoted to Assistant Secretary of Commerce; Roger Wilkins, Roy's nephew, who is one of Governor Collins' key men; Howard Woods made Assistant Director of USIA; Air Force General Benjamin Davis has been promoted to Lt. Gen., the highest rank ever attained in the military by a Negro; others are in the works.

6. Equal Employment Opportunity -- They have been advised that the requirements of Title VII become effective on July 2 and that the commission to implement the Title is now being put together.

207

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 1965

EXECUTIVE

H/42/MC

COI Southern States

PR 8-1

MR. PRESIDENT:

You will recall that back in March you agreed to Louis Martin's suggestion to meet with a group of Negro Office Holders from the Southern States (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia) but asked that it be postponed for a few weeks.

They are on the schedule for 5:45 tomorrow. You can meet them off-the-record for 15 or 20 minutes in the Rose Garden and be on your way to the Moro Reception. There are 88 of them in the group.

Booklet re: Negro Office Holders 4/21/65

Jack Valenti

Don't think of it as a meeting. It's a chance to talk to them. You can't talk to them. They want to check with me before presenting it.

Copy to Mr. Tolson 4/23/65

*LSC
4-20-65 5-15*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mjdr
File

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES R. JONES

I have called these names to
Bruce. He will fix them up. The
rest are on my chair.

All are for the 5:45 meeting.

pb
4/21/65

APR 21 1965
CENTRAL FILE

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Additions for 5:45

April 21, 1965

MEMO FOR JAMES JONES

Louis Martin's office at the DNC called to add the following names to the list of Southern Regional Delegates coming for a meeting - ~~she wasn't sure whether it was 5:00 or 5:30:~~

Vernon Jordan, Atlanta, Georgia

Jack Young, Jackson, Mississippi

W. H. Wilson, Jackson, Mississippi

John Brooks, Richmond, Virginia

Tinsley Spraggins, Richmond, Virginia

H. Colle

SOUTHERN REGIONAL MEETING

April 21, 1965

Members to visit the White House

Dr. & Mrs. John L. Cashin
509 Gallatin St., S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Rev. K. L. Buford
107 North Church Street
Tuskegee, Alabama

Atty. Orzell Billingsley
1630 Fourth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Rufus Lewis
801 Bolivar St.
Montgomery, Alabama

William Blackshear
Member, City Commission
Safety Harbor, Florida

F. Malcolm Cunningham
Member, City Council of Riviera
600 Rosemary Avenue, West
Palm Beach, Florida

Atty. Henry Arrington
1034 North Third Avenue
Miami, Florida

Atty. Francisco Rodriguez
703 Harrison St.
Tampa, Florida

Charles Hadley
1836 North 55th Terrace
Miami, Florida

Atty. Charles F. Wilson
507 West Gadsden St.
Pensacola, Florida

Frank Hampton
2610 Myrtle Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

Leroy Johnson
State Senator
372 Larchmont Drive N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Atty. Horace Ward
361 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Atty. Eugene Gadsden
458½ West Broad St.
Savannah, Georgia

Mrs. Lottie Watkins
107 Mathewson Place, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Jesse Hill
148 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Atty. Donald L. Hollowell
859½ Hunter St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Atty. Wiley Branton
5 Forsyth Street
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Hortense Young
818 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

A. P. Turesud
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Rev. A. L. Davis
2311 Third Street
New Orleans, La.

Jackson V. Acox
326 Adams Street
New Orleans, La.

Israel M. Augustine
1470 North Claiborne Avenue
New Orleans, La.

James Smith
1470 North Claiborne Avenue
New Orleans, La.

Aaron Henry
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Charles Evers
1072 West Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Rev. Merrill Lindsay
425 5th Street
West Point, Mississippi

Amzie Moore
Box 814
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dr. Gilbert Mason
873 Fayard St.
Biloxi, Mississippi

R. L. T. Smith
1072 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Emmett H. Stringer
114½ Fourth Street
South Columbus, Mississippi

Dr. Felix Dunn
1917 38th Avenue
Gulfport, Mississippi

Carl H. Russell
Russell Funeral Home
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

John S. Stewart
123 Masendale Avenue
Durham, North Carolina

John W. Winters
507 East Martin Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Reginald Hawkins
1218 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

John Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

John Larkins
1332 Hargett Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Noah Bennett
122 Masendale Avenue
Durham, North Carolina

J. J. Simmons, Jr.
228½ North 2nd Street
Muskegee, Oklahoma

E. Melvin Porter
2704 N. E. 18th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

John White
2505 N. E. 13th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

J. Arthur Brown
270 Ashley Avenue
Charleston, South Carolina

Atty. Matthew J. Perry
1107½ Washington Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. R. N. Beck
501 Ingram Street
Florence, South Carolina

Dr. Charles H. Thomas
Box 1778
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
2025 Marion Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman
2022 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Walker Solomon
1915 Germany Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Mansfield Douglas
1022 Summitt Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

Atty. Robert Lilliard
331½ Fourth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tenn.

A. W. Willis, Jr.
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. Clarence Burley
118 Garland Street
Bristol, Tenn.

Atty. Russell Sugarmon
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

Jesse H. Turner
1278 Gill Street
Memphis, Tenn.

T. D. Armstrong
1301 31st Street
Galveston, Texas

George L. Allen
2527 Ross Street
Dallas, Texas

Rev. Marvin C. Griffin
1324 North 6th Street
Waco, Texas

Mrs. Hattie Mae White
2209 Southmore Street
Houston, Texas

Atty. Asberry B. Butler, Jr.
4100 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas

Rev. S. M. Wright
3119 Pina Street
Dallas, Texas

Dr. T. M. Cole
President, Wiley College
Marshall, Texas

M. J. Anderson
1017 East 11th Street
Austin, Texas

Mack H. Hannah, Jr.
4310 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Joe Scott
616 East Commerce Street
San Antonio, Texas

B. A. Cephas, Jr.
537 North 2nd Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. W. Ferguson Reid
813 Lancaster Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. William S. Thornton
2602 Brook Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. James W. Holley, III
617 Effingham Street
Portsmouth, Virginia

Mrs. Norvleate Downing
1229 27th Street
Newport News, Virginia

Mrs. Jessie M. Rattley
2901 Jefferson Avenue
Newport News, Virginia

Mrs. W. T. Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Joseph H. Owens
25 Mars Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Mrs. Edna Valentine
216 South West Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Attorney Ruth Harvey
453 South Main Street
Danville, Virginia

A. Byron Smith
314 Fourth Street
Roanoke, Virginia

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk, Virginia

Thomas Young
719 Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Franklin Gayles
Virginia Union University
2804 Hanes Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

John Drew
500 South Harrison Street
Richmond, Virginia

Atty. Victor Ashe
1134 Church Street
Norfolk, Virginia

George A. Pannell
300 Overbrook Road
Richmond, Virginia

C. E. Watkins
1709 Campbell Street
Camden, South Carolina

James T. McCain
325 Bartlett Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Atty. John H. Ruffin, Jr.
1007 Ninth Street
Augusta, Georgia

Avon Williams
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Charles W. Johnson
3606 Batavia Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Attorney James Mankins
Richmond, Virginia

Democratic National Committee Staff

Louis Martin
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.

Miss Ethel Payne
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.

George Booker
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N.W.

J. Michael McClister
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N.W.

Mrs. Rae de Britto
Democratic National Committee
1730 K Street, N. W.

Conference Assistants

Mrs. Ursula Holmes
4204 East Capitol Street
Washington, D. C.

Miss Azie B. Taylor
800 Fourth Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Elinor Freeman
315 W Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Vivian Coates
4276 E. Capitol Street
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Sonia Porter
4001 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1965

NR

Faly

MEMORANDUM FOR WALTER YOUNG, PROTECTIVE RESEARCH

Will you please check out these two additional names of officials
who will attend the April 21 meeting with the President?

Mr. Avon Williams
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Charles W. Johnson
3606 Batavia Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee



Jack Valenti

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U. S. SECRET SERVICE

TO : Mr. Jack Valenti - White House Staff DATE: April 13, 1965

FROM : Inspector Thacker - PRS

601.0

SUBJECT: Name Checks

We have no record in our files as to the two persons on the attached list received from you.

E. C. Thacker
Elliott C. Thacker
Inspector

*4/14/65
told Mr. Martin
0 Kay - on atm
N. yales
Attachment*

April 12, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR WALTER YOUNG, PROTECTIVE RESEARCH

Will you please check out these two additional names of officials
who will attend the April 21 meeting with the President?

Mr. Avon Williams
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Charles W. Johnson
3606 Batavia Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Jack Valenti

JV:ny

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D C 20006

April 9, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-8750

MEMORANDUM FOR

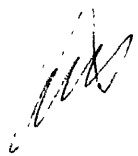
Mr. Jack Valenti
The White House

Listed below are two additional names which I would like to include in the list of officials attending the one-day conference at the Mayflower Hotel on April 21.

Mr. Avon Williams
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Charles W. Johnson
3606 Batavia Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Let me have your approval.


Louis Martin

OPTIONAL FORM NO 10
5010-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U. S. SECRET SERVICE

TO : Mr. Jack Valenti
White House Staff

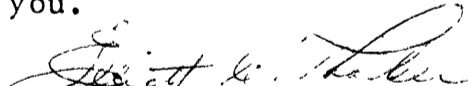
DATE: April 6, 1965

FROM : Inspector Thacker - PRS

SUBJECT: Name Check

Reference is made to the attached memorandum dated April 5, 1965.

We have no record of these persons in our files, and the list is being returned to you.


Elliott C. Thacker
Inspector

Attachments

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NR

April 5, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR WALTER YOUNG, PROTECTIVE RESEARCH:

WY

Many thanks for your quick processing of the list of those who
will attend the April 21 meeting with the President.
Will you check out these three additional people?

Jack Valenti

2.11.15
attached is file of the report of
John...

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1730 K STREET, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20006

April 2, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-8750

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Jack Valenti
The White House

Listed below are three additional names which I would like to include in the list of officials attending the one-day conference at the Mayflower Hotel on April 21.

Wiley Branton
Voters Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Victor Ashe
1134 Church Street
Norfolk, Virginia

George Pannell
300 Overbrook Road
Richmond, Virginia

Let me know if they are approved so we can get in touch with them.

Louis Martin

LM

8/7

March 31, 1965

EXECUTIVE

HU-14C
A.F. 8-1
W.H. 8-3
PR 11

MEMORANDUM FOR WALTER YOUNG
Protective Research

Will you check out this group? They'll be coming
in to see the President on April 21 off the record.

Jack Valenti

Xerox from Louis Martin
3 X

4/5/65

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

March 29, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 80 80

MEMORANDUM FOR


Mr. Jack Valenti
The White House

Listed below are two names which I would like to add to the list of officials attending the one-day conference scheduled for April 21 at the Mayflower Hotel.

Mr. C. E. Watkins
President, Palmetto Education Association, Inc.
1709 Campbell Street
Camden, S. C.

Attorney John H. Ruffin, Jr.
1007 Ninth Street
Augusta, Georgia

Let me know if they are approved so we can mail invitations to them.


Louis Martin

Copy for Central Files

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

February 5, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-8750

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JACK VALENTI

Re: Southern Regional Meeting in Washington

As you no doubt know, there is more political interest and concern among Southern Negroes today than there have been at any time in the past.

With the Negro electorate solidly backing the Democratic Party, we do not wish to lose the momentum that has been developed.

I suggest we now have the Southern Regional Meeting of elected and appointed Negro Democratic officials, which was postponed. I would suggest a March date convenient to the President.

yes _____
no _____

The pattern of this meeting would be the same as our other regional meeting held prior to the convention. It would be an all day briefing at the Mayflower Hotel with a break for an off the record greeting by the President at the White House.

Attached is a tentative list of those who would be invited to Washington.

Louis Martin

*DK
What about
Telford?
A*

*2/13/65
list returned
per L. Martin
re: [unclear]*

LIST FOR WHITE HOUSE MEETING OF
SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERS (Louis Martin)

ALABAMA

Dr. and Mrs. John L. Cashin
509 Gallatin St. S.W.
Huntsville

William C. Allen
Justice of the Peace
c/o Allen's Store
Montgomery Road
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee,

Rev. K.L. Buford
Member of City Council
107 North Church St.
Tuskegee

Dr. Charles Gomillion
Member Board of Education
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee

Atty. Orzell Billingsley
Jefferson County Democratic Committee
1630 Fourth Ave. North
Birmingham

Atty. Arthur D. Shores
Jefferson County Democratic Committee
1527 Fifth Ave. North
Birmingham

Mrs. Amelia P. Boynton
1315 Lapsley Street
Selma

Charles Alexander
Mobile County Democratic Committee
454 Delaware St.
Mobile

Conrad Deane
Mobile County Democratic Committee
654 South Bayon Street
Mobile

Alabama

Rufus Lewis
801 Bolivar Street
Montgomery

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 2.-

FLORIDA

William Blackshear
Member City Commission
Safety Harbor

F. Napoleon Cunningham
Member City Council of Riviera
600 Rosemary Ave. West
Palm Beach

Boisy Waiters
Member City Commission
Dania

Henry Arrington
1034 North Third Avenue
Miami

Francisco Rodriguez
703 Harrison St.
Tampa

Charles Hadley
1836 N. 55th Terrace
Miami

Atty. Charles F. Wilson
507 W. Gadsden Street
Pensacola

Frank Hampton
2610 Myrtle Avenue
Jacksonville

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 3-

GEORGIA

B.L. Dent
City Council
1117 Gwinnett Street
Augusta

Atty. Leroy Johnson
State Senator
372 Larchmont Drive N.W.
Atlanta

Col. Austin T. Walden
State Executive Committee
980 Westmore Drive N.W.
Atlanta

Atty. Horace T. Ward
State Senator
361 Ashby Street N.W.
Atlanta

Walter Aikens
239 W. Lake Street
Atlanta

Atty. Eugene Gadsden
458½ W. Broad St.
Savannah

Mrs. Lottie Watkins
107 Matthewson Place S.W.
Atlanta

Dr. Rufus B. Clement
Member Board of Education
Atlanta University
Atlanta

Jesse Hill
Atlanta Life Insurance Co.
118 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta

Atty. Donald L. Hollowell
859½ Hunter St. N.W.
Atlanta,

Wiley Branton
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 4.-

KENTUCKY

Chester Harvey
City Council
West Point

Arthur Johnson
Member State Legislature
1736 Dumesnil Street
Louisville

J.E. Smith
Member State Legislature
3016 River Park Drive
Louisville

Harry N. Sykes
City Commission
439 North Bamberger Road
Lexington

Lusha J. Tunman
City Council
Glasgow

Mrs. Hortense Young
818 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Frank Stanley, Jr.
Louisville Defender
714 North Chestnut
Louisville, Kentucky

WHITE HORSE LIST cont. 5.2-

MISSISSIPPI

Aaron Henry
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale

Charles Young
500 25th Avenue
Meridian

Mrs. Clairee Harvey
Peoples Funeral Home
886 N. Farish St.
Jackson *

Charles Evers
1072 W. Lynch St.
Jackson

Rev. Merrill Lindsay
425 5th Street
West Point

Amzie Moore
Box 814
Cleveland

Dr. Gilbert Mason
873 Fayard St.
Biloxi

Rev. L.T. Smith
1018 W. Pearl Street
Jackson

Dr. Emmett H. Stringer
114½ 4th St.
South Columbus

Dr. Felix Dunn
1917 38th Ave.
Gulfport

James Carter
901 Nelson Street
Greenville

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 6.-

LOUISIANA

A.P. Tureaud
1821 Orleans Ave.
New Orleans

Rev. A.L. Davis
2311 Third Street
New Orleans

Jackson V.A. Cox
326 Adams Street
New Orleans

Israel M. Augustine
1470 N. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans

James Smith
1470 N. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans

C.C. Dejoie
Louisiana Weekly
640 Rampart St.
New Orleans

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 7.-

NORTH CAROLINA

Felton J. Capel
Member City Council
1025 West New Hampshire Ave.
Southern Pines

Carl H. Russell
Member City Council
Russell Funeral Home
Winston Salem.

John S. Stewart
Member City Council
123 Masondale Ave.
Durham

John W. Winters
Member City Council
507 E. Martin Street
Raleigh

Dr. Reginald Hawkins
1218 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte

John Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham

John Larkins
1332 Hargett St.
Raleigh

Noah Bennett
122 Masondale Ave.
Durham

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 8.-

OKLAHOMA

J.J. Simmons Jr.
228 $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 2nd Street
Muskogee

Archibald Hill
State Representative
403 North Durlund St.
Oklahoma City

Curtis Lawson
State Representative
1161 North Kenosha St.
Tulsa

E. Melvin Porter
State Senator
2704 N.E. 18th St.
Oklahoma City

John White
State Representative
2505 N.E. 13th Street
Oklahoma City

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 9.-

SOUTH CAROLINA

J. Arthur Brown
270 Ashley Ave.
Charleston

Matthew J. Perry
1107 $\frac{1}{2}$ Washington Street
Columbia

Dr. R.N. Beck
501 Ingram Street
Florence

Dr. Charles H. Thomas
Box 1778
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg

Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
2025 Marion Street
Columbia

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman
2022 Taylor Street
Columbia

Walker Solomon
1915 Germany Street
Columbia

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 10.-

TENNESSEE

John L. Driver
Member City Council
1018 35th Ave. North
Nashville

Mansfield Douglas
Member City Council
1022 Summitt Avenue
Nashville

Robert Lilliard
Member City Council
331½ Fourth Ave. North
Nashville

H.T. Lockhard
Member Shelby County Court
322½ Beale Street
Memphis

Harold M. Love
Member City Council
2706 Vance Avenue
Nashville

A.W. Willis Jr.
State Representative
588 Vance Ave.
Memphis

Mrs. Clarence Burley
118 Garland Street
Bristol

Russell Sugarmon
588 Vance Street
Memphis

Jesse H. Turner
1278 Gill Street
Memphis

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 11.-

TEXAS

T. D. Armstrong
1301 - 31st Street
Galveston, Texas

George L. Allen
2527 Ross Street
Dallas, Texas

Reverend Marvin C. Griffin
1324 North 6th Street
Waco, Texas

Mrs. Hattie Mae White
2209 Southmore Street
Houston, Texas

Mr. Asberry D. Butler, Jr.
4100 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas

Reverend C. A. Holliday
1303 E. Terrell Street
Fort Worth, Texas

Reverend S. M. Wright
3119 Pine Street
Dallas, Texas

Dr. T. M. Cole
President, Wiley College
Marshall, Texas

M. J. Anderson
1017 East 11th Street
Austin, Texas

Robart Taylor, Sr.
4905 Jackson Street
Houston, Texas

Mack Hannah
4310 Dowling St.
Houston, Texas

Joe Scott
616 East Commerce Street
San Antonio, Texas

WHITE HOUSE LIST cont. 12.-

VIRGINIA

B.A. Cephas
City Council
537 North 2nd Street
Richmond

Dr. W. Ferguson Reid
813 Lancaster Road
Richmond

Dr. William S. Thornton
2602 Brook Road
Richmond

Dr. James Holley
617 Effingham Street
Portsmouth

Mrs. Norvleate Downing
1229 27th St.
Newport News

Mrs. Jessie Rattley
2901 Jefferson Ave.
Newport News

Mrs. W.T. Mason
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk

Joseph Owens
Member City Council
25 Mars Street
Petersburg

Mrs. Edna Valentine
216 South West Street
Petersburg

Atty. Ruth Harvey
453 S. Main Street
Danville

A. Byron Smith
314 4th St. Roanoke

Eugene Williams
201-03 5th Street N.W.
Charlottesville

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk

VIRGINIA

Thomas Young
Editor
Norfolk Journal and Guide
719 Olney Road
Norfolk

Franklin Gayles
2804 Hanes Ave.
Richmond

John Drew
500 S. Harrison Street
Richmond

Mrs. Ethel Overby
1218 Dubois Ave.
Richmond



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Central Files:

The Press Office didn't ever make a press release on this speech, but we would like to keep it in case we ever need to refer to it.

Thus to you for its proper slot in case we ever need to call for it.

connie gerrard
press office

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/MC

SP

HU 2

(2)

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO
A GROUP OF SOUTHERN NEGROES,
THE ROSE GARDEN, THE WHITE
HOUSE, APRIL 21, 1965

Everytime I meet with a group like this I get more than I
give.

It's a stimulating experience because I am reminded of the
dream that is really older than the country itself. The dream that
goes back to the very beginning of man.

It is the dream of liberty.

It is the dream of the exile who longs for home.

It is the dream of Moses as he led his people north out of
Egypt.

It is the dream of Abraham Lincoln as he saw a whole race of
people freed.

It is the dream of a son of a tenant farmer who knows his time
has come and he can and will share in the abundance of this nation.

I think we have done more in less than four years to make that
dream come true in this land than any time in this whole century.

And if you don't remember anything else that I said today -- you must
remember this: We have only begun.

2.

We just passed an Education Bill -- the first of its kind since the birth of this nation. And to whom does it apply? To children and families of less than \$2,000 a year income. No, it's not for Protestants, it is not for Catholics, it's not for Jews, it's not for Negroes and it's not for whites. It's for people.

Who are these people who have had their hands tied behind them for all these years? They earn less than \$2,000 a year. There are five million young children in families that earn less than \$2,000 a year, five million of them who are going to be aided by this Bill. I don't know how many more than four million are going to be your folks. But I'll tell you this. I think it is the most important bill I have ever signed. And this is only the beginning.

We are going to pass a bill that will lift the grinding cost of illness off the shoulders of our old people. Who could have ever thought we could have passed a bill through the House of Representatives like we passed 313 to 115 the other day.

^{Up to 90 days}
~~When you become 65 years of age you can go to a hospital and stay there 60 days and have your hospital bill taken care of. And if you can afford it you can stay longer than 60 days.~~

3.

