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Box 80, Folder 11, Civil rights, 1964.

EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE

INC.



914 YOnkers 8-2400

733 YONKERS AVENUE • YONKERS, NEW YORK

August 12, 1964.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Marc:

It was certainly good to hear from you and I thank you for your warm welcome to the New York area. I have been especially gratified to note that there is a great similarity in our work and present thrust.

I am very anxious to meet with you as soon as possible. We would like very much to have you visit us here at Educational Heritage. Mr. Noel Marder and Miss Rita McClain, our two top executives in the firm, are anxious to meet with you. This will provide an opportunity for you to see, first hand, what we are doing and it may be that there are some definite programs in which we could be of great reciprocal help in this tense period of our nation.

Enclosed are several pages from our introductory material that should be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Wyatt Tee Walker
Vice President
Marketing & Services

WTW:p

PUBLISHERS OF

The Negro Heritage Library



Announcing

a Publication of Significant Importance...



THE NEGRO HERITAGE LIBRARY

*the first Home Reference Library of
the Negro's Contribution to History and Culture!*

Here at last, in one exciting source, is the major saga of the Negro . . . his accomplishments, his dreams, his future . . . all in THE NEGRO HERITAGE LIBRARY, to be published soon, written in simple everyday language.

"The idea of the Negro Heritage Library is a tremendous one. I can think of no venture in the world of ideas that is going to be more critical to the Negro community. In a real sense it is the next frontier in our struggle."
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Glory Hallelujah! It's about time we took a good look at a great heritage."
Langston Hughes

"The Negro Heritage Library will make readily available, to both Negro and White readers, the facts needed to set the record straight. It should be a continuing source of enlightenment and inspiration to people."
Roy Wilkins

"I am pleased to know of the development of the Negro Heritage Library. It is eminently important that the Negro direct his attention to the realm of ideas, the book, and the mind, for it is here alone that he will find the creative resources to consolidate gains of the Civil Rights Revolution."
A. Philip Randolph

The first eight volumes will be available soon and additional 12 volumes will be released as soon as they are off the press. Here are writings, photos and documents of the Negro's past and present. SEND FOR YOUR FREE BROCHURE TODAY. ABSOLUTELY NO OBLIGATION! See coupon....



Dept. _____

**Negro Heritage Library
Educational Heritage, Inc.**
733 Yonkers Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Attn: Wyatt Tee Walker

Please send me my free copy of the full color brochure describing the Negro Heritage Library. I understand that this does not obligate me in any way.

NAME MR. MRS. MISS

ADDRESS _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

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EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE

INC.

914 YOnkers 8-2400



733 YONKERS AVENUE • YONKERS, NEW YORK

FOREWORD

We are happy to have the opportunity to introduce to you our Negro Heritage Library concept. As you are well aware, the Negro community has suffered a "cultural black-out"—the intentional and premeditated exclusion of the significant and critical contribution of the Negro to the American experience.

Despite the plethora of books and other publications on the tidal wave of Negro insistence on equal opportunity, little attention, if any, has been directed towards literary programs geared to re-orientation of the Negro's own motivation. Except in a manner that further imbeds an unfavorable stereotype, American history books have traditionally avoided the true role of Negroes.

In this sense, our nation's written history has been a "lie believed." It has impoverished the total cultural record, stripping it bare of a great saga of a whole people, depriving them of the accurate self-assessment needed for pride of heritage. This "big lie" of American history, whether deliberate or not, results in this tragic "cultural black-out" for one-tenth and indeed, all of America.

The fact that this "cultural black-out" worsens with time poses a formidable challenge to national leadership and to those involved in education and publishing of the written word. Who is at fault, and what are the details of this void in our leadership responsibilities? How has the Negro race been victimized? What must be done?

The idea of the Negro Heritage Library was conceived five years ago by the President of Educational Heritage, Inc., Noel N. Marder. For the last three years, Mr. Marder has progressively focused the energies and resources of Educational Heritage toward the development of the Negro Heritage Library. The last thirty-six month period has produced the assembling of an able and committed staff, the contracting of editors for the proposed twenty-volume library, and thorough research to insure a grouping that will meet the test of historical and literary criteria as well as the most recent technical processes in form and design of the publishing industry. We expect to market the first eight volumes of Negro Heritage in early September.

We do not imply that others have not been aware of this problem, and that nothing at all has been done about it. The Negro press, the Negro church, historical associations and our schools, have done a monumental job over the years. The Negro newspapers, in particular, have kept alive the idea of pride of heritage since their founding in 1827. Our role, for example, in the military history of America would have gone virtually unsung had our own stalwart editors and publishers not kept hammering away.