~~If you can't afford it we have a medical plan in it where the State will take care of costs. And then after the State takes care of you for 60 days you can come back and get another 60 days of your medical care, nursing care, and medicine.~~

You pay 20% and the medical assistance section of this bill ~~pays 80%.~~ Who is going to be helped most by this bill? The President can pay his own doctor bill. And the banker can pay his own. But think about all of these people that you are representing that can't. I remember my wife telling the story of the most agonizing memories of her childhood. It was when the Negro mothers and fathers came up to her house in the early morning, weeping and saying that their loved one was dying. Could they get a doctor, they cried, because a doctor wouldn't come unless her daddy would pay and approve it. Those days are gone forever. You will never have to go to somebody else's house and ask if you can get a doctor for your dying wife or your dying baby.

We are going to enact a voter's rights bill. And it is going to strip the last barriers of injustice from the polling booths .

We've opened new jobs and new opportunities for Negroes at every level of the government.

In a few weeks I am going to convene ~~right out there on the~~

4.

~~White House lawn~~, a series of conferences on employment opportunities that will seek to make ^{the} ~~the~~ Civil Rights Act of 1964 effective in every corner of this land. We will have people ~~here~~ from every state. ^{at the} ~~at the~~ The dream we dream together does not stop with these programs we are advancing -- Health, Education, Poverty and Civil Rights Act. ~~It~~ It does not end where the waters of the sea mark our own boundaries. ~~All~~ All over this world people who have dreamed this dream sense that deliverance is at hand, that independence and the dignity it brings are near. This drive for liberty, this drive for self-respect, this drive for equality is not just American -- it is world-wide. And there's no force in the world that can stop it.

This drive must not be stopped. Not until all people share in the fruits of the industrial revolution. Not until all people share in the democratic process. Not until all people can decide for themselves what kind of government and what kind of future they want. Not until all people share the dignity and the meaning of life. Only then will the dream of centuries come true. ~~We~~ We are working for that aim around the world. What we do at home will determine how successful we are abroad. What we do abroad will provide lasting meaning to what we do at home.

5.

And that is why our efforts in Vietnam are important. The people out there have this dream too. They are dreaming just like you are dreaming - they hope they can get their freedom. It is a simple dream. It is an honest dream of independence, of self-determination. It's the dream of being their own masters and not being mastered by somebody else. ^{It is a dream the people of this} land brought across the raging Atlantic. That is why they came here. They wanted to be their own masters. It's the dream you kept alive since Lincoln fixed his signature to the Emancipation Proclamation.

The people of Vietnam have asked us to help them. And the people of the United States said "yes." Now your sons and your daughters are out there helping them. For ten years we've labored to help them hold onto their freedom. There have been many dark moments. From outside their borders the terrorists come in the night to attack. If ^{these} ~~the~~ Communists ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ South Vietnam who believes they are going to stop there? There are ^{as many as} ~~a hundred other~~ ^{countries} ~~where~~ ^{for which Vietnam} ~~this~~ is a testing ground. If the Communists win there they will move on like Hitler did. If assassination by night and murder in the streets works in one country, who believes it will not be tried in another country? That is why we are in South Vietnam -- that is why we are

going to stay there -- that is why we are going to win there.

This is a time when daring things must be tried in faith. That is our program at home. That is our work abroad. We need your courage and we need your support to pursue it.

I said in my State of the Union Message in January the next item on our agenda was a voting rights bill. I have always thought if we had an adequate voting rights bill it would be the most important stride forward we could make. ^{We} passed the first bill in 1957. It hadn't been done in 80 years. ^{We} passed the second one in 1960. In 1964 we ~~passed~~ ^{passed} the break-through in civil rights. Now we are really going to get the job done ~~when we pass~~ ^{we are going to pass} the voting rights bill because people can take care of themselves if you give them the right to vote.

one cannot pass it to have with leaders in the state level

And the states that need it the most will have it the best.

P. Frank P. Jensen here ->

I called in all the wise and able Negro leadership in this country to talk to them on voting rights. I had Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Phil Randolph, a wise able leader and fighter who never gives up.

We talked also about what we are going to be up against this summer. We have to try to find jobs. We have to try to get these youngsters back into school. We have to try to put their energies and their talents to work at something constructive instead of letting them just get into trouble.

7.

This is the great problem that I am working so hard on. I have had ~~all~~ the Mayors of ~~all the~~ large cities in to talk about this. I have had the Governors of ~~all~~ the fifty States in to talk about this. I have had the labor leaders in and the business leaders in to get their counsel. The great need is to create jobs - to hire the disadvantaged and to make sure they have the education to hold these jobs.

The other day I went to the new Job Corps camp in Maryland. I ran into one of those boys who typifies the kind of problem that presents itself. He was a big boy - as tall as I am.

I asked him "What grade did you finish?"

He said sullenly, "About seven."

His eyes were cast down and he almost looked as if he disliked me. So I had a cup of coffee with him and talked to him and finally I said to him. ^{700 10 10 10 10 10} "~~Don't lie to me~~ - you didn't go through the seventh grade, did you.? What grade did you finish?"

He lowered his head in an embarrassed way and he said, "The second."

He didn't want me to know that he had no education, but he made ~~visible~~ the reason why we have so many problems. Boys like this one cannot hold a job. They haven't had schooling - they haven't had training. They come from broken homes. So this is why we have to have your help - ~~your patience, and~~ your prayers - and your understanding.

6
P 6
One of my proudest speeches was the speech to the Congress on voting rights. More than half the country was viewing that speech on television and most of those people listening don't argue with me any more about the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Most of the people of this country accept it. They know that what we did was just and right.

I hope you saw the newspaper ad paid for by Alabama businessmen and the Chamber of Commerce that declared they really want to find equity in employment. This is the thing that we want to encourage. We don't want to have our citizens going separate ways. We want to have a united nation where everyone is given fair and equal treatment.

I have talked too long but I hope that I have communicated to you the way I feel. I shall need your help always.

Handwritten initials

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/MC



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
THIRTIETH LEGISLATURE
STATE OF OKLAHOMA

JOHN B. WHITE
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
OKLAHOMA COUNTY
DISTRICT No. 98
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

April 27, 1965

COMMITTEES
EDUCATION, COMMON
ELECTIONS AND PRIVILEGES
PUBLIC SAFETY
SOCIAL WELFARE AND
PUBLIC HEALTH
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

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

My dear Mr. President:

I wish to take this opportunity to express my thanks for the conference held at the White House last Wednesday, April 21, 1965. This conference with selected leaders from twelve southern states, was most helpful and profitable to our drive for complete equality in all areas here in the State of Oklahoma.

I wish to express my commendation for your statement "we have only begun" in the field of civil rights. Your statement "There is no force in the world that can stop this drive for complete equality for all Americans" was most inspirational and soul stirring. I certainly enjoyed every second of the hour and fifteen minute conference with you in our nation's capitol.

May God bless you and the other Federal officials in your efforts to make the dream of liberty become a living reality in our country. Again, many thanks for the conference and your invitation to us to return to Washington at a later date.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN B. WHITE
State Representative

JBW/jj

BN
2/21/65

(2)

X
BRANT COOPERSMITH
1012 - 14TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

EXECUTIVE

FG 2-16

HU 2/MC

MC

PR 8-1/5*

(3)
F

June 7, 1965

Dear Mr. President:

Once again I am deeply indebted to you for taking the time to meet with a number of the leaders of the District of Columbia Coalition of Conscience. I am taking this opportunity to tell you that I will do all that I can personally to develop support for the Conferences which you discussed with us, and most particularly, the Civil Rights Conference this Fall. I will join with my other colleagues around the country to recommend the best persons that we can think of who might make the kind of creative and constructive suggestions which, as you indicate, are so necessary.

It is always a great privilege to meet with you. My only regret is that all of my fellow Americans do not have similar opportunities to benefit personally from your leadership.

Sincerely,

Brant Cooper Smith
American People
X

Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Nothing sent to
Central File on 6/16/65

FG 520 3
HUGO J. W.

June 8, 1965

TO: DICK GOODWIN
FROM: BILL MOYERS

Louis Martin called me about the fact that Judge Marjorie Lawson is resigning from the Juvenile Court and is interested in serving as a consultant in the preparation of the "Conference to Fulfill These Rights"

Let's use her.

Nothing else sent to
files as of 11-12-65



799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

YUkon 6-2424

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

EXHIBITIVE 3
HU 2/100

June 14, 1965

Dear Bill:

When the President convenes the "to fulfill these
rights" conference in the fall, don't forget our old friend
Dr. I. G. ^XNewton. He's now Dean of Students at Maryland
State University, Princess Anne, Maryland.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Franklin H. Williams".

Franklin H. Williams

X

The Honorable
Bill Moyers
The White House
Washington

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Thursday, July 8, 1965
4:00 p.m.
(from the Vice President's desk
9:30 a.m., July 9, 1965)

CIVIL RIGHTS

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT

Civil Rights Fall Conference

Members of the staff of the Council on Equal Opportunity have been meeting with members of your staff to discuss plans for the conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Mississippi Federal Court Vacancies

Although all reports indicate that Governor Coleman will be a good appointee to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the protests from civil rights groups are likely to increase because of the Governor's past segregationist stands. Since there is also a vacancy on the U.S. District Court in Mississippi, this might be an appropriate time to have a person more acceptable to these groups appointed to the district judgeship as part of a package deal involving Coleman's appointment.

NAACP Convention

The poverty program was bitterly attacked by at least one person and there were rumors that the attacks could result in a resolution condemning the poverty program. Other speakers, including Government officials, admitted that there would be faults in any new program but defended the program and urged the convention participants to take part in it at the local level. The convention ended with stronger support for the poverty program.

Handwritten scribbles

Handwritten scribbles

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/1/65

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D C 20006

July 12, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD GOODWIN

Pursuant to our brief discussion of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, I wish to submit the following facts and observations:

1. There are, at the latest count, 288 Negroes holding elective governmental posts in 33 states. Of these, 98 sit in state legislatures. There are six Negroes in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Since practically all of them are elected by Negro constituencies, they must take a position on the all-pervasive civil rights issue. They help make local, state and federal civil rights laws. It seems reasonable, therefore, that they should be invited to participate in the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

2. There are over 200 Negroes holding appointive governmental positions which are of considerable influence in local, state and federal governments. Most of these are charged with specific responsibilities in the civil rights field. It would be difficult, I believe, to ignore this group.

3. However narrowly the line is drawn on participants, it would seem that the leadership in the Negro church, Negro education, Negro press, Negro labor, and Negro business should be represented at the Conference.

4. It is obvious from the above enumerations, that in order to get a good cross-section of Negro life at the Conference, the problem of who shall or shall not be invited could be most perplexing.

Handwritten signature
7/12

Original ... (C) ... 7/21/65

- 2 -

I repeat my plea therefore that we think in terms of holding at least one section, session or day of the conference to which large numbers can be invited.

Some White House Conferences have been held at the D. C. Armory with five and six thousand at the plenary sessions. I do not know if this approach is desirable but it might be worth considering.

5. Finally, since religion has historically exercised a strong and dynamic influence in Negro life, I recommend that some thought be given to special emphasis in this field.

I do not know the timing of the conference but the Pope is tentatively scheduled to visit the United States this fall and a world meeting of Catholic, Protestants, and Jewish leaders at the White House Conference on civil rights might have some value.

The search for ways and means "To Fulfill These Rights" may take us around Israel, and the Vatican as well as Uncle Tom's Cabin.

*2-2
1-1*

EXECUTIVE

*H.../...
...-**

(4)

Valenti

July 23, 1965
Friday, 4:30 p. m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

Walter Fauntroy, Martin Luther King's man in Washington, called to say that Dr. King and some of his associates were in the process of making a tour of northern cities and plan to be in Washington on August 4 and 5. The purpose of the tour is to "gain a deeper insight into the more complex problems facing the Negro community."

According to Fauntroy, the tour was inspired by your Howard University address, and King would like the opportunity to meet with you, if at all possible, on the afternoon of Thursday, August 5. At that time he would like to report to you on his tour and perhaps to suggest some new names for fresh faces to attend the fall conference.

Apparently, the lesson of earlier this year about his announcing that he is coming to Washington to meet with the President has been learned, and I was told that there would be no announcement at all about this from Dr. King.

It seems to me to be an appropriate request and, although you would not need to meet with him long, you could ask him to meet with those members of your staff who are working on the fall conference to pass on whatever specific thoughts, suggestions, information and ideas that he may have.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

_____ See me

RECEIVED
AUG 1 1965
CENTRAL FILES

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 8/1/65

yes

(2)

EXECUTIVE
SP3-93/PNO/W*
HU 2/MC

July 31, 1965

Dear Mrs. Wilkins:

I appreciated your very warm and encouraging note on my remarks at Howard University last month.

There was, of course, some apprehension that so frank a discussion of a somewhat sensitive issue might be misunderstood. However, I am pleased to report to you that the reception has been uniformly positive and I sincerely hope that in our Fall Conference we will begin to make real progress in identifying some of the more subtle and complicated issues that must be resolved if we are to translate the legislative and legal victories into significant improvement in the life of the American Negro.

I hope I am not giving away any family secrets by telling you that the substance of the message was discussed with your husband prior to its deliverance.

Sincerely,

LBJ
LBJ

he is a tower of strength to me.

Mrs. Roy Wilkins
147-15 Village Road
Jamaica 35, New York

(Amanda Wilkins)
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September 1, 1965
(11:30 A.M.)

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT

Attached are two memoranda relating to your White House Conference on Civil Rights to be held this fall. These memoranda reflect suggestions of the working group composed of members of your staff and my own.

I. The first memorandum deals with scheduling of the conference and the appointment of conference co-chairmen. It raises the following matters for your decision:

1. A 2 1/2-day conference to open on Wednesday, November 17, to be composed of about 500-700 working delegates.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

2. A follow-up one-day conference, composed of a much larger group (2,000 to 5,000), to publicize the results of the earlier conference, to involve a broader spectrum of persons, to fill a number of political requests for involvement in the conference, and to receive whatever proposals you might wish to make on the basis of the earlier conference.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date of follow-up conference:

Mid-December _____

Late January or early February _____

Acq +
Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of *8/17/65*

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3. Since the appointment of A. Philip Randolph as honorary conference chairman has been made, two working co-chairmen should be selected as soon as possible.

Appointment of either William Coleman or Leon Higginbotham as the Negro co-chairman.

Approve Coleman _____

Approve Higginbotham _____

Other _____

Appointment of either Father Hesburgh, Bronson LaFollette, or Morris Abram as the white co-chairman.

Approve LaFollette _____

Approve Abram _____

Approve Hesburgh _____

Other _____

4. Appointment of a citizens' advisory committee.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

5. Appointment of task force groups to prepare materials for use in general sessions and panel sessions of the conference.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

II. The second memorandum is a draft outline on the objectives of the conference and the schedule of conference activities. Also included is a description of the larger follow-up conference where the final report is presented.

General objectives and outline of conference as set forth in draft outline.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

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CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

AND

APPOINTMENT OF CO-CHAIRMEN

I. Proposed Schedule

It is proposed that the conference be divided into:

(1) a smaller working session of 2 days' duration, composed of involved and knowledgeable persons, (about 500-700) which would have the major task of producing the substantive results of the conference, tentatively scheduled to begin November 17; and

(2) a larger follow-up conference of one day duration, composed of persons with some interest in the general subject (about 2,000 - 5,000), which would have principally ceremonial functions; e.g., to receive the edited conference report and recommendations, to publicize the results of the smaller working conference, to secure involvement of broader spectrum of persons and groups, and to meet numbers obligations which, if honored in the first conference, would make it unmanageable in terms of working sessions.

We have considered holding the follow-up conference in mid-December, prior to submission of your legislative program, or in late January, immediately after your State-of-the-Union and Budget messages have been sent to Congress.

II. Chairmen and Personnel

With your appointment of A. Philip Randolph as Honorary Chairman, the next step would appear to be the selection of two co-chairmen. It is suggested that one be white and the other Negro, to demonstrate the interracial concern over the problems to be discussed.

For the Negro, either William Coleman or Leon Higgenbotham is suggested.

Coleman, a young Negro partner in Mayor Dillworth's Philadelphia law firm, is an outstanding lawyer who has argued many cases in the Supreme Court; he is tops professionally and is widely respected.

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COPY

Higgenbotham, formerly of the FTC and now a Federal District Judge, is bright, articulate, and well respected.

The following names are proposed as possibilities for the white co-chairman: Father Hesburgh, Bronson LaFollette, or Morris Abram.

Father Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame, a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

LaFollette, Attorney General of Wisconsin and an up-and-coming national leader of informed, progressive views.

Abram, President of the American Jewish Committee, a southerner with an excellent reputation as a leader in the broader field of human rights.

It is anticipated that the co-chairmen would participate in the selection of an executive director, a full-time chief of staff for organizing the conference.

Citizens' Advisory Committee

Appointment of a citizens' advisory committee would assure the maximum involvement of all sectors of American society.

The advisory committee should include representatives from the civil rights movement, labor, business, professional and service organizations, law enforcement, women's, church, educational and social welfare groups, as well as Negro fraternities and sororities, state and local officials, etc. Such representation would aid substantially in assuring involvement and commitment of these sectors of society and increase substantially the likelihood of their following up the conference with action. If you agree to the idea, a list of recommended nominees will be prepared for your consideration.

III. Financing

After consultation with Leo White, a budget of \$93,000 for the conference has been submitted to the Budget Bureau. This sum would be raised by proportionate contributions by the various federal agencies active in the civil rights field. A special account under the President's Council for Equal Opportunity would be established to administer these funds.

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IV. Task Forces of the Conference

If the conference is not to bog down in unfocused discussion, it is essential that a number of research and discussion papers be carefully prepared. We are contemplating asking a number of outside consultants, representing a variety of disciplines and backgrounds, scholastic and non-scholastic, to prepare papers which will be used as the basis of discussions at the conference sessions. These will take time and ought to be commissioned without delay.

The task forces would be responsible for organizing the panel sessions in their respective areas and also providing materials for the presentations to be made in general session; that is, The Widening Gulf, Dynamics of the Ghetto, and An American Problem.

Proposed task forces are:

1. The Dynamics of the Ghetto;
2. Administration of Justice;
3. Legal Guarantees;
4. Housing;
5. Employment;
6. Education;
7. Welfare and Health.

We should also organize a task force on implementation of conference results and one on publicity and public relations.

OUTLINE

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

"To Fulfill These Rights"

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

1. To explore in greater depth the problems set forth by the President in his Howard University commencement address concerning the remaining barriers to full participation by Negro Americans and other minorities in our national life;
2. To make relevant and effective existing programs -- both governmental and non-governmental -- designed to remove these barriers and, where needed, to develop and implement new programs; and
3. To seek the formulation and implementation of specific priorities relating to legislative and administrative action by the federal, state and local governments and by concerned non-governmental groups (business, labor, civil rights, service, religious, etc.) and individuals.

There would be other subsidiary objectives, e.g., to clarify and advance the thinking of involved people; to manifest again the concern of the federal government in achieving full civil rights and equal opportunity; to develop materials that would be used in subsequent months to dramatize the work of the conference for the American people; to identify deficits in the process of implementing existing legal rights, such as voting rights, equal employment opportunity, etc.; to involve new sources of strength to carry on this new phase of civil rights activity, such as the Rotary, PIS, Kiwanis, etc.

OUTLINE OF THE CONFERENCE

I. First Day - Morning

Introduction and Welcome

Remarks by Honorary Chairman, Conference Co-Chairmen and appropriate government officials.

Keynote of the Conference: The Widening Gulf

The Co-Chairmen of the Conference would present the major theme of the Conference as set forth initially in President Johnson's Howard University address, i.e., despite the recent successes in eliminating barriers to legal equality, there is a widening gulf between the majority of Negro Americans and white Americans in such areas as housing, education, employment, health standards, etc., and this gap must be closed as quickly as possible.

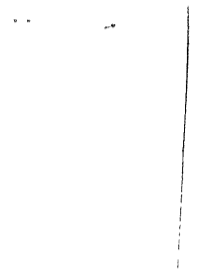
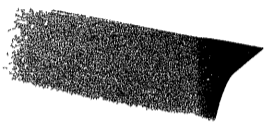
The Co-Chairmen might be assisted by substantive experts in this presentation and a film might be shown to illustrate the widening gulf more graphically. (Consider requesting the television networks to prepare a presentation for use at the Conference, perhaps to be shown simultaneously to the Conference and to the nation.)

II. First Day - Afternoon

The Search for Fulfillment

The Conference participants would then gather in panels to examine specific areas of fulfillment:

- A. Equal Opportunity in Housing
 - 1. The consequences of community disparities
 - 2. Extending legal guarantees
 - 3. New approaches to equal opportunity in housing
- B. Equal Opportunity in Education
 - 1. The consequences of racial imbalance
 - 2. Promoting desegregation in North and South
 - 3. Promoting of excellence in education
 - 4. New approaches to education: improving skills, training



IV. Second Day - Morning

The Dynamics of the Ghetto: Family and the Environment

There would be an initial presentation to the conference participants meeting in general session (about 1-1½ hours). This presentation would seek to dramatize effectively the nature of life for an individual trapped by the intertwined forces of the ghetto and to suggest the dimension of the job of opening the ghetto. An opportunity would exist to explore the social and economic costs of the ghetto as the disease of discrimination and deprivation manifests itself in family disintegration, violence, social isolation, delinquency, drug addiction, and other forms of anti-social behavior.

Resumption of Panel Meetings

Following the general presentation, participants would return to their specific panel meetings of the previous day -- this time to focus specifically on "The Dynamics of the Ghetto: Family and Environment." There is, of course, close inter-relationship between the substantive areas as manifested in ghetto life; the participants would also seek to deal with their segment of the total problem, as well as to explore relationships which exist with other panel areas.

V. Second Day - Afternoon

Panels reconvene for discussion and summary of problems and preliminary delineation of goals.

VI. Third Day - Morning

Panels reconvene to discuss and point ways to implement achievement of goals. Emphasis on stimulation of thinking by participants about ways they or the groups they represent can translate the ultimate Conference proposals into action. (Purpose of prior evening session and this morning session is to allow non-panelists a chance to express their ideas and to provoke them to produce specific ideas about the role they might play.)

Concluding General Session: An American Problem

The concluding session would seek to emphasize the breadth of responsibility in resolving the problems raised during the Conference. This presentation would also lay the groundwork for the more specific conclusions which would be presented at

COPY

the one-day session ~~to be held~~ or go later and also set forth generally the steps which will be taken to translate the ideas and thoughts of these sessions to the later sessions and the final report and recommendations. (A method should be devised to assure participants who will not be directly involved in the intervening preparation an opportunity to feed in further ideas and suggestions.)

Follow-Up Conference and Implementation of Recommendations

Following adjournment of the initial 2 1/2-day conference in November, a representative task force group, perhaps under the chairmanship of the Vice President, would prepare the final report of the Conference. Sufficient time would be allowed to prepare a detailed and carefully reasoned report, including minority views if necessary and appropriate.

Since the subject matter of this White House Conference on Civil Rights is so important, it was deemed inappropriate to attempt the usual procedure of presenting a final report to the President at the conclusion of the initial 2 1/2-day meeting. By scheduling a follow-up conference for this purpose, the task force group preparing the final report could take into account views and opinions raised by participants who might not have been involved in the conference preplanning activity.

The final report would be presented to the President at a larger follow-up conference of one day's duration--composed of persons (about 2,000 to 5,000) with interest in the general subject but not of sufficient stature to warrant invitation to the initial meeting.

This follow-up conference would also achieve the following objective:

--publicize the results of the report, securing the involvement of broader cross sections of persons and groups (for example, Kiwanis, Rotary, PTA and other essentially middle-class white organizations);

--meet various political obligations regarding invitations to the Conference without making the first conference of unmanageable size;

--initiate the implementation of the Conference results. It is essential that implementation include more than first editing and distribution of the Conference report. It should,

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at the least, consider plans for regional conferences, the preparation of materials that could be used by national organizations in study and research work, and the full use of national media.

It is proposed that the follow-up conference be held in mid-December prior to submission of the President's legislative program, or in late January or early February after the State-of-the-Union and budget messages have been sent to Congress.

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EXECUTIVE
H 102 / M A

September 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Shea:

Thank you for your letter of September 7th concerning Mrs. Camilla Johnson Caldwell.

We appreciate having the benefit of your recommendation, along with Congressman Fulton's, and will refer this to the appropriate official for proper attention.

Sincerely,

Henry H. Wilson, Jr.
Administrative Assistant
to the President

Mr. Edward J. Shea
Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce /
310 Union Street
Nashville, Tennessee

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1967



NASHVILLE AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

310 UNION STREET
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37201

OFFICE OF
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

September 7
1965

Mr. Henry Hall Wilson
Administrative Assistant to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I want to join with Congressman Richard H. Fulton and others in strongly urging that Mrs. Camilla Johnson Caldwell be considered as a candidate to attend the forthcoming White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I know of no one who could add more to such a conference nor bring more back to this region than could Mrs. Caldwell. She is an articulate, knowledgeable person in the field of human rights. Not only is she endowed with good, plain common sense, but with an outstanding background of education and experience.

She did her undergraduate work at Vanderbilt University, attended the University of Chicago School of Social Work Administration and the New York School of Social Work, and graduated with a Master's Degree at the University of Tennessee School of Social Work.

Mrs. Caldwell's experience includes the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare as a Special Child Welfare Worker, Probation Officer in the Nashville Juvenile Court and Executive Secretary of the Travelers Aid Society in Nashville. Presently, she is Executive Director of the Metropolitan Welfare Commission of Nashville and Davidson County.

Mr. Wilson
9/7/65

Page Two

Mrs. Caldwell serves on the Board of the Human Relations Council of Tennessee. She and her husband, Nat Caldwell, an outstanding newspaperman and Pulitzer Prize recipient, have a foster son who is a Negro. They were instrumental in getting him in Vanderbilt University as the first Negro sophomore in the history of that institution.

Since it was my privilege to serve as chairman of the Mayor's first Biracial Commission on Human Relations, I feel that I can say with first-hand knowledge that the racial harmony which has existed thus far in this community is due in no small measure to the dedicated work of Mrs. Camilla Caldwell.

Whatever serious consideration you may give to inviting her to participate in this important White House Conference will be deeply appreciated, both personally and by the Nashville community.

She has much to contribute to the success of this conference.

Sincerely,



Edward J. Shea

EJS/oet

September 10, 1965

LAZ
HUR
LAZ
HUR/MC

Dear Mr. Young:

The President was anxious that the enclosed statement which he made Friday on the encouraging trend of employment and unemployment among Negroes and among young people in general be brought to your attention. He is, of course, well aware of the tremendous task lying ahead of us in this field and has made it clear that he and his Administration will work continually to achieve significant reduction in the unemployment rate among Negroes. The Fall Conference on Civil Rights will undoubtedly focus on the need for creating new jobs and all suggestions and recommendations directed to achieving that goal will be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. Thomas Young
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Enclosure: President's statement of 9/3

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EXECUTIVE

MMChron
Senatorial
September 15, 1964
JR6dis

Dear Senator:

Just a hasty note to acknowledge your letter of September 13th regarding Mr. Adolph L. Reed who is interested in the proposed White House Conference on Civil Rights. You may be sure, in view of your interest, that Mr. Reed will be given very careful consideration.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mike Mansfield
Administrative Assistant
to the President

Honorable J. W. Fulbright
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

FILE: CLIFF ALEXANDER

MM/sla

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of _____

RECEIVED
5:40 P.M. FRIDAY 24 SEPTEMBER 1965

EXECUTIVE

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HA 2

PP WTE10
DE WTE 54F

FROM JOE CALIFANO
TO THE PRESIDENT
CITE WH50288

UNCLAS

THE PRESS REPORTS AND TICKERS INDICATE AT THIS POINT THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS REORGANIZATION IS BEING WELL RECEIVED, AS DO THE REPORTS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT AFTER HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND THE REPORTS LEE AND I HAVE RECEIVED FROM SOME YOUNGER CIVIL RIGHTS PEOPLE. THE WILEY BRANTON APPOINTMENT IS BEING HIGHLY PRAISED IN CIVIL RIGHTS CIRCLES BECAUSE OF HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE VOTING RIGHTS AREA AND THEY ARE INTERPRETING THIS AS YOUR DESIRE FOR A VIGOROUS VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN.

ALMOST EVERYONE RAISES THE ISSUE OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE. LEE WHITE, HARRY MCPHERSON AND I RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING:

1. THAT WE MOVE OUT FAST IN OUR PREPARATIONS FOR A PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER, TO PREPARE FOR A MAJOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE EARLY NEXT YEAR. THIS WILL CONFIRM YOUR STATEMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

2. THAT LEE WHITE BE GIVEN WHITE HOUSE STAFF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONFERENCE WITH HARRY AND ME ASSISTING HIM. (LEE KNOWS ALL THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL FAR BETTER THAN ANYONE ON THE STAFF AND HARRY AND I, AS WELL AS HELPING LEE, CAN GET TO MEET THESE PEOPLE AND LEARN THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL BETTER.)

IF YOU APPROVE, WE WILL PROCEED ALONG THESE LINES AND CALL A MEETING OF A SMALL GROUP ON TUESDAY MORNING TO GET SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS TO YOU BY TUESDAY NIGHT

DTG: 242326Z SEP 65

WIRE

Sept 25, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano

The press reports and tickers indicate at this point that the civil rights reorganization is being well received, as do the reports of the Vice President after his conversation with negro civil rights leaders and the reports Lee and I have received from some younger civil rights people. The Wiley Branton appointment is being highly praised in civil rights circles because of his experience in the voting rights area and they are interpreting this as your desire for a vigorous voter registration campaign.

Almost everyone raises the issue of the White House conference. Lee White, Harry McPherson and I recommend the following:

1. That we move out fast in our preparations for a Preliminary Conference in November, to prepare for a Major White House Conference early next year. This will confirm your statement to strengthen the Civil Rights efforts of the Federal Government.

2. That Lee White be given White House staff responsibility for the conference with Harry and me assisting him. (Lee knows all the negro civil rights leaders and the substantive material far better than anyone on the staff and Harry and I, as well as helping Lee, can ~~also~~ get to meet these people and learn the substantive material better.)

If you approve, we will proceed along these lines and call a meeting of a small group on Tuesday morning to get specific recommendations to you by Tuesday night.

APPROVED _____ DISAPPROVED _____

As members know, in his capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Vice President, sometime ago, undertook a careful review of the activities of the several Federal Agencies involved in the field of Civil Rights.

The fruits of the review are now apparent by his recommendation to the President that the functions of many of these Agencies can be consolidated and that duplication and undesirable overlapping can be of benefit.

The recommendations which the Vice President has submitted -- and in which the President has concurred -- are extremely meaningful. The adoption will bring to each officer and employee of the Federal Government, who administers a Federal program, the responsibility for making sure that the program is administered without discrimination on the basis of race, creed and color.

I urge each of you to review carefully the suggestions which the Vice President has submitted. I believe you will agree with me that they are most timely, well planned and that they will lend even greater strength to the Civil Rights efforts of this Administration.

EXECUTIVE

September 26, 1965

MMChron
Senatorial
JRodis

Dear Senator:

Just a hasty note to acknowledge your letter of September 27th regarding Dr. Marion A. Johnston and Dr. Joseph White who are interested in the proposed White House Conference on Civil Rights. You may be sure, in view of your interest, that Dr. Johnston and Dr. White will be given very careful consideration.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Mike Manatos
Administrative Assistant
to the President

Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

FILE: CLIFF ALEXANDER

MM/sla

EXECUTIVE

September 28, 1965
Tuesday, 6:45 p. m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

This afternoon Joe Califano, Harry McPherson, Cliff Alexander and I met with the Vice President (and his staff) and the Attorney General to discuss the Fall Conference on Civil Rights.

It was the general feeling of all that a planning conference of up to 400 individuals should be held November 17, 18 and 19. The basic objective would be to have detailed discussions of a number of ideas, suggestions and proposals that have flowed from your Howard speech. The planning group would be expected to develop specific assignments for in-depth studies, including the preparation of original papers, for presentation to a larger conference (up to as many as 4,000 participants) to be held next Spring.

Considerable discussion was given to the organization set-up. The arrangement of two co-chairman seems to make a great deal of sense. For the white co-chairman, there was strong sentiment for Morris Abrams, as a can-do fellow with the best credentials and a fast starter. An alternate suggestion was Bronson LaFollette but generally regarded not as desirable as Abrams (attached is a list of the names that were discussed).

On the Negro side, William Coleman of Philadelphia seemed to be the preference, although Theodore Jones, an insurance executive of Chicago and a member of Governor Lawrence's Housing Committee, emerged as an alternate choice.

It was thought that the two co-chairman should be enlisted only for the purpose of the November conference for the following reasons: (1) It would be easier to get these people to agree to a short term assignment, (2) It would afford you flexibility if, for any reason, either or both of them did not work out satisfactorily.

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 8/19/65

Our plan would be to have the two co-chairman hold a series of meetings in the next two weeks with a body of experts and leaders to secure their thoughts and to make the record clear that appropriate organizations had not been overlooked. Included in this category are standard civil rights organizations, labor, religious groups, business groups, service organizations, veterans organizations, welfare organizations, womens organizations, educational community and law enforcement.

Government space and supporting functions would be made available to the co-chairman, and it would be our expectation that they work very closely with us on the White House staff, to insure that they did not get off the track. This would be a pretty large organizational undertaking and we would propose the designation of an executive secretary of the conference, who could be either an outsider or a government employee.

Attached is an outline for the conference which would be a good starting point for the co-chairman and which represents a considerable amount of time and thought that have already been given to this by those of us who have met with the academic types.

It would be very helpful to the planning of the conference if you were to announce the format and the names of the co-chairman on Thursday. I will prepare a statement in the event you wish to make an announcement.

Do you approve the general plan? _____ Yes _____ No

Your choice for white co-chairman _____

Your choice for Negro co-chairman _____

Do you want me to contact your choices
to see if we can get them? _____ Yes _____ No

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/143

PR 8-1/4 *

PR 5-1/2 *

October 5, 1965
Tuesday, 10:15 a.m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White *lcw*

SUBJECT: Notes for Meeting with Morris Abram and William Coleman. *x ** *x **

1. General Nature of the Assignment -- As we see it, these two men, working under the Honorary Chairmanship of A. Philip Randolph, will play key roles in developing the agenda for the conference, in offering whatever original ideas or approaches that occur to them and in the duties involved in the actual conference itself. We certainly would expect to make available all the work that has already been done and to provide as much staff assistance as possible. It is not contemplated these men will be mere ceremonial participants -- we would like to benefit from their experiences, insight and wisdom.
2. Suggested Format of the November Conference -- The staff believes that a planning conference of up to 400 individuals on November 17-19 should have detailed discussion of the ideas, suggestions and proposals that have flowed from your Howard speech. The conference would be expected to develop specific assignments for in-depth studies, including the preparation of original papers on the entire range of civil rights problems (housing, education, employment, administration of justice, delinquency, family structure, etc.).
3. A Spring Follow-up Conference -- The strong belief of those who have been working with the subject is that a much larger conference should be held in the Spring to receive the materials that result from the November meeting and to provide the broadest possible participation and commitment to these specific programs. It does not seem desirable to expect Messrs Abram and Coleman to commit themselves to participate beyond November. First of all, they are busy men and secondly there may be other reasons for wanting new individuals.
4. Assistance for Abram and Coleman -- We will have standing by for these two men this afternoon the staff people who have worked on

- 2 -

the conference planning up to the present, including Harry McPherson and Cliff Alexander, possibly the Vice President (he is addressing the NATO Parliamentarians) and the Attorney General. We have already done some considerable preliminary work on the mechanics of reserving hotel space, securing adequate physical facilities for the conference and have a few people on detail who can be of assistance. Additionally, it may be desirable to designate someone as the Executive Secretary to the Co-Chairmen, and we have some names that we can offer to them: Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute, Jim Wilson of MIT, perhaps Wiley Branton could help, as well as Berl Bernhard.

5. Announcement of the Appointment -- Bill Moyers has the background material on these two men and a statement (copy attached).

Encl.

SUGGESTED STATEMENT

Last June, in addressing the graduating class of Howard University, I announced that a White House Conference would be held this Fall with this theme: "To Fulfill These Rights." I described its object to be "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is about to secure."

I am pleased to announce the Conference will be held in Washington on November 17, 18 and 19. To provide leadership and guidance for those who participate in the Conference, I have asked a most distinguished American, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and a Vice President of the AFL-CIO, to serve as Honorary Chairman. Working with him as Co-Chairmen of the Conference will be Mr. Morris Abram of Atlanta and New York City, and Mr. William Coleman of Philadelphia. Both Mr. Abram and Mr. Coleman have earned widespread respect as men of the law, and as men of deep personal commitment to the cause of civil liberty.

We are entering a new and far more difficult phase of our national effort to ensure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous of Nations.

- 2 -

It is, therefore, especially fortunate that we have men with such impressive credentials willing to devote their time, energy, resourcefulness and creativity to the Nation's most difficult domestic problem.

Because of the gravity, scope, and importance of this issue, it is apparent that it cannot be considered in an effective way without extensive preparations. The November conference will draw together men and women with long experience in the fields of housing, employment, education, social welfare, and the like. They will point the way toward new efforts to include the Negro American more fully in our society. In the Spring of next year, a larger conference of concerned Americans will convene in Washington to consider the conclusions and recommendations of the November meeting.

We look forward to these deliberations with high hope and confidence -- hope that through the vision of dedicated men and women in both private and public life, we may find the new avenues of opportunity for Negro Americans -- confidence that those for whom we labor will one day walk down those avenues toward full participation in a great society.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM
FOR 1966

A. Legislation Dealing With Overt Discrimination

1. Jury Legislation

To remove abuses within the jury selection procedures in State and Federal courts by assuring that panels from which juries are selected are fairly composed.

2. Protecting Civil Rights Workers

To expand Federal jurisdiction with respect to crimes affecting civil rights workers.

Alternatives: a. Do nothing until Supreme Court decides cases now pending

b. Prepare modest extensions

c. Prepare far-reaching legislation

d. Klan legislation

3. Insuring Equal Employment Opportunity

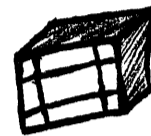
A. Authorize the Attorney General to initiate suits to limit discrimination of states and local governments in hiring Negroes.

B. Strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee.

Alternative 1 -- Give it power to conduct hearings, make findings, issue orders but not constitute it a full-blown enforcement agency.

Alternative 2 -- Make it a full enforcement agency like the FTC.

105:



B. Other Possible Affirmative Actions

1. Attack De Factor Segregation

a. Through federal financial aid, build schools in urban communities which have a high percentage of overcrowded, obsolete, or substandard schools, when the commissioner of Education finds that racial balance would be facilitated, possibly on a pilot basis for the first years.

2. Job Training

a. Revise the Manpower Development Training Act to focus training programs in deprived areas, to help the young, and to upgrade skills.

b. Create "Family Job Centers".

✓
Bill
Witz
Joni
Gardner,
Katy-
Shiner

Timing and Strategy

1. What to say in State of the Union
2. When to deliver special message



EXECUTIVE

MEB/NK

HU 2-2

HU 2/MC

Rutledge, Edward
Metcalf, Sen. Rec

October 21, 1965

X

Mr. George R. Metcalf
President
* National Committee Against Discrimination
* in Housing
Sherman House
Chicago, Illinois

THE CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, DEVOTED TO THE RACIAL GHETTO
AND HOW TO DEAL WITH ITS PROBLEMS, COMES AT A MOST
APPROPRIATE TIME.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THOSE WHO ARE PARTICIPATING IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM FOR THE NOVEMBER PLANNING
SESSION OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE WILL BE ANXIOUS
TO HAVE THE BENEFIT OF YOUR OWN DELIBERATIONS.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, THE HONORARY CHAIRMAN, AND MORRIS
ABRAM AND WILLIAM COLEMAN, THE TWO CO-CHAIRMEN
* FOR THE CONFERENCE, ARE NOW ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN
PREPARATIONS FOR THE NOVEMBER MEETING AND I URGE YOU
TO CONTACT THEM AT THE CONCLUSION OF YOUR MEETING.

PLEASE CONVEY TO THOSE PRESENT MY HOPE THAT WE CAN
SUCCESSFULLY TRANSLATE THE JUDICIAL, LEGISLATIVE AND
EXECUTIVE GAINS OF THE RECENT PAST INTO MEANINGFUL
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE LIVES OF THOSE CITIZENS WHO HAVE SO
LONG SUFFERED FROM THE INJUSTICES OF DISCRIMINATION.

LBJ:JHM:Mb

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

CC: Mr. James Moyers/CF/Mr. Bill Moyers *Sen. J*

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1965
CENTRAL FILES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Joe Califano
Harry McPherson and
Cliff Alexander concur re the
attached.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1965
6:00 p.m., Friday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White *lwe*

Morris^x Abram and William^x Coleman have begun to make some genuine progress in shaping the November 17-18 civil rights conference. After your meeting with them earlier this month, we had an afternoon session in which we got right into the heart of the conference planning. Both of them indicated that they felt it essential to have a very small but knowledgeable group of people on the Washington scene serving as their eyes and ears during the time that each of them was in and out of town. We steered them to Berl^y Bernhard, an excellent lawyer and the former Staff Director of the Civil Rights Commission, who has a superb personal relationship with all the civil rights organization leadership. He enjoys their confidence, but has demonstrated time and time again he is no patsy for them. He is a sophisticated operator and will be your man throughout. He has already evidenced his ability to work with these people and yet turn them to the position urged by Coleman and Abram without any rancor. As the time for the conference nears, it becomes necessary for additional outside meetings to be held, and Randolph, Abram and Coleman believe it desirable to clarify how we propose to structure this planning session.

Although it was announced earlier that the November conference was essentially a planning session for a larger meeting next spring, this did not receive very much play. Abram and Coleman strongly recommend that this be made clear at every possible opportunity and I certainly agree with that. This characterization of the November meeting plus the naming of Bernhard by Abram and Coleman could be announced as a package and get a little recognition of the fact that things are really moving to quiet the fears and doubts that have been expressed by some

- 2 -

Negro leaders. This could be done either by Bill Moyers releasing a report to you from Coleman and Abram with an acknowledgment from you; Bill releasing the report without a statement from you; or by their releasing the information from their own office. The first method is certain to get a much larger play, and I so recommend. I am attaching a report which Abram and Coleman have prepared for your review and your possible acknowledgment of it.

Bill should release the progress report from
Abram and Coleman as well as your statement
accepting it. _____

Bill should release the report without comment
from you. _____

Abram and Coleman should release a report on
their progress up to date. _____

Encl.

EXECUTIVE (2)

HU 2/MC

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

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

October 25, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Council for United Civil Rights
Leadership
x
FROM: Morris B. Abram
William T. Coleman, Jr.

Following your discussion with our planning staff in New York on Thursday of last week, we gave careful consideration to your memorandum of that date and promptly communicated it to the White House, as you had requested.

Mr. Bernhard and his associates met with the President's advisors on Friday, at their request, to discuss the issues which your memorandum raised. Although neither of us was present at this meeting, Mr. Melvin Zarr represented Mr. Coleman.

Following considerable discussion of the points raised in the memorandum, the White House asked that the Co-Chairmen submit a progress report summarizing the steps taken to date in preparation for the Planning Session to take place November 17th and 18th. It was specifically requested that this progress report reflect the mandate set forth in the President's Howard University speech of last June. This report and the comments on it by the President were publicly released on Saturday. A copy is enclosed.

The White House staff reacted favorably to several of the points made in your memorandum. They agreed that the principal civil rights organizations and labor, business and religious groups be closely consulted about persons who can represent effectively the knowledge and experience of these groups in the Planning Session. They also agreed that attendance should be kept small, although some doubt was expressed that it could be quite as limited in size as your memorandum would suggest. Finally, there was complete agreement that the unfinished business of civil rights, including further implementation of the 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts, should be fully considered in the November session.

As you will see from the President's comments, it is clearly his wish that the Planning Session and the Spring Conference should consider in depth "every barrier that prevents the Negro American from achieving his full share in our society." There was full agreement on the crucial importance of devoting major attention to the question of jobs and economic security as a prerequisite to the achievement of family stability and full participation by the Negro in our society.

BB

EXECUTIVE

(8)

FG 807

FG 155-18

HU 2

PR 15-4

HU 2/MC

PR 16

Grey Advertising
PR 18-3

October 27, 1965

TO: Calvin Kytle
Community Relations Service

FROM: Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

In accordance with our conversation of this morning, the quotation that might be used by the Advertising Council is attached.

Campaign Report filed: Enclosed Attachment

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1965
GENERAL FILES

EXECUTIVE

11/2/10

PR6

October 28, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MOSS

White House Conference on Civil Rights
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Here are the pictures you wanted. I assume you will arrange for duplication in sufficient numbers. I'd like to have them back when you are through with them.

Perry Barber

11/3/65
12:00
EF 1-1
MEMORANDUM

2
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/MR

U

November 2, 1965
Tuesday, 3:00 p. m.

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White *lcw*

Last Saturday afternoon Harry McPherson, Clifford Alexander and I met with Morris Abram, Bill Coleman, Berl Bernhard and the leaders of the major civil rights organizations. Present were: Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, James Farmer, Dorothy Height, Reverend Abernathy and Walter Fauntroy (representing King), Bayard Rustin (representing Phil Randolph) and Marion Berry representing SNCC.

The purpose of the meeting was to let this leadership group know where we stood and to insure that they did not either take away control of the conference from your designated co-chairmen or withdraw their support from it. The consensus of all who were present was that the discussion went well and that the conference co-chairmen and their small staff have done an effective job thus far in setting up the November 17-18 meeting.

As could be expected, Roy Wilkins was the most impressive and was of great assistance in establishing a total atmosphere of cooperation and understanding. We were a little apprehensive prior to the meeting that Rustin may have wanted to influence the emphasis and direction of the conference and that perhaps he had persuaded the organization leadership that Abram and Coleman were on the wrong track. This did not materialize and Rustin was quite cooperative, did not dominate the meeting in view of the strong leadership that was physically present, and did not evidence any dissatisfaction with our explanation of what had been done thus far.

Following our meeting, which ended at 5:30, the group had a session with the Attorney General in his office on the voter registration situation. Although I was not present, Nick Katzenbach reports that it was also a constructive meeting.

(7)

EXECUTIVE ①

HU 2/MC

HU 2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Notes for Meeting with Negro Leadership Group,
Thursday, November 19

I have discussed the Thursday meeting with Nick Katzenbach and Louis Martin and we believe that you might want to discuss all or some of the following items:

I. WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS DOING

A. Title VI Regulations -- The Regulations implementing the provision of the 1964 Act authorizing the cut off of funds for Federal programs administered in a discriminatory fashion have been under intensive preparation. The statute requires that they be approved by the President and I would expect that the regulations of the eight agencies with the heaviest program interests would be ready for release (subject to your approval) by the end of November. The additional dozen or so agencies with lesser responsibilities in this connection should be ready within 30 days following that.

B. Key Civil Rights Appointments -- You may wish to indicate the high priority being given to selecting members for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authorized by the Act, the Staff Director of the Civil Rights Commission, key people in the Poverty Program

C. General Coordination and Unified Approach -- You may wish to take the opportunity to indicate that the problems of ensuring a coordinated effort are under study to ensure that the many agencies involved in the general field of civil rights work harmoniously with a minimum of dislocation and inconvenience for businesses, for those institutions which deal with the Federal government such as schools, hospitals, local governments. Senator Humphrey will not be back until next week and I do not know whether you will want to

indicate what his role might be in this field.

D. Legislation -- I believe that the general consensus is that there should not be any promise of civil rights legislation as such, but that we must carefully examine the manner in which the 1964 Act functions, and be prepared to recommend any corrective or additional legislation that may be warranted. There will, however, be legislation involving education, appropriations for the poverty program and other closely related areas which will need the support of all groups, including those they represent.

E. Additional Efforts -- The Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services (of which Whitney Young is a member) should have its final report ready within the next 10 days covering the National Guard and overseas activities of the military establishment. Governor Lawrence's Committee on Housing will undoubtedly recommend a broadening of the Executive Order and this will have to be weighed carefully. The California two-to-one vote against the state housing act was a very major setback.

F. Negro Participation in Democratic Party Affairs -- One of the elements of the Atlantic City agreement on the Mississippi Freedom Party was an assurance that the Democratic Party would be open to participation by all. You may not want to mention this but it could conceivably be raised.

II. WHAT THE ORGANIZATIONS CAN DO

A. Support and Interpret Administration Programs -- They must continue their efforts for support of the poverty program and work with the agencies and where necessary serve as a bridge to the government. There should be direct communication with the agency people in the poverty, education, housing training and other programs that can help make the Civil Rights Act meaningful. For example, a strong school dropout program supported by them could be meaningful. Farmer's organization is interested in a souped-up adult literacy program and undoubtedly will mention this.

B. Registration -- The power of the vote was most evident on November 3. Their efforts should be continued. Foundations and interested civic groups should be encouraged to undertake registration and voting clinics in key Southern states.

C. Federal Jobs and Appointments -- The government is anxious to seek out talented and capable people and they and their organizations can serve to get to the proper government hands the names of outstanding and qualified Negroes.

III. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

There may be some question as to whether there was a civil rights task force. A possible answer is that because there was no obvious large legislative program necessary, none was created. You may wish to invite these leaders to serve as an informal body of idea-generators and invite them to let us know where there are shortcomings in government programs or in their administration.

IV. PRESS STATEMENTS

Those attending were asked to treat the meeting as off-the-record and yet it is certain that it will be known that they were meeting with you. You may wish to discuss the desirable line for them to take when the meeting is concluded. There is also the question of whether you will want pictures made of the group and whether it should be Captain Stoughton or the full set of White House photographers.


Lee C. White

65/1

EXECUTIVE 0
H.C. / M.C.
P.F.
FC 245-4

November 3, 1965

Dear Bill:

As you know, the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" will be held in Washington on November 17th and 18th.

The small staff, under the direction of Berl Bernhard, working on the meeting have requested that Mr. Robert Greene of your staff be made available to work with the group preparing the section of the Conference dealing with housing and neighborhood planning. It would be very much appreciated if he could be loaned to the Planning Session on a non-reimbursable loan basis from now through November 16th, as his knowledge and experience would be most helpful to the development of ideas and issues for the discussion. Any assistance you can give will be appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. William Slayton
Urban Renewal Administration
Washington, D. C. 20410

RECEIVED
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GENERAL FILE



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER

URBAN RENEWAL ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D C

NOV 2 1955

Honorable Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. White:

In the absence of Mr. Slayton, I have detailed Mr. Robert J. Greene to work with the group preparing the section of the White House Conference dealing with housing and neighborhood planning.

We are happy to be able to cooperate in this work.

Sincerely,

Howard J. Wharton
Deputy Urban Renewal Commissioner

cc: Paul Bernhard 11/5

11/2/65

Lorene:

The Planning Session people asked me to
get this over to you.


Sarah

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

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

November 2, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Lee White

FROM: Berl Bernhard 

We would appreciate your sending a letter to
William Slayton, as per the attached draft,
to request the services of Robert Greene to
work with George Schermer and George Nesbitt,
on the housing section.

Mr. William Slayton
Urban Renewal Administration
Washington, D.C. 20410

Dear Mr. ^{Bill} Slayton:

As you know, the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" will be held in Washington on November 17th and 18th.

be made available

~~This is to request the services of~~ Mr. Robert Greene of your staff to work with the group preparing the section of the Conference dealing with housing and neighborhood planning. It would be very much appreciated if he could be loaned to the Planning Session on a non-reimbursable loan basis from now through November 16th, as his knowledge and experience would be most helpful to the development of ideas and issues for the discussion. *any*

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Lee White

*assistance
you can
give will
be appreciated.*

*The small staff, under the direction of
Berl ~~both~~ Bernhard, working at the meeting have
requested that*

EXECUTIVE (4)

HW 3/12
FG-240
FG-440

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION



Office of Finance and Administration

Washington, D.C. 20405

FG 11 1

FL 7

FG 744

NOV 5 1965

IN REPLY REFER TO

Mr. William J. Hopkins
The White House Office
West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

We understand that the General Services Administration is to provide personnel services to the White House Conference on Civil Rights, which is planning to hire a number of staff members, consultants, and experts. Since it appears that these people will be members of the White House staff for the duration of the Conference activities, we need to know the authority under which they may be appointed.

The enclosed draft of a reply is provided to indicate the necessary request and information required.

Sincerely yours,

W. P. Turpin
Assistant Administrator
for Finance and Administration

Enclosure

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JAN 5 1967

CENTRAL FILES

Nothing else sent to
Central Files as of 1/1/67

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

D R A F T

Mr. W. P. Turpin
Assistant Administrator
for Finance and Administration
General Services Administration
18th and F Streets, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20405

Dear Mr. Turpin:

In order to provide appropriate personnel services to the White House Conference on Civil Rights, it is requested that the General Services Administration provide these services for the duration of the Conference.

Since the Conference staff will operate as members of the White House staff, it will be necessary to use the following authorities to effect their appointments:

1. Staff Members:
2. Consultants and Experts:

at Memphis:
Office Home...
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CONFERENCE...
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
President's Council on Equal Opportunity
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 25, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Lee White
FROM: Dave Filvaroff

Here's a copy of the Vice President's letter to
Lawson Knott which, according to Joe Moody,
should be enough to free the conference funds
from the burden of our demise.

Attachment



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1965

Dear Mr. Knott:

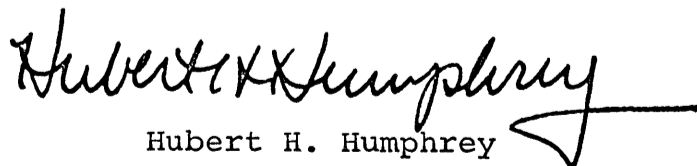
As you know, the Bureau of the Budget in September requested that various departments and agencies contribute funds for support of the White House Conference on Civil Rights. The Bureau took this action in accordance with my request of August 31 in which I suggested that such contributions be established in a special fund under the President's Council on Equal Opportunity and made available to the persons who would be appointed to organize the Conference.

Since that initial solicitation by the Bureau of the Budget, the President has named an honorary Conference Chairman, A. Philip Randolph, and two Co-Chairmen, William Coleman and Morris Abram. An appropriate staff, headed by Berl Bernhard, has also been selected. Since the Council, itself, is soon to terminate in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 11247, the Conference funds should be transferred for appropriate use by the Conference chairmen and staff director. In addition, those funds of the President's Council which were to be used for Conference purposes should be made similarly available.

Such action will enable work on the Conference -- which is a White House and not a Council function -- to proceed as originally intended.

I appreciate your help.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Honorable Lawson B. Knott, Jr.
Administrator of General Services
Washington, D.C.

EXECUTIVE

1142/11 C.

0001512

11/15/65

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN JR.
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL. 737-9010

November 15, 1965

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are the basic agenda papers and background materials
for the Conference.

I'm sure you will now agree that I have exhausted my usefulness.


Berl

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NOV 20 1965
CENTRAL FILES

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B ABRAM
WILLIAM T COLEMAN, JR
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N W.
WASHINGTON, D C
TEL. 737-9010

November 15, 1965

Dear Doug:

Enclosed are the basic agenda papers and background materials
for the Conference.

I'm sure you will now agree that I have exhausted my usefulness.


Berl

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN JR.
CO CHAIRMEN

BERL I. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 12, 1965

1800 G STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL. 737-9010

MEMORANDUM TO: Planning Session Participants

FROM: Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Work Group Director
Work Group on Health and Welfare

We are very pleased that you have agreed on such short notice to participate in the Work Group on Health and Welfare. We have been fortunate to secure participation by a number of persons knowledgeable and experienced in the fields of health, welfare, and civil rights.

The first order of business will be to review the proposed agenda for possible additions and deletions. It is hoped that discussion of facts and issues will serve as a basis for the development of specific, and possibly alternate, proposals and of recommendations for putting them into effect. It should be clear that the proposed agenda is intended to be suggestive and that it will be the responsibility of the participants at the planning session to determine finally how best to accomplish these stated goals.

In addition to the agenda paper, we are enclosing a paper by Dr. Frank Riessman prepared especially for the Planning Session. Also enclosed are other relevant materials, some of which may already be familiar to you.

Other papers and materials will be available at the Planning Session.

Enclosures

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.
CO CHAIRMEN
BERL J. BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1800 G STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TEL. 737-9010

November 12, 1965

TO: Members of the Planning Session
FROM: Kenneth B. Clark, Chairman of the Work Group on Education

We are very pleased that you will participate in the work group on education. The work group will consist of a limited number of persons highly versed in problems of education and civil rights.

It is suggested that discussion of current aims and issues in education serve as background to developing specific proposals, with recommendations for implementation.

The enclosed materials include an agenda paper covering some of the questions and issues which I think we ought to be covering. Also enclosed is a personal statement of my own putting forth positions on many of the subjects, for your consideration. A number of other background materials are added, and I hope that you will find it possible, even on this very short notice, to read them in advance of the Wednesday morning session.

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A PHILLIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B ABRAM
WILLIAM T COLEMAN, JR
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 12, 1965

1800 G STREET, N W
WASHINGTON, D C.
TEL. 737-9010

MEMORANDUM

TO: Planning Session Participants -
Voting and Citizenship Participation

FROM: Sterling Tucker and Wiley A. Branton
Committee Co-directors

RE: Agenda for Committee Discussions

We are pleased to learn of your acceptance of the invitation to attend the Planning Session of the White House Conference and look forward to greeting you at the reception at 8 p.m. next Tuesday.

Following an opening general session on Wednesday morning, the various committees will meet separately. Our Committee has been designated VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION. The enclosed agenda paper is submitted to stimulate your thinking on specific proposals for enhancing citizenship participation among Negroes by the Government (federal, state and local) and by political parties, civil rights, organizations and private groups. While we feel that the issues and problems which this Committee will be dealing with are pretty clear and that what we need are proposals for solution, nevertheless, we want you to feel entirely free to raise the problems if they are not clear.

The agenda paper is only a guide, and we look to you for full participation and discussion for realistic proposals as well as bold and imaginative ideas for coping with the problems of citizenship participation. Additional materials will be distributed at the Planning Session.

We are of the opinion that there is enough difference in the barriers which inhibit Negroes from full citizenship participation in the North from those in the South to justify splitting into two separate groups later in our discussion for consideration of the problems and proposals on a regional basis.

PLEASE CHECK YOUR MAIL BOX AND CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS AT THE HOTEL FOR ANY LAST MINUTE INSTRUCTIONS OR MATERIALS.

PLANNING SESSION
for the
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
Washington Hilton Hotel
November 16-17-18, 1965

This agenda paper was prepared by the author to stimulate discussion of the work group. It does not represent any policy determination of the White House Conference, and is not a final statement of the issues. The agenda outline suggested by the author is a starting point for discussion and subject to consideration and revision by the work group participants themselves.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE WORK GROUP
Judge William H. Hastie, Chairman

AGENDA PAPER #2
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
Dr. Arnold S. Trebach

OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

I. OPENING THE GATES: ENDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(3 hours)

- A. Individual Physical Security
- B. Jury Selection
- C. Other Aspects of Dual Justice
- D. Summation: Major Program Goals

II. DISSOLVING DIVISIVE PREJUDICES: POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

(4 hours)

- A. Improvements Within Police Agencies
- B. Programs by Negro Groups
- C. Administration of Citizen Complaints
- D. Roles of Other Groups
- E. Summation: Major Program Goals

III. PASSING THROUGH THE GATES: REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

(3 hours)

- A. Education and Training for Personnel in Justice Field
- B. Problems of Youth
- C. Employment, Pay, and Education for Convicted Persons
- D. Other Programs
- E. Summation: Major Program Goals

INTRODUCTION

The purposes of this working session are: (a) to identify the principal obstacles in the field of administration of justice to the achievement of equality for American Negroes; (b) to outline creative approaches to surmount those obstacles; (c) to propose long-range program goals and specific recommendations for meeting them; and (d) to suggest additional work to be done in preparation for the full conference, in the spring, as well as the specific subject matter of that conference.

The panel will be guided by the statements of President Johnson in his Howard University speech of June 4, 1965, wherein he declared that he would call this conference, and that its theme and title would be "To Fulfill These Rights." The President stated that the objective of the conference would be to help American Negroes fulfill their rights; to destroy legal and social barriers to racial progress; to dissolve, as much as is possible, racial prejudice in the hearts of our citizens; and having thus opened the gates of equality, to assist American Negroes to achieve the competence to walk through those gates.

Since a primary objective of this panel is to identify areas of crucial civil rights concern in the administration of justice, this paper should not be interpreted as an attempt to limit discussion. Rather, it is meant to provide concreteness to the discussion by suggesting possible major issues and solutions. It is hoped that the enumeration of some specific problems may stimulate participants to bring up others that may have been omitted. Moreover, it is hoped that the participants will take very seriously the need to set priorities in terms of problems and effective solutions.

The term "justice field" is used as a shorthand description for the entire process that encompasses law enforcement, courts, probation, legal services, corrections, parole, and closely related functions.

I. OPENING THE GATES: ENDING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In the speech announcing this conference the President recognized that, as a threshold matter, it must deal with how "to shatter the barriers of law and public practice" which deny justice to the American Negro. This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of those barriers which operate in the administration of criminal justice, and of the means to shatter them.

A. Individual Physical Security

In dealing with the problem of physical violence in a civil rights context--for example, where civil rights workers have been killed and the assailants have not been brought to justice--the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Strengthening Federal Criminal Civil Rights Laws. Should additional Federal criminal legislation protecting civil rights be enacted? For example: Should new Federal offenses be created punishing persons who employ weapons or objects which have traveled in interstate commerce to deprive others, by violence, of their civil rights? Should the Federal courts, and the Federal investigative and prosecuting agencies, be given jurisdiction over state law criminal offenses in defined circumstances where state criminal process is ineffective to protect Federal civil rights? Should there be a constitutional amendment authorizing Federal prosecutions outside the district where the crime was committed in order to assure a fair trial--or would this do too much violence to basic American ideals?

2. Strengthening Federal Civil Remedies. Should additional Federal civil legislation protecting civil rights be enacted? For example: Should there be a new statute providing that: private persons or the Attorney General, on showing a Federal District judge that a person or organization has committed or is about to commit a violent invasion of constitutional rights, may obtain an injunction against such acts and a bond to ensure compliance? Should punitive damages be allowed for civil rights injuries, and a change of venue authorized in order to assure a fair trial? Should local governments be made liable in civil suits on the basis of violence by their officers, or on the basis of failure of their officers to give protection against private violence?

3. Strengthening Federal Enforcement Policies. Should there be some major changes in the manner in which the Department of Justice enforces the present arsenal of Federal civil rights

statutes? For example: Should the FBI be ordered to arrest private citizens or officials who are observed by agents attacking persons exercising or advocating Federal civil rights?

4. Professionalization of State and Local Police Forces. Should the Federal Government assist the process of professionalizing state and local police forces, on the theory that a well-trained and professional police force is much less likely to engage in brutality and much more likely to provide protection? For example: Should the Federal Government provide massive financial aid to state and local police forces, not purely on an experimental basis, but for regular operations? Would it be wise to enact a Federal law, for the purpose of protecting constitutional rights, requiring that each state establish uniform standards and tests, guided by minimum Federal standards, for all state and local police officials; that each state require a state license for all state and local police officers; and that all such officers present a bond for the faithful and legal performance of their duties--with this entire system supported by Federal grants-in-aid?

B. Jury Selection

In dealing with the problem of racial discrimination in the selection of jurors, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Strengthening Federal Civil Rights Laws. In what manner should the Federal civil rights laws applicable to jury exclusion be strengthened? For example: Should the Attorney General be empowered to bring civil actions to prevent this practice, and should Congress provide that showing racial disproportion, according to a stated percentage formula, in jury rolls constitutes a prima facie case of discrimination? Should there be a statute providing that upon a finding by a Federal court that jury discrimination exists, all cases in the affected jurisdiction be removable to a Federal court pending the ending of discrimination?

2. Strengthening Federal Enforcement Procedures. Should there be changes in the manner in which the Department of Justice enforces present statutes? For example: Should the Department bring more criminal suits under Sections 242 and 243?

3. Scientific Selection of Jurors. Should a new Federal law be enacted which would seek to eliminate the problem of class and race bias in juror selection through a comprehensive scheme, involving nonpunitive and positive methods? For example: Would it be wise to have a Federal law that required every American jurisdiction to select jurors on the basis of one of several

alternate, scientifically determined methods, utilizing polling techniques and modern computers, for choosing jurors representing a true cross-section of the community, including minority groups and the poor? In addition, should such a law provide Federal funds to assist state and local governments to establish these new systems? Should Federal law require uniform state testing, licensing, and bonding of those who operate juror selection systems? Should Federal law provide for Federal juror registrars or commissioners in jurisdictions that persist in discriminating? Should educational and informational programs be established to encourage Negroes to participate as jurors, when called?

C. Other Aspects of Dual Justice

What other aspects of dual justice, among the many not specifically listed above, are so important as to receive the attention of this meeting? The panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Repression of Civil Rights Activities. Should there be a Federal civil rights statute specifically aimed at protecting 1st Amendment rights to speak, march, and petition? Should such legislation authorize Federal injunctions to stop harassing state arrests and prosecutions? Should present Federal policies toward public demonstrations and marches be changed--for example, greater use of marshals and FBI agents in providing protection?

2. Employment Discrimination in Justice Agencies. Should Congress amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by including agencies of justice?

(Note that training programs for personnel in the justice field will be considered under III.)

3. Counsel in Civil Rights Cases. To what extent should the legal service programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity be involved in handling the various types of civil rights cases--for plaintiffs and defendants, in class suits and individual actions, etc.--throughout the nation, including the deep South? Should welfare recipients under Federally supported programs be authorized to retain private lawyers in civil rights cases, with the fees paid by Federal funds? Should the American Bar Association and other national legal organizations be encouraged to play a larger role--for example, through a campaign on the need for counsel in civil rights cases, similar to the present A.B.A. activity in regard to counsel for the poor?

4. Segregation in the Agencies of Justice. What significant new Federal laws or policies might be effective in combating racial segregation in the agencies of justice--suits under Title III of the 1964 Civil Rights Act or under Section 242, a new Federal law specifically prohibiting segregation in agencies of justice and withholding Federal funds from any jurisdiction which so discriminates? Should a new Federal statute declare that any proceeding in a segregated system of justice denies Negroes equal protection of the laws and is therefore invalid?

5. Sentencing and Death Penalty. Should there be new Federal laws or policies aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in the imposition of sentences? Is there a constitutional basis for a Federal statute declaring "jail or fine" sentences to be discriminatory against the poor, including many Negroes, and therefore a denial of equal protection of the laws? Is there sufficient evidence for Congress to make a finding that the death penalty for rape is administered on a racially discriminatory basis, that it violates the 14th Amendment, and that it is to be henceforth abolished? Should Federal funds be provided for the development of better pre-sentencing reports by both the government and the defense?

D. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in regard to ending racial discrimination in the administration of justice? Is one broad statement sufficient, such as: Racial discrimination in the administration of justice is, and always has been, an affront to civilization; it must be eliminated by every means at the command of this nation. Is this too simple, too sweeping, not sufficiently sophisticated? Should a phased timetable be established for eliminating specific types of discrimination, with some target date for ending it totally?

II. DISSOLVING DIVISIVE PREJUDICES: POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

President Johnson stated in his Howard University speech that one objective of the White House Conference on Civil Rights would be to help dissolve, as best we can, "the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong--great wrong--to the children of God." This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of how to dissolve those divisive prejudices in relations between policemen and Negroes, especially those who inhabit urban slums. It would seem fair to say that the great issues in this matter involve the attitudes of police and Negroes toward each other, the manner in which these attitudes are produced and reenforced by daily experiences, and the methods by which these experiences and attitudes can be modified.

A. Improvements Within Police Agencies

In dealing with the question of what police departments can do to improve relationships with minority groups, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Redefining the Role of Police. Should it be recommended that police departments take a broader view of their role? For example: Should the police role be defined as keeping the peace in the broadest sense--not only apprehending criminals, but also preventing riots and preventing individual criminal acts? Should Federal legislation encourage the emergence of this broader role, perhaps by grant-in-aid programs directed at the subjects of the following paragraphs and at other subjects touching the role of police in the community?
2. Eliminating Abrasive Police Practices. Should the regular, day-to-day operations of police departments be extensively reviewed in order to determine the degree to which "normal" police practices, such as "stop and frisk" or crowd dispersal, carried out without any overt discriminatory intent, present a threat to good police relations with Negroes? Should such practices be regulated by a Federal statute?
3. Special Community Relations Units and Programs. Should special community relations units and programs be organized? Is it wise to recommend that every police department have such a unit and such a program? How can these units and programs best be administered so that they can have a pervasive impact on the department, and so that the community relations program does not become the isolated concern of a few special officers? Would it be wise to enact a Federal law providing regular grant-in-aid support to community relations units and programs? Is a root problem here to be found in the fact that the police are considered a hostile force by many Negroes--and that, conversely,

many policemen consider most Negroes to be potential criminals?
If so, how can this root problem be attacked?

4. Recruitment and Training. Should the recruitment and training functions of police forces be changed in order to improve police-community relations? Should Federal legislation go beyond the provisions of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act and provide for developing better recruitment standards and testing programs, and for supporting these programs on a regular basis through grants-in-aid? Should this also apply to training programs? Should special emphasis be placed on providing training for police commanders--on the theory that command influences have a powerful impact on the subtleties of police attitudes that affect their behavior toward Negroes?

5. The Helping Policeman: Early Warning System. Should an attempt be made to change both the role and the image of the policeman by building upon the prevention-of-riots concept and applying this concept to individual criminal behavior? For example: Would it be practical to build an early warning system through individual policemen, and subprofessional aides, under which individuals and families would be referred for extensive social welfare assistance, before criminal activity takes place, on the basis of the appearance of factors tending to lead to criminality, such as family breakdown? Is this stretching the police role too far?

B. Programs by Negro Groups

In dealing with the possible contribution that may be made by Negro leadership, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. The Responsibility of Negro Leadership. What are the major contributions that Negro leaders can make to solving the problem of bad police-community relations? Would it be helpful if Negro groups conducted brief, informal investigations of complaints before making them public issues? How can Negro leaders best promote a continuing and reasonable dialogue with the police on a precinct, as well as on a citywide, basis that would contribute to changes in police practices and the alleviation of tensions?

2. Combating Crime. Is there an appropriate role that civil rights organizations can play in reducing crime in urban slums? For example: Since a significant source of police hostility towards Negroes may be based on the apparently high crime rate in Negro slums, would a sustained anti-crime program by Negro leadership be practical and effective? Would such a program

help to reduce crime and to improve the attitudes and the actions of police toward Negroes? If so, how could such a program be mounted and sustained?

C. Administration of Citizen Complaints

In dealing with methods for handling complaints of citizens against policemen, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Police Review Boards. Should present methods of handling citizen complaints against policemen be changed? Is there any reliable evidence which indicates that internal departmental complaint administration machinery is less or more effective than an independent citizen police review board, or does it appear that the answer lies in the particular circumstances of each community? What are the disadvantages and advantages of a departmental complaint mechanism, on the one hand, and an independent board, on the other? Does one method offer any advantage over the other in terms of making the complaint machinery readily available to citizens, protecting complainants from police reprisals, finding facts accurately and impartially, disciplining offending officers appropriately, and giving the public confidence in the fair and effective administration of the complaint system?

2. A More Comprehensive Complaint Institution. Should the concern over the proper handling of citizen complaints be broader than only grievances against the police? For example: Should state and local governments adopt some form of the Scandinavian Ombudsman-- under which institutions are established primarily to provide channels for complaints of citizens against virtually all agencies of government on such grounds as violations of rights or inefficiency? In light of present Federal administrative complaint institutions, what role should the Commission on Civil Rights perform in this regard at the Federal level? Would such new institutions be more effective in handling complaints against the police than other suggested methods?

D. Role of Other Groups.

In dealing with the possible contributions of other groups to good police-community relations, the panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Legal Service Programs. To what extent should legal service programs for the poor, such as those supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity, seek to advocate the interests of Negro

groups in regard to relations with the police? What positive contributions could these legal programs make?

2. Community Relations Service. Should the role of the Federal Community Relations Service be expanded or changed in dealing with police-community relations problems?

3. Social Welfare Agencies and Labor Unions. What role should local social welfare agencies and labor unions play in improving police-community relations?

E. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in regard to improving police-community relations? Would the following statements of program goals be appropriate?

1. To end the wide-spread condition of mutual disrespect and conflict between police and citizens.
2. To produce efficient police forces that operate, in all day-to-day programs, with a sensitive awareness of racial problems.
3. To increase the effectiveness of programs by Negro leaders for improving citizen cooperation with the police.
4. To enlarge the police role in positive ways, such as riot prevention and helping individuals and families receive social welfare services as a preventive measure against crime, and thus to change the image of the policeman.

III. PASSING THROUGH THE GATES: REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

President Johnson stated in his Howard University speech that:

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

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

This section of the agenda paper is meant to invite consideration of how to use the agencies of justice as springboards for programs that will assist Negroes to develop the ability to take advantage of new opportunities. If properly planned, such programs could work to improve the agencies of justice, to prevent crime among masses of poor persons with no previous record of criminality, and to rehabilitate those who have committed crimes.

A. Education and Training for Personnel in Justice Field

In considering the matter of educating and training personnel for positions in the administration of justice field, the panel may want to consider the following matters, among others.

1. Traditional Positions. Should the Federal Government establish comprehensive financial aid programs for training personnel, both for entry and advancement, in traditional job classifications, such as policemen, probation officers, and correctional officials? Should these programs seek to draw the poor into these jobs through special incentives, including scholarships and stipends for support of families? Should funds also be provided for establishing new educational facilities in this field at universities and community colleges--for example, for schools of police administration and correctional studies?

2. New Positions for Subprofessionals. Should the new Federal programs pay particular attention to training poor persons, including high school dropouts, for subprofessional positions as aides in justice agencies (police departments, prosecutor offices, correctional facilities, and so on) and in private law offices, as well as in the whole range of human service and anti-delinquency work?

B. Problems of Youth

In considering the special problems of Negro youth, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Education and Research. Since poor Negro youth have particular difficulties in urban society--i.e., in terms of finding employment and in terms of delinquency--should the Federal Government provide large scale support for the training of specialists in the range of youth problems (including employment, delinquency, and family breakdown, among others) at new experimental training and educational centers?

2. Youth Authorities. Should the Federal Government seek to encourage, in part through financial support, the formation of community Youth Authorities for the purpose of coordinating local activities, private and public, that deal with youth problems?

C. Employment, Pay, and Education for Convicted Persons

In considering the problem of how to provide rehabilitation and training programs for convicted persons, the panel may want to consider the following approaches, among others.

1. Basic Concepts. Since our present system for dealing with convicted persons is, in practice, perhaps 90 percent rejection-punishment, and 10 percent acceptance-rehabilitation, should we seek to reverse this approach? For example: Should people convicted of crimes be recognized as a group that should receive more, not less, attention than other groups in the fields of education, retraining, and social welfare services because they are most likely to commit additional crimes, stemming in part from their lack of any dignified socio-economic place in functioning society? If so, should this change be promoted by new state or Federal legislation, or both, as described in the sections that follow?

2. Work-Release Programs. Should the states be encouraged to adopt a law similar to the new Federal work-release statute, which provides that the Federal Bureau of Prisons may allow prisoners to work and reside in local communities? Since two significant factors associated with criminality are poverty and lack of marketable job skills--and since present correctional procedures often simply aggravate these factors for inmates and their families--what other programs should be recommended to eliminate them?

3. Employment Within Institutions. In addition to work-release programs, or as one alternative, should Federal funds be provided for the establishment, within institutions, of industries that provide both wages at prevailing union rates and on-the-job training in job skills that will provide good employment for inmates after release? Should inmates be encouraged to support their families from their pay while in custody, thus reducing the bad effects of a broken family and also reducing local welfare budgets?

4. Education and Training for Convicted Persons. Should Federal legislation provide for a comprehensive system of basic education and training for persons, in custody, along the basic lines of Job Corps centers, that would be aimed at the special needs of the culturally deprived? For example: Should convicted persons, especially youth, be placed under an "education-release" program, which would allow them to attend local educational institutions? Should outstanding educators and trainers be retained, in programs supported by Federal funds, to create whole new educational systems for inmates of youth and adult institutions? Should convicted persons be trained for subprofessional positions in delinquency control and corrections, because of the shortage of personnel in these fields, and also because convicted persons may have special aptitudes for such work? Should special educational systems, from primary schools to universities, be established on a regional or national basis, specifically designed for convicted persons, to which all American jurisdictions could send convicts?

5. Construction of New Facilities. Should such Federal legislation provide funds for the building of new facilities for convicted persons? For example: Since many prisons and jails are antiquated structures that date from the last century and are overcrowded, should Federal funds be authorized to support construction of correctional facilities for all American jurisdictions, and of every appropriate type, including local houses of detention and jails, state prisons, half-way houses, work-release community residential centers, and educational and training facilities?

6. Post-Release Assistance. Should new Federal legislation provide support for a comprehensive system of assistance to released convicts and their families? For example: If a convicted person has amassed a bank account under the suggested new method, should Federally-aided programs be established for assisting him on how to use his money properly, and how to reorient himself to a new life? How should Government Civil Service regulations and the employment policies of government contractors be changed so as to provide the opportunity for employment and a dignified place in the system for retrained

convicted persons--who now cannot obtain such jobs because of their criminal records? What other means can be used to strengthen the concept of dignified places in the society for convicted persons?

D. Other Programs

What other programs might be recommended in the administration of justice field for building the ability of Negroes to pass through the gates of opportunity?

E. Summation: Major Program Goals

What are the major program goals in the area of rehabilitation and training? Would the following enumeration be accurate?

1. To build positive programs of achievement into the process of justice.
2. To stress acceptance and rehabilitation instead of rejection and punishment as the dominant concern of the system for dealing with convicted persons.
3. To create a first-rate educational and employment system for convicted persons.
4. To provide adequate numbers of qualified personnel for the justice field, at all levels, from police departments to correctional agencies.
5. To train the poor for such jobs, having the objective of providing competent and sensitive personnel, and of helping to end segregated justice.

* * * * *

THE HANDBOOK OF THE STATES
QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

State or other jurisdiction	Minimum age	U S citizen	Residence in			Literacy test
			State	County	District	
Alabama	21	*	2 yrs (e)	1 yr.	3 mo.	...
Alaska	19	*	1 yr.	...	30 da.	(c)
Arizona	21	*	1 yr. (e)	30 da.	30 da.	*
Arkansas	21	*	12 mo.	6 mo.	1 mo.	...
California	21	(e)	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	54 da.	*
Colorado	21	*	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	15 da. (h)	...
Connecticut	21	*	1 yr. (e)	...	6 mo.	*
Delaware	21	*	1 yr.	3 mo.	30 da.	*
Florida	21	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	...	...
Georgia	18	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	...	(j)
Hawaii	20	*	1 yr.	...	3 mo.	*
Idaho	21	*	6 mo. (e)	30 da.	...	...
Illinois	21	*	1 yr. (e)	90 da.	30 da.	...
Indiana	21	*	6 mo.	60 da. (m)	30 da.	...
Iowa	21	*	6 mo.	60 da.	10 da.	...
Kansas	21	*	6 mo. (e)	30 da. (m)	30 da.	...
Kentucky	18	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	60 da.	...
Louisiana	21	*	1 yr.	1 yr.	3 mo. (n)	*
Maine	21	*	6 mo. (e)	3 mo.	3 mo.	*
Maryland	21	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	...
Massachusetts	21	*	1 yr.	...	6 mo. (o)	*
Michigan	21	*	6 mo.	...	30 da.	...
Minnesota	21	(g)	6 mo.	...	...	...
Mississippi	21	*	1 yr.	...	1 yr. (q)	*
Missouri	21	*	1 yr. (e)	60 da.	60 da.	...
Montana	21	*	1 yr.	30 da.	...	...
Nebraska	21	*	6 mo. (e)	10 da.	10 da.	...
Nevada	21	*	6 mo.	30 da.	10 da.	...
New Hampshire	21	*	6 mo.	...	6 mo.	*
New Jersey	21	*	6 mo. (e)	60 da.	...	...
New Mexico	21	*	12 mo.	90 da.	30 da.	...
New York	21	(e)	1 yr.	4 mo.	30 da.	(s)
North Carolina	21	*	1 yr.	...	30 da.	*
North Dakota	21	*	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.	...
Ohio	21	*	1 yr. (e)	40 da.	40 da.	...
Oklahoma	21	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 da.	...
Oregon	21	*	6 mo. (e)	...	30 da.	*
Pennsylvania	21	*	1 yr. (t)	...	60 da. (u)	...
Rhode Island	21	*	1 yr.	...	6 mo.	...
South Carolina	21	*	1 yr. (v)	6 mo.	3 mo.	(w)
South Dakota	21	*	1 yr.	90 da. (x)	30 da. (x)	...
Tennessee	21	*	12 mo.	3 mo.	...	...
Texas	21	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.	...
Utah	21	(g)	1 yr.	4 mo.	60 da.	...
Vermont	21	*	1 yr.	...	3 mo. (m)	...
Virginia	21	*	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 da.	*
Washington	21	*	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.	*
West Virginia	21	*	1 yr.	60 da.	...	...
Wisconsin	21	*	1 yr. (e)	1 yr.	10 da.	...
Wyoming	21	*	1 yr.	60 da.	10 da.	*
Guam	18	*	2 yrs.	...	90 da. (ac)	...
Puerto Rico	21	*	1 yr.	...	1 yr.	...
Virgin Islands	21	*	1 yr.	...	60 da.	*

NOTE: No state has property qualifications for voting in a general election. Some states have property qualifications for voting on bond issues or special assessments.

With ratification of the 21st Amendment to the United States Constitution in January, 1963, the poll tax is now prohibited as a requirement for voting in general elections. At the time of ratification, states requiring the poll tax as qualification for voting were Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

(a) All states which have permanent registration, except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Maine, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon and South Dakota, make it subject to cancellation for failure to vote at certain specified intervals.

(b) Registration is permanent unless removed for cause.

(c) Must be able to read or speak the English language.

(d) Municipal election.

(e) Special residence qualifications for voting in presidential elections, by residents who have not lived in the state long enough prior to a national election to meet the regular residence require-

ment: Alabama, 1 year in state, 6 months in county, 3 months in district; Arizona, no residence requirement; California, 54 days; Colorado, 6 months; Connecticut, 60 days in state and town; Idaho, 60 days; Illinois, 60 days; Kansas, 45 days in ward or township; Maine, no residence requirement; Missouri, 60 days; Nebraska, no residence requirement; New Jersey, 40 days in state and county; Ohio, Oregon and Wisconsin, no residence requirement.

(f) Except for irrigation district elections.

(g) Must have been citizen 90 days.

(h) City or town, 30 days.

(i) All except certain minor elections.

(j) Under 1958 Registration Act, a person must read and write section of Constitution in order to register. If unable to do this (unless physically disabled) he must answer 20 of 30 questions prescribed in act.

(k) English or Hawaiian language, except for physically disabled.

CONSTITUTIONS AND ELECTIONS
 QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING—Continued

Literary tests	Registration						State or other jurisdiction
	Type			Coverage			
	Permanent(a)		Periodic	Frequency	All elections	Some elections	
All areas	Some areas	All areas	Some areas				
	* (h)	...	...	...	...	...	Alabama
(c)	*	*	...	...	...	...	Alaska
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Arizona
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Arkansas
	*	...	...	...	...	...	California
	*	...	...	...	...	(i)	Colorado
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Connecticut
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Delaware
	*	...	...	...	...	...	Florida
(j)	* (b)	...	...	...	...	...	Georgia
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Hawaii
*	*	...	...	...	...	(l)	Idaho
	*	...	...	...	...	(l)	Illinois
	*	*	...	4 years	...	(l)	Indiana
	*	*	...	...	...	(l)	Iowa
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Kansas
*	*	*	...	4 years	...	...	Kentucky
*	*	*	...	...	...	...	Louisiana
*	*	*	...	...	...	...	Maine
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Maryland
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Massachusetts
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Michigan
*	* (h)	*	...	4 years	...	(p)	Minnesota
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Mississippi
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Missouri
	*	*	...	...	...	(i)	Montana
	*	*	...	...	...	(i)	Nebraska
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Nevada
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	New Hampshire
	*	*	...	...	...	...	New Jersey
(s)	*	*	...	Annual	...	...	New Mexico
*	*	*	...	...	...	...	New York
	*	*	...	...	...	...	North Carolina
	*	*	...	...	...	...	North Dakota
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Ohio
*	*	...	...	...	...	(r)	Oklahoma
	*	...	...	...	...	...	Oregon
	*	...	...	...	...	...	Pennsylvania
(w)	*	*	...	Decennial	...	...	Rhode Island
	*	*	...	...	...	...	South Carolina
	*	...	...	...	...	...	South Dakota
	(r)	(y)	(y)	Annual	...	...	Tennessee
	*	*	...	Every elec.	...	(j)	Texas
	*	*	...	...	...	...	Utah
*	(z)	...	...	...	...	...	Vermont
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Virginia
	*	...	...	...	...	(aa)	Washington
	*	*	...	...	...	(ab)	West Virginia
*	*	*	...	Every gen. elec.	...	...	Wisconsin
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Wyoming
	*	...	...	...	...	...	Guam
	*	...	...	...	...	...	Puerto Rico
*	*	...	...	...	...	...	Virgin Islands

(c) 3 months
 (d) 4 months, 54
 60 days in state
 45 days in
 Missouri,
 New Jersey, 40
 and Wisconsin, no

must read and
 If unable to
 answer 20 of 30
 or physically

(a) For all state and federal elections.
 (a) For all state and federal elections.
 (b) Municipality, four months.
 (c) In city or town.
 (d) Except school district elections.
 (e) Ministers of the Gospel and their wives may vote after 6 months residence.
 (f) Registration is for all elections of state and county, but voter must be registered in municipality also to vote in municipal elections.
 (g) A person who became entitled to vote after January 1, 1922, must be able, except for physical disability, to read and write English.
 (h) Six months if previously an elector or native of the state.
 (i) Persons who are qualified to vote in an election district prior to moving and who move within 60 days preceding an election may vote in the election district from which they move.

(v) Ministers of the Gospel, teachers in public schools, and their spouses may vote after 6 months' residence.
 (w) Reregister every 10 years. Must read and write any section of the Constitution, or have paid all taxes on property owned and assessed at \$300 or more.
 (x) No elector who has changed his residence from one county or precinct to another loses his right to vote in his former county or precinct until he acquires voting residence in the new one.
 (y) Constitution provides for registration in cities over 10,000, but a system of determining eligibility based on poll tax receipts and exemption certificates was used in lieu of registration.
 (z) Except in some cities.
 (aa) Except township elections.
 (ab) All elections except special elections.
 (ac) Precinct.

LIMITATIONS ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN THE STATES

State or other jurisdiction	Applies to		Filing of statements required				Required times for filing statements	Contributions by corporations prohibited	Contributions by unions prohibited	Contributions from other sources prohibited or limited†	Restrictions on character of expenditures	Total expenditures by candidate limited	Amount spent in behalf of candidate limited
	Elections*	Candidates‡	Campaign receipts by parties	Campaign receipts by candidates	Campaign disbursements by parties	Campaign disbursements by candidates							
Alabama . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	Yes	No	Yes	Within 15 days after a primary and within 30 days after a general election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(a)	No
Alaska . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	No	None	..	..	No	No	No	No
Arizona . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen (b), Rep (b)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Receipts and expenditures after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes(c)	...
Arkansas . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Corrupt practice pledge before, candidate expenses after election	..	..	No	No	Yes(d)	No
California . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	No	No	Campaign contributions solicited or received from a licensee by an elective state officer issuing licenses	Yes	No	No
Colorado . . .	P,G(e)	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 10 days after a primary and within 30 days after a general or special election	No	No	No	No	No	No
Connecticut . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	No	Contributions by person under an assumed name	Yes	Yes	No(f)
Delaware . . .	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	.....	No	No	No	No	No	No
Florida	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after election	Yes	No	Limit of \$1,000 contribution from any one person, contributions prohibited from holders of horse or dog racing permits and licenses for sale of intoxicating beverages, operators of public utilities franchised or regulated by the state, or partners, officers, or directors of unincorporated or incorporated holders of such permits, licenses or franchises	Yes	No	No
Georgia . . .	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	No	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Guam	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 15 days after election	No	No	No	...	...	...
Hawaii	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	Yes(h)	Yes	Within 20 days	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Idaho	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	Within 20 days after election	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(b)	No
Illinois	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	.....	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Indiana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	.....	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Iowa	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

State	Party	Level	Yes	No	Yes(h)	Yes	Reporting Period	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes(i)	No
Hawaii	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	Yes(h)	Yes	Within 20 days	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(i)	No
Idaho	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	No	Yes	Within 20 days after election	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(i)	No
Illinois	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	No	No	Within 30 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Iowa	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates within 30 days after election; parties within 30 days after general election	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Kansas	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Kentucky	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	Yes	No	Yes	15 days before and 30 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Louisiana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	No	No	None	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Maine	P,G	Statewide	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Preliminary report not less than 10 nor more than 15 days before election; final report within 30 days after election	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Maryland	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes(k)	Yes
Massachusetts	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 14 days after primary; second Tuesday preceding general election and within 14 days after general election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Michigan	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	After election but before certification to office	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	8 days before and within 10 days following primary; 8 days before and 10 days following general election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mississippi	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No(b)	Yes(b)	No(b)	Yes(b)	Contribution statements filed 1st and 15th each month of campaign	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Missouri	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
Montana	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates, within 10 days after election; parties, within 15 days after election	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes(l)	No

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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LIMITATIONS ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES IN THE STATES—Continued

State or other jurisdiction	Applies to		Filing of statements required				Required times for filing statements	Contributions by corporations prohibited	Contributions by unions prohibited	Contributions from other sources prohibited or limited†	Restrictions on character of expenditures	Total expenditures by candidate limited	Amount spent or behalf of candidate limited
	Elections*	Candidates‡	Campaign receipts by parties	Campaign receipts by candidates	Campaign disbursements by parties	Campaign disbursements by candidates							
Nebraska	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	After election	Yes	Only if union is a corporation	No	Yes	No	No
Nevada	(g)	(g)	No	No	No	No	1st statement Wednesday (6 days) before, 2nd, second Friday (10 days) after election (m)	No	Yes	No	No	Yes(n)	No
New Hampshire	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1st statement Wednesday (6 days) before, 2nd, second Friday (10 days) after election (m)	No	Yes	Any partnership or any partner acting in behalf of such partnership, any person employed in the classified service of the state, a personal contribution in excess of \$5,000 except by candidate himself, or a contribution if made anonymously, or in guise of a loan, or concealed, or without knowledge of candidate or his agents or political committee	No	Yes	No
80 New Jersey	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Friday or Saturday before and 20 days after election	Yes(t)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
New Mexico	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Candidates, within 10 days after election, parties, within 30 days after election	No	No	No money of political party may be spent on behalf of primary candidate	No	Yes(o)	No
New York	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	No	Contributions by owners of polling places barred	No	Yes	Yes
North Carolina	(g)	(g)	Yes	Yes	Yes (in general elections)	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
North Dakota	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	No	No	No	Yes	15 days after elections	Yes	No	A contribution made or received under other than the donor's own name	Yes	Yes(p)	Yes
Ohio	P,G	Statewide, Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	By 4 00 p. m. 45th day after election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Oklahoma	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Candidates within 15 days after any election, party campaign committees within 10 days after any general election	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Oregon	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	15 days after election	(q)	No	No	Yes	Yes(l,r)	No
Pennsylvania	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after each primary and general election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No

State	Primary Election	General Election	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Oregon	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Puerto Rico	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after election	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Rhode Island	(g) P,G	(g) Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	Yes	Yes	Before elections	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
South Carolina	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after elections	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(u)	Yes
South Dakota	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 30 days after elections	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(u)	Yes
Tennessee...	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	Yes	Yes	Candidate's statement 5 to 10 days before convention or election, manager's within 30 days after	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Texas	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	Yes	No	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Utah	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	2nd Sat. after 1st disbursement; 2nd Sat each calendar month thereafter; Sat preceding any primary or election	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Vermont	P	Statewide, Sen., Rep	No	No	No	Yes	Within 10 days after primary	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Virginia	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	..	..	..	Yes	Within 30 days after election, caucus, convention or primary election	..	..	No	Yes	Yes	..
Washington	P	Statewide, (v) Sen., Rep	No	Yes	No	Yes	After primary only	No	No	No	No	No	No
West Virginia	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Before and after elections	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wisconsin	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	By 5 p m on Tues preceding primary or election; Sat. following primary or election	Yes	No	Contributions by cooperative associations	Yes	Yes	No
Wyoming	P,G	Statewide, Sen., Rep	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Within 20 days after election	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes(w)	Yes

*P—primary election; G—general election
†The abbreviations Sen. and Rep. in this column stand for United States Senator and United States Representative
‡This column only shows prohibitions and restrictions on sources and limitations on amounts of contributions. It does not include procedural limitations such as prohibitions on making gifts directly to candidates shortly before elections
(a) Newspaper and radio advertising exempt
(b) Only in primary election
(c) Expenditures limited at primary election, exclusive of money expended for stationery, postage, printing and advertisements in newspapers, motion pictures, radio and television broadcasts, outdoor advertising signs, and necessary personal, traveling or subsistence expenses
(d) Travel and hotel expenses of candidate exempted
(e) Also applies to special elections to fill vacancies in U S Congress
(f) If spent by independent political committee
(g) No limitation
(h) By agent or committee acting for or on behalf of any candidate
(i) Illinois by insurance corporations only, New Jersey by public utilities, banks and insurance corporations
(j) State statute prohibits contribution only if union is a corporation
(k) Postage, telegrams, telephoning, stationery, printing, advertising, radio and television programs, publishing, expressage, travel and board exempted

(l) Expenditures of relatives and associates deemed to be those of candidate himself
(m) Candidates for State Senator or Representative to the General Court who have expended a sum in excess of \$200 are required to file second statement only (not later than second Friday after primary or election)
(n) Candidate's contribution to the state committee, his filing fee, personal travel and subsistence expenses, or services of his regular employees in discharging duties of a public office, are exempt
(o) Exclusive of sums expended for necessary personal, traveling or subsistence expenses. No limit for candidate for State Representative in primary election
(p) Expenses for personal travel and printing in state publicity pamphlet exempted.
(q) Certain corporations only
(r) Primary election 15 per cent of 1 year's compensation or salary of office for which candidate. General election 10 per cent of 1 year's compensation or salary for which candidate. Not restricted to less than \$250
(s) Act No 110, 1937, created an electoral fund against which each principal political party in the commonwealth can draw up to \$75,000 annually, or up to \$150,000 in election years. The act enumerates the character of the expenditures which can be paid from the fund
(t) Only restrictions are those imposed by federal statutes
(u) Printing or circulation of written or printed matter exempted
(v) Partisan primaries only
(w) Traveling expenses exempted

1966 ELECTION CALENDAR

Elections for Governor, Senator, U.S. House
GENERAL ELECTION - ALL STATES - NOVEMBER 8

STATE	PRIMARY DATE (a)	FILING DEADLINE	STATE PARTY CONVENTIONS (b)	U.S. SENATORS TERMS EXPIRE	GOVERNORS TERMS EXPIRE	U.S. HOUSE SEATS (All Up)	CURRENT LINEUP U.S. HOUSE SEATS
Alabama	D-May 3/ May 31	March 1	R-June	Sparkman (D)	Wallace (D)#	8	3-D, 5-R
Alaska	Aug 9 (c)	May 1		Bartlett (D)	Egan (D)	1	1-D
Arizona	Sept 13	July 14			Goddard (D)	3	2-D, 1-R
Arkansas	July 26/ Aug 9	April 27		McClellan (D)	Faubus (D)	4	4-D
California	June 7 (c)	March 25			Brown (D)	38	23-D, 15-R
Colorado	Sept 13 (d)	July 30 (d)	July (d)	Allott (R)	Love (R)	4	4-D
Connecticut	(e)	(e)	June (e)		Dempsey (D)	6	6-D
Delaware	(f)	(f)	Aug (f)	Boggs (R)		1	1-D
Florida	May 3/ May 24	March 1			Burns (D)	12	10-D, 2-R
Georgia	Sept 14/ Sept 28 (c)	July 31		Russell (D)	Sanders (D)#	10	9-D, 1-R
Hawaii	Oct 1	Sept 1			Burns (D)	2	2-D
Idaho	Aug 2 (e)	May 7 (e)	June 10-11 (e)	Jordan (R)	Smylie (R)	2	1-D, 1-R
Illinois	June 14	March 28		Douglas (D)		24	13-D, 11-R
Indiana	May 3	(Late March)				11	6-D, 5-R
Iowa	Sept 6 (g)	July 5 (g)	June (g)	Miller (R)	Hughes (D)	7	6-D, 1-R
Kansas	Aug 2	June 20		Pearson (R)	Avery (R)	5	5-R
Kentucky	May 24	March 30		Cooper (R)		7	6-D, 1-R
Louisiana	Aug 13/ Sept 17	June 8		Ellender (D)		8	8-D
Maine	June 20	April 1		Smith (R)	Reed (R)	2	1-D, 1-R
Maryland	Sept 13	July 5			Tawes (D) #	8	6-D, 2-R
Massachusetts	Sept 20 (c, h)	Aug 2	June (h)	Saltonstall (R)	Volpe (R)	12	7-D, 5-R
Michigan	Aug 2	June 14		McNamara (D)	Romney (R)	19	12-D, 7-R
Minnesota	Sept 13	July 19		Mondale (D)	Rolvag (D)	8	4-D, 4-R
Mississippi	June 7, June 25	April 8		Eastland (D)		5	4-D, 1-R
Missouri	Aug 2	April 26				10	8-D, 2-R
Montana	Aug 16	July 7		Metcalf (D)		2	1-D, 1-R
Nebraska	May 10	March 11		Curtis (R)	Morrison (D)	3	1-D, 2-R
Nevada	Sept 6	July 20			Sawyer (D)	1	1-D
New Hampshire	Sept 13	July 25		McIntyre (D)	King (D)	2	1-D, 1-R
New Jersey	June 1 (c)	April 22		Case (R)		15	11-D, 4-R
New Mexico	May 3 (e)	March 15 (e)	Before March 1 (e)	Anderson (D)	Campbell (D) #	2	2-D
New York	June 24 (c, i)	May 17 (i)	Before Aug 3 (i)		Rockefeller (R)	41	27-D, 14-R
North Carolina	May 25/ June 25	March 18		Jordan (D)		11	9-D, 2-R
North Dakota	Sept 6 (h)	July 28 (h)	April (h)			2	1-D, 1-R
Ohio	May 3	Feb 2			Rhodes (R)	24	10-D, 14-R
Oklahoma	May 3/ May 24	March 4		Harris (D)	Bellmon (R) #	6	5-D, 1-R
Oregon	May 24	March 15		Neuberger (D) †	Hathfield (R) #	4	3-D, 1-R
Pennsylvania	May 17	March 5			Seranton (R) #	27	15-D, 12-R
Rhode Island	Sept 13 (j)	June 30 (j)	Before July 2 (j)	Pell (D)	Chafee (R)	2	2-D
South Carolina	D-June 14/ June 28	May 15	R-March	Russell (D)*, Thurmond (R)	McNair (D)	6	5-D, 1-R
South Dakota	June 7	April 23		Mundt (R)	Boe (R)	2	2-R
Tennessee	Aug 4	June 6		Bass (D)	Clement (D) #	9	6-D, 3-R
Texas	May 7/ June 4	Feb 7		Tower (R)	Connally (D)	23	23-D
Utah	Sept 13 (k)	May 10 (k)	June (k)			2	1-D, 1-R
Vermont	Sept 13	Aug 3			Hoff (D)	1	1-R
Virginia	D-July 12/ Aug 16	April 13	R-Before July 12	Robertson (D)		10	8-D, 2-R
Washington	Sept 20	July 29				7	5-D, 2-R
West Virginia	May 10	Feb 5		Randolph (D)		5	4-D, 1-R
Wisconsin	Sept 13 (l)	July 12 (l)	May (l)		Knowles (R)	10	5-D, 5-R
Wyoming	Aug 16	July 6		Simpson (R)	Hansen (R)	1	1-D

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(a) Where two dates are listed, first is regular primary and second is run-off primary. Run-offs required in these states when no candidate wins majority in first primary.
 (b) Includes only conventions which nominate or recommend candidates for Governor, Senator or House. In states where convention dates have not yet been set, months in which conventions are customarily held are given.
 (c) Date subject to change by the Legislature.
 (d) Colorado -- Party conventions may designate one or more candidates who have priority position on primary ballot nomination in primary.
 (e) Connecticut, Idaho and New Mexico -- Nominations are made by party conventions. Any unsuccessful candidate for a nomination who receives at least 20 percent of the convention vote may, if he wishes, require the nomination to be settled in a primary. State conventions in Connecticut must be held between June 1 and July 15. District conventions nominate House candidates, usually in June.
 (f) Delaware -- Nominations are made at party conventions.
 (g) Iowa -- Under a newly adopted system, Democrats plan to endorse candidates in statewide convention prior to the filing deadline, nomination by pri-

mary. Republicans plan only to "encourage" some candidates and "discourage" others from entering primaries.
 (h) Massachusetts and North Dakota -- Party conventions endorse only, nomination is in primary.
 (i) New York -- Conventions nominate gubernatorial candidates, House nominees selected in primary.
 (j) Rhode Island -- State Committees endorse only, nomination in primary.
 (k) Utah -- State conventions designate names for ballot. If a candidate receives more than 80 percent of convention vote he is nominated. Otherwise, the top two runners in convention balloting are certified for the primary election.
 (l) Wisconsin -- Republicans endorse statewide candidates in convention, nomination in primary.

* Serving interim appointment
 # Governors ineligible to succeed themselves
 † Announced retirement

BACKGROUND PAPER

VOTING AND CITIZENSHIP PARTICIPATION

Sterling Tucker
Wiley A. Branton

"All Americans must have the right to vote. And we are going to give them that right. But I would like to remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty. So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help they need to walk through those gates."

These words were uttered before a special Joint Session of the Congress on March 15, 1965, by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had come before the lawmakers to make his urgent plea for new voting rights legislation. In so doing, the President indicated his recognition of some of the many barriers still remaining in the path toward fulfillment of this right.

It is these formidable obstacles of poverty and illiteracy with their related barriers of apathy and alienation which stand out among the numerous problems confronting the Negro voter in the North today. It is these many problems of voter participation to which we wish to address ourselves during the coming days so that "all our people" may be provided with "the help they need to walk through those gates."

Participation in the process of voting is invaluable as a means of improvement, likewise, improved conditions makes for fuller voting participation. Unless effective and immediate steps are taken to involve

the urban Negro in the North and West in citizenship action the stubborn and resistant obstacles to the elevation of Negro citizens -- poor housing, jobs and education -- will remain largely intractable since relief from these conditions depends largely on government actions and government depends on votes.

In general, the lower Negro voter figure rises from a fountainhead of social alienation from the political mainstream of urban life. Not only does his physical ghettoization set the Negro apart mentally and physically from the "white man's world" but downgrading of Negroes in the political party scheme, the local ward clubhouse and in patronage discourages his interest in the ballot. Thus, while much has been made of the potential of the Negro vote in southern states where only one-fourth or one-third are registered, it should be noted that in many northern cities only two-thirds or less of the eligible Negro electorate has bothered to register.

In an interview by the Baltimore Sun, March 21, 1964, Dr. G. James Fleming, Director of the Morgan State College Institute for Political Education, summed the problem up this way: "The Negro doesn't feel he has a stake in society and that's why he doesn't vote. He sees that when an area becomes Negro, that housing codes, zoning codes, sanitation laws begin to break down but he fails to see any connection between his status and politics."

A documented example by the research department of the Chicago Urban League reveals that in the November, 1962 elections only 47 per cent of adult Negroes went to the polls - 21 per cent less than those registered. By contrast, 78 per cent of white adult Chicagoans registered and 64 per cent balloted.

As the number of Negroes resident in the northern and western states increases, the disenfranchisement of the Negro stemming from the invisible barriers mentioned earlier may result in a poorer showing at the polls among northern Negroes by the end of the next decade.

In short, the challenge to Negro voter participation is as great in the North as in the South. Alienation

and illiteracy are foes as formidable as the night rider and closed registration desk. Any discussion of voter rights which focuses exclusively or predominantly upon the South will tend to ignore the voting crisis in northern cities where the failure of the masses to involve themselves in a meaningful way - and to see the fruits of such involvement - has intensified the bitterness which gives vent to rioting, lawlessness and social anarchy.

Unless the urban Negro in the North and West become involved, the spectre of future rioting will float over the ghettos in which black citizens reside. Moreover, in terms of sheer numerical power, a potential electorate that is the equal of the southern states will have been wasted - dealing a serious blow to effective government in the urban North

Finally, in a society which respects and values "good citizenship" and the power of the ballot, white citizens tend to downgrade black citizens for the latter's failure to participate on election day to the same extent as his white brother. A higher Negro turnout on election day - as in the Cleveland election of November 4, 1965 - will win everywhere new respect and regard for citizens of color by whites.

* * *

The purpose of this paper is to identify those obstacles to full electoral participation by Negro citizens and to suggest remedial action programs.

In general, the obstacles to this participation are threefold: Race, Poverty, and General Electoral Impingements.

Obstacles Based on Race

The difficulties faced by Negro voters in this region are well known and do not require further comment for discussion purposes.

Federal steps to enroll additional Negro voters throughout the South under the provisions of the new Civil Rights Act ought to be expanded to all counties where such opportunity is denied. Furthermore, serious

consideration ought to be given to Federal law making economic reprisals against those who do vote a crime.

It also appears desirable to establish a simplified system for voting in Federal elections to eliminate the tedious steps of registration and the hazards and difficulties of the polling place by:

1. An extension of a ballot-by-mail system to civilian citizens.
2. An adoption of a standardized separate Federal ballot which could be filled out at either a polling place or by mail on an IBM type punch card. Education on the use of this simplified ballot would be carried out in the press over radio and television, and in the schools backed by Federal funds.
3. An adoption of a permanent Federal identification and registration card and voting number which each citizen would receive at age 18 from a Federal registrar to be carried throughout his life.
4. A designation of U.S. Post Offices and/or Selective Service Offices as registration application centers to which prospective voters could go to fill out signature cards, mail them in to the central office and receive by return mail their official number and identification card.

Obstacles Based on Poverty

Since a large proportion of Negroes fall into the lower income group, the effect of poverty upon them is great.

Many have too many daily problems to "bother" with voting. Few can afford to take time off from their jobs unless remuneration is granted. Large numbers of the poor are easily manipulated when they do vote by entrenched political machines engaged in urban vote-farming. Too few Negroes have the means to conduct campaigns for office. With the absence of large numbers of Negro candidates, voter interest is dampened.

Finally, the absence of high standards of literacy hamstrings the decision-making process of Negro voters, leaves them prey to demagoguery and blurs their understanding of the more sophisticated and technical issues which nevertheless have great bearing upon their immediate lives.

To rectify these drawbacks, the following steps are proposed:

1. To make Election Day a paid national holiday, enabling the poor greater opportunity to take time off from their work to vote and follow the election campaign.
2. To subsidize political candidates, enabling poor Negro aspirants to stand for office with some semblance of opportunity for victory. This could take the form of direct grants for newspaper, TV, radio, and billboard advertising and campaign literature, and the like.
3. To insist on "one-man one-vote" in local elections. This is crucial. Too many urban wards are shamelessly gerrymandered, disenfranchising hundreds of thousands of voters. For example, although Negroes in Chicago make up 25 per cent of the population, only six of 50 council seats are occupied by members of their race.
4. To permit easier official recognition of lesser parties and candidates through the petition procedure, Federal, State, and local regulations should be liberalized.
5. The "spoils system" is a significant factor in determining the make-up of political organizations. If municipal and State jobs are not available to Negro citizens because of poor voter turnout and gerrymandering, few Negroes enter political organizations and press for political appointments. The absence of "role models" in governmental agencies, therefore, perpetuates the low-vote low-participation low-payoff cycle.

Therefore, to motivate Negroes to obtain "political jobs" in government, each city ought to be required by law to disclose annually a list of all jobs held and the race of jobholders in such posts. The District of Columbia regularly does so. The knowledge that, in Chicago, only 11 per cent of municipal jobs are held by Negroes although they comprise 25 per cent of the population could be an automatic spur to petition for change.

Moreover, each political party must adopt a conscious policy of deliberate promotion of Negro party officials and Negro candidates for political office at all levels of governmental and party activity. Ethnic group patronage and ticket balancing cannot be recognized by law, but it has long been recognized by political custom. It should now work in favor of the Negro as it has for Irish Catholics, Italians, Poles, Jews and others.

There is in the community action programs an implicit challenge to vested interests and entrenched political systems which have operated to limit voter participation. Political reaction is begging to set in, and already the infant community action programs are threatened. Discontinuation or de-emphasis of the community action programs is diametrically opposed to the objective of broadening citizenship participation. Voter registration, and voter education, should be established by a clear statement of Presidential and Congressional policy as an important objective of the community action programs. Federal funds under the Office of Economic Opportunity and from other sources should be specifically earmarked for voter registration, and motivation in local communities. Federal funds should also be used to conduct voter preparation courses in the public and private school systems.

Obstacles Based on General Electoral Impingements

In addition to the factors of race and poverty, Negro citizens face the same electoral impingements which confront the general public.

Many of these have been noted in the report of Richard M. Scammon to the White House on November 26, 1963.

Among those recommendations deserving special consideration are the 21 standards detailed in the summary of the Scammon Report, including abolition of the poll tax, the reduction of long waiting periods at the polls, making Election Day a national holiday, and lowering residence requirements to the irreducible minimum consistent with necessity. In addition, the electoral college ought to be abolished.

Beyond these recommendations, however, we ought to examine the current assumption that good citizenship is best advanced by the voluntary notion of voting.

When the United States borrowed from Australia its secret ballot concept - a fundamental provision of freedom of choice - we failed to adopt also its system of compulsory voting, one of the obligations citizens in Australia are required to bear in return for the privilege of voting their conscience.

Compulsory voting has since been adopted by many of the world's foremost democracies. Should not this vital ceremony be considered as fundamental and inalienable an obligation of good citizenship as the payment of taxes or the bearing of arms in the common defense?

A constitutional amendment, therefore, should be adopted making registration and voting, at the very least in Federal elections, compulsory for all citizens.

With the Federal government taking the lead in the establishment of new, streamlined voting procedures pointing toward heightened involvement by the body politic in the affairs of state, states and municipalities would soon follow.

Taken together, all these proposals, coupled with broad frontal attacks against the alienation and intimidation which currently have so severely restricted the Negro franchise, comprise progressive steps worthy of our most serious reflection.

DAVID DANZIG

THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY

IN May of 1963, the world was abruptly made aware that a new minority community had emerged as a significant and self-conscious force in American society. The evidence was clear, eloquent, and disturbing. In Birmingham, Alabama during the week of May 13, the formerly dispersed and demoralized masses of Negroes suddenly became a well-organized, resolute body of citizens, marching forward to their daily encounter with the city's police force and fire department. The following week in Nashville, Tennessee, students of Fisk University led a protest march of their fellow Negroes through the main avenues of the city as part of a new campaign for complete desegregation. In Raleigh, North Carolina, five hundred college students broke three years of relative racial peace that had followed the desegregation of lunch counters, and launched a similar drive for total equality by a demonstration at the Governor's mansion. In Greensboro, North Carolina, a thousand Negroes attempted to sit-in at two movie houses and a public cafeteria. In Cambridge, Maryland, as in Albany, Georgia, the long, desperate struggle was joined again, while in Selma, Alabama, the first stage of a new one was initiated by Negro leaders in a campaign to register voters. But it was not only in the South that the presence and pressure of a coherent movement were unmistakably apparent. Immediately following "Birmingham," the groundwave of protest began to swell in the Negro ghettos of New York, Chicago, and Detroit, as well as in pleasant suburbs like Orange and Englewood in New Jersey. Following these two weeks in May the tide of Negro group action continued to grow through the late spring and summer, rolling across the Eastern half of the nation and culminating in the great demonstration in Washington on August 28.

The most immediate and dramatic reaction of

DAVID DANZIG is associate director of the American Jewish Committee and a lecturer in intergroup relations at the Columbia University School of Social Work. His previous contributions include "Christianity in a 'Post-Western' Era" (January 1961) and "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority" (April 1962).

the white community was that of resentment and resistance. Nothing was quite to match that long Saturday night of May 18 in Birmingham when the motel where Martin Luther King had set up headquarters and the home of King's brother were both bombed, and when for some hours Negroes and police struggled amid the havoc and terror of an incipient race war. But almost everywhere that Negroes protested there was violence or the threat of it. The demonstrations in Nashville ended in knife-fighting between Negroes and whites; in Greensboro 241 marchers were arrested while a mob of whites swirled about them under the banners of "Blacks, Go Home," and "Go Back to Africa." And the mood of white resistance was to continue making itself felt in the infamous church bombing in Birmingham, and in the chain of assaults and police harassment that eventually extended from Jackson, Mississippi, to New York.

THIS outcropping of violence and intransigence, bombings and imprisonment, however, tended to obscure the less dramatic but more significant development of a new stage in Negro-white relations. For example, even as the Birmingham police were packing the marchers off to jail, an unprecedented series of negotiations was taking place between the leading businessmen of the city—six white and six Negro—which culminated in an agreement providing for a phased integration of lunch counters and the opening of job opportunities to Negroes. So, too, the Negro demonstrations in Nashville, Raleigh, and Greensboro were promptly followed by the establishment of new bi-racial committees to plan further desegregation, backed by statements from the white business leaders of both cities calling for the removal of all public and business policies that denied rights and services on racial grounds. And similarly, in Orange, New Jersey, the efforts of the Negro community resulted in an order from the State Commissioner of Education to present a plan for integrating a segregated elementary school in that town.

In other words, what underlay the specific conflicts both in the South and in the North during

Reprinted from

Commentary

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**FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS:
THE FUTURE
OF THE
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

BAYARD RUSTIN

Commentary

FEBRUARY 1965
NUMBER 2
VOLUME 39

Reproduced by the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, Welfare Administration, Children's Bureau, with special permission of Child Welfare League of America from CHILD WELFARE, Vol. XLI, October 1962, p. 339-350.

Unmarried Mothers: Some Questions To Be Answered and Some Answers To Be Questioned

Two of the main needs in research and practice related to unmarried mothers are: to learn some of the things we have not yet discovered and to unlearn some we mistakenly think we know. The double need applies to statistical facts and to theoretical formulations, and this article considers both in the light of available research evidence.

ELIZABETH HERZOG

When people talk about *the* problem of unmarried mothers or *the* problem of births out of wedlock, it is often like the old story of the blind men and the elephant—each has hold of a different part and seems to be describing a different animal. The reference may be to the unmarried mothers themselves, or a particular group of them—teenagers, say, or perhaps women with four or five out-of-wedlock children. Or the reference may be to the problems faced, the services needed, the tax burden caused by all these unworthy dependents, moral values or social conditions, or a number of other aspects.

I found myself trying to picture the problem as an elephant, with each part of him labeled for a different aspect. But I gave

it up, because no elephant has enough parts. Any adequate portrait would have to include at least a herd of elephants, with their tusks and trunks all intertwined and tangled.

I have had occasion during the past year to interview a number of research people who are especially interested in problems relating to births out of wedlock. My remarks here are in effect a report on these discussions, plus a good deal of browsing in the literature. This is the kind of exercise sometimes referred to as a "survey of experts."

For convenience I will refer to these experts as my respondents. Some of them I have interviewed at considerable length, with discussion back and forth about what we know, what we need to know, and what we thought we knew that turned out not to be so. Some I have merely read, gleaning their opinions on these same points from the printed page. Obviously, I have made my own selection of respondents, of points, and of opinions.

My respondents did not, nor shall I, make moral or ethical pronouncements. As research investigators, our responsibility is to analyze and to report, providing background for decisions and actions guided by values. Nevertheless, the attention given to the sub-

ELIZABETH HERZOG is Chief of the Child Life Studies Branch, Division of Research, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. This paper was presented at the CWLA Eastern Regional Conference, Baltimore, Maryland, March 1, 1962.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY
NEW YORK

8/5/65

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

CONGRESSIONAL

EXECUTIVE

12 November 1965

H42/KC

Mr. Mike N. Manatos
Administrative Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

I would like, if possible, to be represented at the White House Civil Rights Conference which, as I understand it, will take place sometime next week.

I shall be in Latin America at the time, but it would be most helpful if my legislative assistant, Peter Edelman, could attend.
x

I would appreciate whatever you can do on this matter.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

RFK
Robert F. Kennedy
x

11/15/65
mm
+ to send to Cliff A. ...
... office ...
file



Handwritten notes

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

Handwritten notes
EXECUTIVE
H. M. C.

DIRECTOR

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Decontrolled Following
Removal of Attachment

November 17, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

I thought you might like to see the enclosed memorandum furnishing policy guidance to all of our media on the White House Civil Rights Conference.

Handwritten signature
Leonard H. Marks

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White House Civil Rights Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights"--
November 17-18, 1965

The first White House Civil Rights Conference, called by President Johnson in his Howard University address of June 4, 1965, is scheduled for November 17-18. About 200 delegates will attend. They represent every major civil rights organization and include the most influential of the nation's civil rights leaders and top scholars, Government officials and specialists in civil rights affairs.

The Conference's task, in the President's words, "will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement; to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin; to dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong -- great wrong."

TREATMENT

We want to show all audiences that:

(1) The White House Conference is another decisive step in the Administration's continuing, determined efforts towards full, effective equality for the Negro. As defined by the President in his Howard University speech, this is the beginning of "the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights."

(2) Although unique in purpose, scope and official U.S. sponsorship, the Conference is a logical continuation of the Administration's complete identification with the civil rights movement and its goals of full equality under law for all citizens. (See the President's March 15, 1965, address to the Congress, and NPN 4-65). The presence at the Conference of representatives of all degrees of civil rights advocacy -- from moderate to militant -- illustrates the seriousness of this latest initiative.

Points to emphasize:

-- That the President, while credited with impressive legislative

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- 2 -

progress and pleased with considerable evidence of recent gains made by Negro citizens, is determined to wipe out what remains of racial inequality and injustice here.

-- The President's determination is evidenced by his readiness to place the full resources of the nation behind the Conference's search for ways to strengthen, speed up, and broaden the entire U.S. civil rights effort. For support of this point, draw upon the President's Howard University speech commitments.

-- The Conference's wide-ranging mandate for study of, and action on, all conditions which bar Negroes from enjoyment of human and social rights guaranteed to all Americans.

-- The Administration's leadership during the Conference, and subsequent official response to Conference recommendations.

-- Plans for the President's followup conference next spring.

-- Any Administration legislative proposals resulting from Conference action.

Without appearing to boast of, or apologize for, civil rights progress under past legislative and Governmental programs, we should take opportunities, as appropriate, to review such progress in connection with Conference deliberations and recommendations. Also, the Administration's Great Society accomplishments and objectives provide opportunities to relate civil rights goals to LBJ's continuing war against poverty, ignorance and disease throughout the U.S.

BACKGROUND

The specific objectives of the Conference are to:

(1) Identify the principal problems in the way of full equality and justice for Negroes.

(2) Stimulate fresh, creative and innovative approaches to solutions of those problems.

(3) Prepare a report for the President with specific recommendations for action. This report is to be presented to the larger conference

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- 3 -

which the President is to call next spring. The recommendations in the report will constitute the basis for new programs and/or legislation.

The Conference's main business will be conducted in panel sessions by committees assigned to cover these topics:

- (1) Jobs, Job Training, Economic Security
- (2) Administration of Justice
- (3) Voting and Citizenship Participation
- (4) Health and Welfare
- (5) The Family: Resources for Change
- (6) Housing and Neighborhood
- (7) The Community: Institutions and Social Action
- (8) Education

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BE - 2

Nov 27, 1965

~~EXECUTIVE~~
HU 21
HU 2-1
HU 2-1111
SP 3-93
FG 655
FG 125

Checked by [unclear]

Dear Frank:

I appreciate the generosity of your remarks about my talk to the civil rights planning group.

I attempted to say in that talk that it was precisely because the Negro's problems are so complex that this conference was necessary; if we had the answers to his problems the time and effort of those present could be more efficiently used elsewhere. For we are dealing with lives that have been deprived and denied in almost every aspect of human endeavor, from citizenship to housing to employment to education.

At Howard University I tried to spell this out at greater length. At the White House on August 20th I spoke directly about the need to increase job opportunities. I am enclosing copies of both talks.

If anyone entertains doubts about my commitment to equal job opportunities, I cannot imagine who he would be. He must have been elsewhere than in America during the past several years, during which I served as chairman of a massive Federal effort to secure those opportunities in every major business concern. He must have been absent from the struggle in Congress during 1964, when the Civil Rights Act was passed. He must have been without newspapers and radio and television during the past 24 months. If such a person exists, I shall do everything in my power to make my commitment clear to him in coming years. In that effort I will need the support and the 12-hour-day effort of every agency of the government concerned with securing equal access to employment for every American regardless of his race or nationality.

Sincerely,

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1965
GENERAL FILES

Encls - 1. Brochure "Remarks of the President at Howard Univ., Jun 4, 1965
LBJ/HCM/crm 2. Aug 20 News Release - Remarks of Pres at W. H. Conf on Equal Employment Opportunities

11/29/65
H.C.M.
11/29/65

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1965
Monday - 4:40 p.m.

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Re Franklin Roosevelt's letter to you regretting that no mention was made, in your civil rights conference speech, of equal job opportunities, I am told that Roosevelt did not attend any of the conference sessions (although a major panel was devoted to jobs). By contrast Nick, Ramsey and John Doar spent the better part of both days participating in the meetings.



Harry C. McPherson, Jr.



EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D C 20506

November 18, 1965

Harry McPherson:

Prepare a letter answering this.

LBJ/mf
11-20-65
9:45a


The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your speech at the White House reception last Tuesday was an eloquent and timely reminder to us all of the enormous tasks which remain to be accomplished in the struggle for equality and justice for our Negro fellow citizens and of your determination to get them done.

It cannot too often be emphasized how intertwined are the problems of discrimination in education, in housing, in employment, and in the administration of justice. We in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission know full well that our efforts cannot yield truly significant results unless comparable successes are achieved also in the other programs to which your Administration is committed. Similarly, equal employment opportunity is indispensable to the practical success of these programs.

We know you share our view that job opportunity deserves no less prominence on the national civil rights agenda, although it was not mentioned Tuesday evening. We hope, therefore, that you may find an early occasion to stress the equal employment opportunity program and to lend your persuasive voice to our efforts to increase the effectiveness of our program. Your commanding influence can help us achieve the increased enforcement powers and funds which we promise will bring more affirmative action and results.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman

8/12/1

EXECUTIVE

7142/HC (1)
305
Abram letter 11/24/65
sent to following w/cover
letter on 12/3/65:

December 3, 1965

James Farmer
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Dear Morris:

The President was very pleased
by your letter of November 24
and, in fact, asked that it be sent
to civil rights leaders. I have
done so.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind,
Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1965
CENTRAL FILES

See...

Lee White:

Photostat that and send that to each one of the
civil rights leaders -- thanking them for
their contribution to the conference.

LBJ/mf
11-28-65
11:00p

December 3, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President
from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of
the Planning session of the Civil Rights Conference,
which the President thought you would be interested
in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various
panels are in the process of completion and should
be ready within the next week or ten days. They
will, of course, reach the President as soon as pos-
sible. In the meantime, he has had a general report
on the work of the Conference and has asked me to
convey his appreciation for your cooperation and
contribution to the work of the Planning Session and
that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Road
New York, New York

Encl.

Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

RECEIVED

NOV 24 1965

11 24 65

December 3, 1965

Dear Dorothy:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of the Planning Session of the Civil Rights Conference, which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various panels are in the process of completion and should be ready within the next week or ten days. They will, of course, reach the President as soon as possible. In the meantime, he has had a general report on the work of the Conference and has asked me to convey his appreciation for your cooperation and contribution to the work of the Planning Session and that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Miss Dorothy I. Height
President
The National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Encl.

Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

December 3, 1965

Dear Reverend King:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of the Planning Session of the Civil Rights Conference, which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various panels are in the process of completion and should be ready within the next week or ten days. They will, of course, reach the President as soon as possible. In the meantime, he has had a general report on the work of the Conference and has asked me to convey his appreciation for your cooperation and contribution to the work of the Planning Session and that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Encl. Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

December 3, 1965

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of the Planning Session of the Civil Rights Conference, which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various panels are in the process of completion and should be ready within the next week or ten days. They will, of course, reach the President as soon as possible. In the meantime, he has had a general report on the work of the Conference and has asked me to convey his appreciation for your cooperation and contribution to the work of the Planning Session and that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. John Lewis
Executive Director
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
135 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Encl. Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

December 3, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Encl. Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

12/3/65

December 3, 1965

Dear Roy:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of the Planning Session of the Civil Rights Conference, which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various panels are in the process of completion and should be ready within the next week or ten days. They will, of course, reach the President as soon as possible. In the meantime, he has had a general report on the work of the Conference and has asked me to convey his appreciation for your cooperation and contribution to the work of the Planning Session and that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Encl. Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

December 3, 1965

Dear Whitney:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to the President from Morris Abram, one of the Co-chairmen of the Planning Session of the Civil Rights Conference, which the President thought you would be interested in reading.

The detailed summaries of the work of the various panels are in the process of completion and should be ready within the next week or ten days. They will, of course, reach the President as soon as possible. In the meantime, he has had a general report on the work of the Conference and has asked me to convey his appreciation for your cooperation and contribution to the work of the Planning Session and that of your organization.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League, Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Encl. Ltr to Pres., 11/24/65, from Morris Abram

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

MURRAY HILL 8-5600

CABLE LONGSIGHT, N. Y.

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1945-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)

November 24, 1965

SIMON H. RIFKIND
ROBERT E. SAMUELS
JOHN F. WHARTON
LLOYD K. GARRISON
MYER D. MERMIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
H. RUSSELL WINGOKUR
ALEXANDER HEHMEYER
ADRIAN W. DEWIND
MORRIS B. ABRAM
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
PAUL J. NEWLON
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
JAMES B. LEWIS
SIDNEY R. NUSSENFELD
MARTIN KLEINBARD
RICHARD H. PAUL
NORMAN ZELENKO
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JAY H. TOPKIS
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY JR.
JOHN C. TAYLOR 3RD
BERNARD H. GREENE
ERNEST RUBENSTEIN
ALLAN B. ECKER
ALAN N. COHEN
JAMES L. PURCELL
ARTHUR KALISH
DAVID T. WASHBURN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN

President Lyndon B. Johnson
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Now that the White House Planning Conference is concluded and before the preliminary report from the Chairmen, I should like to tell you of our immense indebtedness to your staff, and particularly to Lee White, Harry McPherson, Joseph Califano and Cliff Alexander. As you know, there were anxious moments during the planning of the first session, but just today I have spoken to one of the principal civil rights leaders who summed up his views of the conference as follows. It was a tremendous success at three levels: 1) the President said through the conference to discouraged Negroes "I have you and your problems very much in my mind." 2) There was a fruitful exchange of ideas amongst leaders and thinkers in the civil rights movement, some of whom had never met together, and 3) the conference focused very decidedly on the overriding issues of economic dependency as a very large component of the problem you outlined in your speech at Howard University.

The contribution of your staff to the circumstances which underlie this evaluation cannot be overestimated. They gave the conference leadership, time, wise advice, and wholehearted commitment. As a matter of fact a meeting which they planned in the Treaty Room on Saturday, November 13, was a turning point in the conference. They planned with great care and gave endless thought to the objectives of that meeting with Civil Rights Leadership. I know that all the Chairmen would join in this evaluation in the contribution of your staff.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

- 2 -

I would also state that your reception at the White House on November 16 and your speech there containing important substance and so persuasively delivered were of the utmost value in setting the mood and tone of the conference. As an American and a former Southerner I was very proud of what you said.

The Conference will have its critics. It is very difficult to match sensible practical achievable programs to fit the degree of urgency as some express it. And the facts are that the legacy of hundreds of years cannot be wiped out overnight. However, your Administration is clearly committed and effectively working towards the fulfillment of these American goals.

Sincerely,


Morris B. Abram

MJB:rg

EXECUTIVE

HL 2/11

LAW OFFICES
VERNER, LIIPFERT AND BERNHARD

SUITE 1035
UNIVERSAL BUILDING NORTH
1875 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20009

JAMES M VERNER
EUGENE T LIIPFERT
BERL I BERNHARD
RONALD B NATALIE

CABLE ADDRESS
VERLIP

TELEPHONE 265-1070

December 6, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your comments about my efforts with the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" afford me the opportunity to say what I have held close for a long time. For a number of years I have been talking about the indispensable need for determined moral leadership at the highest levels of our nation if we are to move toward solutions in our troubled relations between the races. This you have provided, with sensitivity, with understanding, with breadth of vision and with out-and-out courage. You have engaged yourself in the racial turmoil not as a firefighter but as a bellwether. I am satisfied that history will record the capacity and willingness of your Administration to face this crisis realistically as the overriding explanation of why the country did not tear itself apart.

The Planning Session and the White House Conference itself bespeak courage. They are, as you will know, fraught with danger. Ideas ahead of their time generate controversy. The stakes in this area of social concern are even higher now because there is so much frustration in finding viable solutions. Your decision to assure that the broadest spectrum of views be present was right but made the sessions difficult to contain. Yet, your decision took accurate measure of this moment in history. New ideas do not emerge unless new people with different approaches are inserted into the swirl of present thought. Whitney Young's wife told me during the Session how pleased she was not to know fifty percent of the people present.

- 2 -

Your statement at the White House reception was more than eloquent. It set a vibrant climate for later discussion and demonstrated once again your sensitivity, but more, your resolute conviction to lead through action.

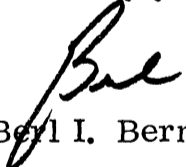
As the initial reports are completed a new period of national debate will begin. I believe it will be more meaningful and true to actual need as opposed to reliance on shibboleths whose time has passed. There will be static and disagreement but some of this is now required if the past is not to befog the future.

Mr. President, when I was asked to lead what some of my colleagues called "Picketts Charge", I was most concerned about White House support. I should have known better. Lee White, Cliff Alexander, Harry McPherson and Joe Califano were responsive, available and their counsel was invaluable.

Once again, I thank you for your commitment, your leadership and your support.

With the greatest respect,

Sincerely yours,


Beryl I. Bernhard

PM

(1)

EXECUTIVE (2)
HU 2/11C
PR 1

Dec. 4, 1965

Dear Berl:

I want you to know how much I appreciate the extraordinarily fine job you and your associates did in putting together the civil rights planning session.

You worked under tremendous pressure and against an extremely short deadline. That the session was a success is a tribute to your good judgment, hard work and dedication. This was a service to your country and your President for which I am deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Attorney at Law
Verner, Lipfert and Bernhard Law Firm
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

LBJ/HCM/crm

DEC 7 1965
CENTRAL FILES

W. A. R. S. -

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE
HU2/MC

December 9, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOE CALIFANO

This is from Cliff Alexander and is worth serious attention. I tend to agree with it.

Hm

Harry C. McPherson, Jr.

Attachment

*Tri - 11/11/65
McPherson - Alexander
see to it
MS white
work in 7-1*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: The Spring Conference

Now that the Planning Session has been completed and preliminary reports have been transmitted to the White House, urgent attention must be given to the development of a format for the Spring Conference. One of the basic goals of this Conference, if we are to achieve what the President has outlined in his Howard University speech, is the inclusion of a significant majority of this nation in the battle for equal opportunities and rights.

The Planning Session was billed as a brainstorming meeting, and we achieved this end. It did not pretend to "reach" middle class white America that has been for so long removed from civil rights concerns.

In order to stir the imagination of this nation, it would seem that we must somehow focus the attention of the nation on the problems that we will deal with at our Spring Conference. One device to achieve this end might be to substitute for two Co-Chairmen a Board of Directors, chosen principally from the best known industrial leaders throughout the nation.

This Board of Directors, to cite some examples, might be composed of three or four heads of the very largest corporations in America, the head of the American Legion, two state governors, the head of the AFL-CIO, *IN ADDITION TO CERTAIN CIVIL RIGHTS SPOKESMEN.*

The formation of this type of Board would clearly indicate to white America that the problems of closing the gap between white and Negro Americans are not solely the concern of a handful of civil rights leaders and the government. Instead, it is the personal concern of those who are most prestigious and successful in the society. This Board of Directors would be appointed by the President and would be assigned certain tasks relating to the Spring Conference. The President might ask the group to:

- (1) Tell him what private enterprise could do to assist in providing jobs for the presently unemployable;

(2) Have service organizations develop for him a blueprint of how individual communities can sit down to resolve their problems, independent of government agencies;

(3) Gather a staff of competent people (as their representatives) to plan the conference and work with those who have been so deeply involved in civil rights.

This Board of Directors should be more than a perfunctory advisory group. Some form of participation on their part would be proof to white America that the concerns of the Negro not only permeates the highest levels of government, but also the highest levels of our capitalistic structure.

The President might test the feasibility of such an idea by calling together those who would be potential members for this Board of Directors and ask them to submit to him within two weeks how they would go about creating jobs for the unskilled, develop a community dialogue on civil rights problems, or urge local governments to assume the initiative in race relations.

If this exercise were fruitful and in fact those who lunched with the President developed and submitted ideas to him, the President might then ask them to serve as a Board of Directors for the Spring conference.

Perhaps the greatest hazard facing the Spring Conference is that it will fail to reach the people in our nation who have not thoughtfully considered the importance of equal treatment. If the Spring Conference is directed by the same group that has so valiantly sustained the dialogue for so many years, then all that we may achieve are a series of recommendations to an incomplete audience, predominated by the Federal Government. It is naive to assume today that the Federal Government, as massive as it is, is in a position to solve the problems that have defied solution for 100 years and more.

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 10, 1965

EXECUTIVE (2)

11/13/65
FOLIO

(P)

FOR BILL MOYERS

Two impressions about Dick Scammon's call:

1) I challenge his statement that the conference was loaded with anti-LBJ intellectuals. There were some neurotic and demagogic "intellectuals" whose stock in trade is opposition to the Establishment, but they were a minority. The attached list shows there was a better spread than Scammon describes.

2) Trying to dominate the conference with talk of our successes would have backfired. First, the conference was called because despite our successes the Negro remains in the ghetto, deprived and unready for a full share in the society. Second, the more militant crowd would have raised a cry about "brainwashing" and "Uncle Toms" that would have seriously undermined confidence in the Negro leadership.

What happened was that a crowd of people on the outside of power, many of whom had never met each other, blew off steam and proposed a few intelligent programs, and many foolish ones. Because of (not in spite of) recent and successful Federal action in the field, they look to the Federal government for all the new answers. That can be turned around in Spring, though not much.

Hm

Harry C. McPherson, Jr.

Attachments

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1965
CENTRAL FILES

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1965

*To: Doug Cater
Joe Califano
Lee White
Harry McPherson*

TO : Bill Moyers

FROM: Hayes Redmon

Dick Scammon called me to make a point, I think, of great good sense. He was an observer at both the WH Conferences on Civil Rights and ICY. He said that whoever is picking the participants for these conferences is relying far too much on the "intellectual establishment"-- a loosely defined, egocentric group who are 90% anti-administration and anti-LBJ, and each of whom is only pro-himself.

Scammon said it is just as easy to pick intellectuals who are pro-LBJ and pro-administration. As it is now, the picture presented is one of bright, bushy-tailed thinkers belaboring a tired old administration. It gives "every enemy of LBJ a big chance to blow his own horn," with the rebuttal coming only from the administration. He doesn't advocate turning such conferences into mere sounding boards for government policy but thinks some private sector people are needed who will stand up and say, "Look this is a bunch of hogwash. We've done more in the last 2 years than was done in the previous 20, etc."

I couldn't agree more.

Rec'd ✓

EXECUTIVE
Huz/MC

December 15, 1965

Dear Mrs. Knopp:

On behalf of all of us who were involved in the Planning Session held November 17 and 18, I want to express to you our warmest thanks for the help which Miss Fairfax was able to give to the section on education.

You know of the severe time limitations in making thoughtful background preparation available to the participants, and in shaping the agenda for discussion. Miss Fairfax's role in this area was an invaluable one, and the experience and creative ideas which she was able to bring to bear played a vital part in the success of the meetings.

We are more than grateful to you for allowing us to call upon her so extensively.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mrs. Honey Knopp,
Executive Director
X American Friends Service
Committee
20 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

Re addressed 1/6/66
2 West 20th Street
New York, N.Y.

W-2'

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/MC

FG 170

December 15, 1965

Dear Bob:

On behalf of all of us who were involved in the Planning Session held November 17 and 18, I want to express to you our warmest thanks for the help which Mr. George Nesbitt was able to give to the section on Housing and the Neighborhood.

(W.H. Conf)
"Jo. Fullall"
"Share Rights"

You know of the severe time limitations in making thoughtful background preparation available to the participants, and in shaping the agenda for discussion. Mr. Nesbitt's role in this area was an invaluable one, and the experience and creative ideas which he was able to bring to bear played a vital part in the success of the meetings.

We are more than grateful to you for allowing us to call upon him so extensively.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Hon Robert Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency
1626 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

mc/v

①

EXECUTIVE
H42/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Long:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on The Community at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Herman^x Long
President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mc/V

EXECUTIVE
Hill/MC ①

December 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Hill:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the Family: Resources for Change Panel of the recent planning session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but as always, the creativity of your ideas and the depth of your dedication made it possible for you to do the very best kind of work.

We count on your continued guidance and counsel as we move on to the Spring Conference.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Adelaide Hill
Assistant Professor of
Sociology
x Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

mac/ ✓

①

EXCERPTIVE
HU 2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Clark:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the education section of the recent planning session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but as always, the creativity of your ideas and the depth of your dedication made it possible for you to do the very best kind of work.

We count on your continued guidance and counsel as we move on to the Spring Conference.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Professor of Psychology
City College of New York
New York City, New York

12/16/65

2/2/1 ✓

①

EXHIBITIVE
Hu 2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Dixon:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Education at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Dixon
President
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

ms/✓

EXECUTIVE
H42/MC

①

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Dumpson:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Health and Welfare at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Dumpson
Professor of Social Work
* Hunter College
New York, New York

met ✓

①

EXECUTIVE
Huz/Mc

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Hammer:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction, you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Philip Hammer
XHammer, Greene & Siler Assoc.
1413 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

ms/ ✓

①

EXECUTIVE
HUZ/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Dick:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Voting and Citizenship Participation at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction, you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Richard Scammon
Governmental Affairs Institute
1726 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

BROUGHT FORWARD

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/MC 12/16/65
 Previously filed / Date

NAME Whitney M. Young Jr.
 ORGANIZATION Natl. Urban League
 N. Y. for Mr. White.

EXECUTIVE

HU 2/MC 1/11/66
 New File Symbol / Date

FINAL ACTION Let Mr. White
 from Mr. Young, Unack'd.

Mad/ ✓

①

EXECUTIVE
Hu2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Duhi:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on The Family at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Leonard Duhi
National Institutes of Mental Health
Bethesda, Maryland

mc/

2

EXECUTIVE
4/22/11c

December 16, 1965

Dear Roy:

On behalf of all of us who were involved in the Planning Session held November 17 and 18, I want to express to you our warmest thanks for the help which Miss Shagaloff was able to give to the education section.

(Miss Shagaloff)
"Go Fulfill"
"Good Night"

You know of the severe time limitations in making thoughtful background preparation available to the participants, and in shaping the agenda for discussion. Miss Shagaloff's role in this area was an invaluable one, and the experience and creative ideas which she was able to bring to bear played a vital part in the success of the meetings.

We are more than grateful to you for allowing us to call upon her so extensively.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
* N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

BROUGHT FORWARD

EXECUTIVE

HU2/MC 12/16/65
Previously filed Date

NAME Frank Horne, Jr.
ORGANIZATION Lee C. White

EXECUTIVE

HU2/MC 12/30/65
New File Symbol Date

FINAL ACTION Ltr to Mr. White
for Mr. Horne, unack'd.

mcj

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/112
FG 655

①

December 16, 1965

Dear Franklin:

On behalf of all of us who were involved in the Planning Session held November 17 and 18, I want to express to you our warmest thanks for the help which Mr. Benjamin Segal was able to give to the section on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security.

(W.H. Conf.
to Fulfill
the Right)

You know of the severe time limitations in making thoughtful background preparation available to the participants, and in shaping the agenda for discussion. Mr. Segal's role in this area was an invaluable one, and the experience and creative ideas which he was able to bring to bear played a vital part in the success of the meetings.

We are more than grateful to you for allowing us to call upon him so extensively.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman, Commission on Equal
Employment Opportunity
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Rec'd ✓

①

EXECUTIVE
H42/MC

①

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Coleman:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Voting and Citizenship Participation at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Clarence Coleman
National Urban League
78 Marietta St., N.W., Suite 417
Atlanta, Georgia

BROUGHT FORWARD

EXECUTIVE
HU2/MC 12/16/65
Previously filed Date

NAME Lisle Carter

ORGANIZATION DEO
fm Lee White

EXECUTIVE
HU2/MC 1/4/66
New File Symbol Date

FINAL ACTION Ltr to Lee White
fm Mr. Carter. Unack'd.

mail ✓

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Dr. Nabrit:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Education at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Samuel M. Nabrit
President
x Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Rec'd 1

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/ME

FG 245-4

December 16, 1965

Dear Bill:

On behalf of the President, I want to extend our gratitude to you for making the services of Robert Greene available to the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

In a very short period of time Mr. Greene was able to bring a wide range of knowledge and experience to bear on problems relating to housing and neighborhood planning, and made a most constructive contribution to the preparation of the agenda for this discussion.

With our thanks for your cooperation in enabling him to join with the Planning Session staff,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. William L. Slayton
Commissioner
Urban Renewal Administration
811 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

WE
HU 2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Mrs. Motley:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on The Family at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights. "

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mrs. Constance Motley
President X
Borough of Manhattan
875 West End Avenue
New York, New York

mc

EXECUTIVE
HU2/MC

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Jobs, Job Training and Economic Security at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction, you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

*WHEELER
Mr. John Wheeler
Farmers & Mechanics Bank
Durham, North Carolina

December 16, 1965

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/MC
FG 155

Dear Mr. Levine:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the program section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but as always, the creativity of your ideas and the depth of your dedication made it possible for you to do the very best kind of work.

We count on your continued guidance and counsel as we move on to the Spring Conference.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Bertram Levine
Community Relations Service
Department of Commerce
14th St. Bet. Constitution Ave.
Washington, D. C.

new

December 20, 1965

Dear Ed:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the public affairs section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Edward Moss
White House Conference,
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

December 20, 1965

RECEIVED

1/11/66

Dear Ed:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the public relations of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Edward Bayley
Vice President
NET
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York

LCW
~~CLW~~: smm

H 22 / MC

December 20, 1965

Dear Julia:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the arrangements section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Miss Julia Cellini
White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CLCW:emc

December 20, 1965

Dear Ginna:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mrs. Ginna Frank
Southern Regional Council
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

Mc/v

①

December 20, 1965

EXHIBITIVE

Dear Mr. Booker:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the public affairs section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Booker
Political Editor
New York-Amsterdam News
2340 8th Avenue X
New York, New York

LCW:smm

100/4
December 20, 1965

EXHIBITIVE
HU2/MC
①

Dear Dr. Henderson:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the jobs, job training and economic security section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

LCW:smm

mc

EXECUTIVE
Hu 2/MC-

December 21, 1965

Dear Mr. Schermer:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the housing and neighborhood section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. George Schermer
Human Relations Consultant
210 A Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

mc

December 21, 1965

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/11c

Dear Mr. McCaw:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the budget section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
White House Conference,
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

mc

EXECUTIVE
HU & MC

December 21, 1965

Dear Joan:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mrs. Joan Thornell
White House Conference,
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

Inc

December 21, 1965

EXECUTIVE
HUZ/MC

Dear Mr. Gardner:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the procurement section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Larry Gardner
White House Conference,
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

4/10/1

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/UC

December 21, 1965

Dear Arnold:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the justice section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Arnold Trebach
Human Rights Program Center
for Youth and Community Studies
Howard University
2400 6th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

LCW:smm

ncf
December 21, 1965

EXECUTIVE
HUZ/MC ①

Dear Dr. Lewis:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the family section of the recent Planning Session of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Professor of Sociology
Howard University
2400 6th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

CLA:smm

med

EXECUTIVE

H4 2/ MC

①

December 21, 1965

Dear Dr. Danzig:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the community section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights".

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but, as always, your ingenuity and dedication, helped turn out a first-rate job.

Best regards and have a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Dr. David Danzig
Professor of Social Work
Columbia University School of
Social Work
X Columbia University
New York, New York

LCW
xGib:smm

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA 19104

EXECUTIVE
Huzme

The Law School

December 21, 1965

Mr. Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. White:

I am grateful for your letter of December 16, acknowledging my part in the preparatory work for the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." The work I did was little but my pleasure in it was great. I think I have already indicated to Carl Holman that, if I can be of any future use in connection with the Spring Conference, he has only to call me.

Sincerely,

Anthony G. Amsterdam
Anthony G. Amsterdam

AGA:mh

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1966
CENTRAL FILE

3/10/65 ✓

EXECUTIVE
HU2/ME

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Amsterdam:

On behalf of the President, I want to tell you how deeply grateful all of us are for the splendid preparation and leadership you gave to the justice section of the recent Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The time limitations of the assignment made it a difficult one to accomplish, but as always, the creativity of your ideas and the depth of your dedication made it possible for you to do the very best kind of work.

We count on your continued guidance and counsel as we move on to the Spring Conference.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Anthony G. Amsterdam
Professor of Law
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DL
030

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT

December 21, 1965

CHAMBERS OF
JUDGE HASTIE

EXECUTIVE
HU 2/ME

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19107

Dear Mr. White:

I am grateful to The President and to you for the message you have conveyed to me concerning my participation in the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Sincerely yours,

Thomas M. Hastings

Mr. Lee C. White,
Special Counsel to the President
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1966
CENTRAL FILES

①

11/2/65

December 16, 1965

Dear Judge Hastie:

The President has asked me to convey to you his gratitude for the constructive and stimulating effort you put into chairing the panel on Administration of Justice at the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

The range of subject matter with which you were able to deal effectively for the two-day discussion, as well as the sensible and compelling direction you gave to the discussion were in large measure responsible for the fine results of the meetings.

You have made a very important contribution to the national goal of achieving a society of which all Americans can be proud.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Judge William Hastie
U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals
Third Circuit
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



Herbert B. Evans, CHAIRMAN
Walter S. Fried, VICE-CHAIRMAN
Samuel Ratensky, COMMISSIONER
Samuel Brooks, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

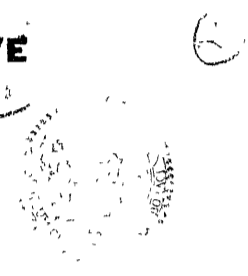
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Housing and Redevelopment Board

2 LAFAYETTE STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y. · 10007 · TELEPHONE 566-6565

EXECUTIVE

HU-1/112



December 30, 1965

File

Honorable Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

In response to your kind letter of December 16th, I should like to say that I appreciate the expressed approval by the White House for our efforts in chairing the panel on Housing and the Neighborhood at the Planning Session of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights".

I have received a copy of the primary report from the panel with a covering memorandum from A. Philip Randolph, Morris Abrams and William Coleman. As requested, I have responded to this primary report in a letter to Berl Bernhard, a copy of which is attached for your information.

I would appreciate it if you would be kind enough, if and when you have the opportunity, to extend my kindest regards to the President. He would not necessarily recall me except as assistant to Mary McLeod Bethune when we all served in the National Youth Administration together.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK S. HORNE
Consultant on Human Relations

FSH:de
Enclosure

566-6565

December 30, 1965

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard, Executive Director
Planning Session for The White House
Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

Thank you for the copy of the preliminary report on proposals by the panel on Housing and the Neighborhood of the Planning Session for The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". I would certainly say that you and George Scherner and your associates have done a workmanlike job in summarizing the discussions of our panel. According to my notes, you have certainly included, with reasonable classification, the major programs and proposals discussed in our panel. As the Chairman of Record, I would have at this time only one suggestion--more of emphasis than of content.

One aspect that I note and that I myself stressed was a sense of urgency. The riots like Watts were symptoms, the disease is social decay. The "social dynamite" fuses are already alight and the younger leadership is not inclined to wait on long-range plans. While it was noted in the discussions that civil rights leadership seems to have skirted around the edges of the housing problem, the fact may be that they realize the fundamental difficulties are deeper than housing alone can reach.

All I am saying, specifically, is that section II B, Immediate Goals, on page 5, stands on the same level and cannot really be separated, when it comes to emphasis, from item 1., Executive Leadership, on page 6.

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard

-2-

December 30, 1965

In other words, my basic impression of the several discussions is a need for immediate, wholesale attack upon the racial ghetto--a two-pronged attack aimed at once at (1) improving the housing and total living conditions of the people in ghetto areas and (2) at the same time, taking the positive actions needed to open up the full housing supply all over town to occupancy by nonwhite families. To set the "tone" and leadership for opening up the total housing supply would call for the new, broad Executive Order, specific instructions to agencies to implement it, provision of an adequate policing agency, utilization of a species of "flying task force" (using such people as George Nesbitt, Larry Duncan, etc.) to identify positive government resources already at hand, White House conferences with the real estate and financing trade.

In regard to the second prong of the attack, the discussions revealed appreciation that housing may not even be the primary tool. Some of the weapons seemed to be inherent in some of the anti-poverty programs. Herein it is already evident that the President's own experience with the use of such personnel as home demonstration agents, farming demonstration agents and Jeanes supervisors as used in rural and farm programs would have their counterparts in the urban ghetto. As to immediacy, there was considerable opinion that would support the need of something like Phil Randolph's highly publicized "freedom budget" to provide for activities comparable to the old WPA, PWA, NYA, etc., of which the President himself was one of the chief architects.

Naturally, my effort is to transmit in shorthand a feeling derived from the panel discussions and many other detailed discussions with individual members of the panel and organizations which many of them represent. They all, in addition, recognize that the real need is big money on the one hand and big leadership by the national government on the other. I am conscious, naturally, that what I am saying represents views of my own which have been generated and buttressed by discussions in the panel and others referred to.

I want merely to thank you for the privilege of chairing this panel and reassure you of my desire to offer full cooperation with The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights".

Sincerely yours,

FRANK S. HORNE
Consultant on Human Rights