Would you allow us just a few moments of your time to explore the "idea-content" of this venture which at the moment represents an outlay of nearly \$4,000,000.00? An enterprise of this scope and magnitude requires far more than the normal channels of marketing and distribution to gain maximum impact. Your strategic role in the life of the contemporary Negro and our larger American experience makes it imperative that we make clear precisely what we are doing.

WHAT IS THE NEGRO HERITAGE LIBRARY?

The Negro Heritage Library itself seems at the moment to be the only finger-tip repository that is being developed that will contain documented facts on and concerning the Negro that promises to bridge the entire spectrum of his experience in America. Somewhere along the way, it will embrace an historical analysis of the root-lines that can be traced to his aboriginal home — Africa.

Unfortunately, the contribution of the Negro to American life has generally been ignored. He has existed in a sense as a sub-culture in America, going through the motions of being a part of Western civilization but somehow completely escaping (in his own consciousness primarily) a real historical context. This isolation has been intensified and entrenched by the system of segregation and discrimination, thereby keeping him almost totally on the fringe of the American experience. Yet, by individual excellence chiefly, he has doggedly refused to allow this isolation to submerge him. What the Negro really means to America has been missed or overlooked or ignored by the national community. The absence of any actual record of his movements, and his minimal participation in the American saga in our history texts, has all but convinced the Negro himself that he does not belong or that at best, he is a sociological parasite, reaping some life and benefit from the loins of this nation without giving anything substantive to his existence.

Of course, this is not true and the Negro Heritage Library will only document the complete falsity of the aforementioned and through the organized and codified written word, establish for America and for himself that he *has* been a noble participant in the experiment of this nation with democracy and that his culture *does* exist and is as thoroughly American in its content as any of the emigrés whose family strains can be traced beyond the borders of these lands.

The Negro has played a significant role in the military history of our nation; he has been instrumental in making critical contributions to modern medicine; the exploits of the American Negro in the world of sports is legendary; his church life provided him with a faith that instilled in him the capacity of extreme resiliency in the face of unspeakable cruelties, physical and emotional; name whatever discipline you will, and the Negro has played his role in spite of his crippled opportunities.

This is the story that Negro Heritage will tell. It will be fact, not fiction, adventurous, but not romanticized, an ethnic record, but not nationalistic. It will be above all else, the epic of man in miniature reflecting the indomitability of the human spirit in the exciting struggle that sees it refuse again and again to be crushed ignominiously into extinction.

WHY A NEGRO HERITAGE LIBRARY?

There is no gainsaying that the Negro is the dominant figure on the American scene today. There was some intimation of this before Birmingham, but since Birmingham, the civil rights fortunes of the American Negro have been a continuing issue, claiming more copy, news-wise, than any other domestic concern. It does not appear at this moment that he is only "king for a day." Thus, the general American public desperately needs to know whence he has come *historically*, what motivates him *psychologically*, his behavior *politically* and the interplay of his presence *economically*. These and other aspects of the Negro American's culture will be chronicled and described both directly and indirectly.

There is not only the need for America generally to know about her dark-skinned children. The Negro needs to learn about himself to establish for his own greater fulfillment, a sense of historical context that we have already mentioned. He has been an island in the stream of American growth instead of a part of the main. What development he has found, has for the most part, been as a part of what has been aptly called, the American "sub-culture."

It appears that the Negro is here to stay. He is one of the critical minorities of our nation and in light of the world-wide thrust of the colored peoples of the world, what happens to the Negro is not only of great consequence to America domestically, but is of great import to our relationships internationally. If America is to maintain leadership in the Western world, a great deal will depend upon how soon we provide the kind of nation in which the Negro's total capacity has an opportunity to fulfill itself without the hampering and harrassment of artificial obstacles, whether they be by law or custom.

Ignorance is one of the basal causes of prejudice. If color and group prejudice are to be diminished, somehow, — and Negro Heritage is one of the answers — we must find a way to educate both Negro and white Americans by establishing the *American* heritage and culture of the Negro. It does *exist*, but through the lack (intentional) of documenting what our experience has been since 1620, other than that of the slave period, it has gone unnoticed and unrecorded.

The Negro Heritage Library seeks to do exactly that: to permanently establish the historical frame of reference of the American Negro in a single compendium grouping which will provide the individuals and the families of America with an immediate reference library geared to touch every facet of the Negro's actual role in the American experience. Indirectly, more minds and hearts will be reached through the written word than through any other medium. There is no way to anticipate the residual good that can be created as a part of the reservoir of thorough and well-documented evidence that the Negro is really a genuine *American!* The establishment of the historical record of the Negro in the codified form will greatly enhance the possibilities of the American dream being realized in our generation.



L.-R. RITA K. McCLAIN, Executive Vice-President, NOEL N. MARDER, President, Vice-Presidents: WYATT TEE WALKER, Marketing and Services, ALFRED E. CAIN, Editorial Director, OSWALD P. WHITE, Administration and Personnel.

HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE, INC.

The phenomenal growth of Educational Heritage, Inc. (formerly American Education Society) from a tiny cellar operation to what is now a viable multimillion dollar corporation is due largely to the energies of one man, its president Noel N. Marder.

In October of 1959 Noel Marder incorporated American Education Society, Inc. — a rather pompous name for a little company — with a total capitalization of three thousand borrowed dollars. The following fifteen months of the company's history were marked by Marder's struggle to divide his energies between the development of a successful sales organization and a correspondingly strong internal organization. He was ham-strung by the lack of capital with which to expand and tap what was as yet undeveloped potential. In February of 1961 the real growth of the company began with the marriage of genius with opportunity — the genius of Noel Marder and the opportunity provided by the financial capacity of Messrs. Bernard E. Singer and Irving J. Feder, who bought into the company and provided the capital and financial experience which it so badly needed.

At about this time Noel Marder began his association with the Negro leadership community, an association from which was born the concept of the Negro Heritage Library. Mr. Marder has always recognized one basic fact of successful merchandising; the product offered for sale will enjoy success proportionate to the genuine need of the prospective customer. There can be no question about the need in the Negro community for a product such as the Negro Heritage Library.

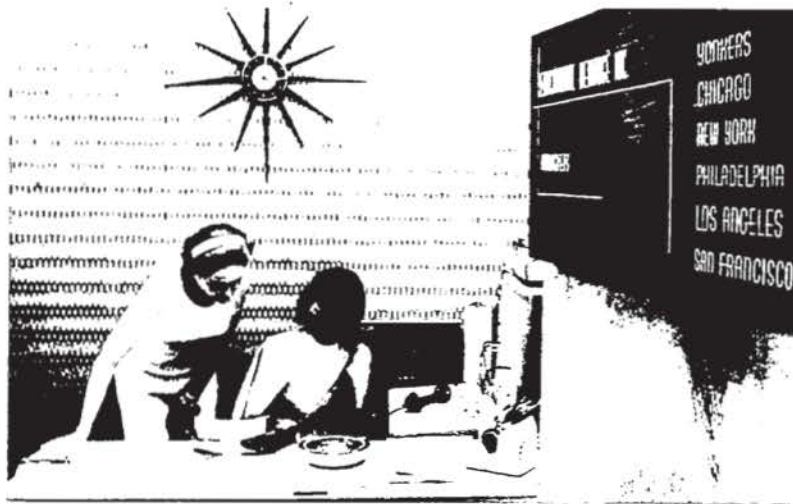
To justify the vast financial investment necessary for the Negro Heritage Library project, it has been necessary to impress investors with the fact that such a product will eventually dominate this highly specialized market and will, by its nature, develop its own exclusivity and make the considerable financial outlay less of a gamble.

But, at this time, the American Education Society was primarily a sales organization marketing the Universal World Reference Encyclopedia, a fine product but homogeneous as far as encyclopediae go. How then could the first entry to the "exclusive" market be achieved?

The answer was provided in large measure by the late Reverend Shelton E. Doles, pastor of the Grace Baptist Church in Mt. Vernon, New York. The Reverend Mr. Doles was the spiritual leader of a large Negro congregation and was constantly alert for new opportunities to augment the knowledge and increase the cultural awareness of his flock. He suggested to Noel Marder that American Education Society sell its books to members of his congregation on terms sufficiently liberal to enable the members to acquire them with a minimum of financial strain. The program was a success. Mr. Marder was deeply impressed by the keen interest in learning evinced by almost every member of the congregation. The success of the program was repeated in hundreds of churches across the country — adequate evidence that the Negro community was vitally interested in education and proof positive to Mr. Marder that it deserved the financial investment a Negro Heritage Library would require.

Noel Marder exploded the myth that Negroes "will not pay." The success of American Education Society was due in large measure to the many new and important techniques which they introduced into the encyclopedia industry enabling them to build a successful direct sales business on sound ethical principles. The program demonstrated that, when given the benefit of a good product, ethical selling methods and sound credit and collection procedures, the Negro community can and will pay.

Noel Marder now had the leverage he needed to move his organization in the direction that until now had been merely a personal dream. Back in the days when the



RECEPTION AREA



EDITORIAL STAFF

Negro was discussed as the "problem" rather than as a group of persons, Noel Marder had the idea that a full scale presentation on the Negro was a long overdue publishing item. The late Reverend Mr. Doles had shared with him his burning desire for a library of books which would fill the Negro community's hunger for such literature. Supply and demand had met and the Negro Heritage project was launched.

The Church-sponsored program required the close supervision of top management in every phase of its operation. It was necessary for a top executive to meet with every member of the clergy in whose church the program was launched, but Noel Marder was only one man. The problem was solved by the happy circumstance which brought Rita McClain into the top executive position which she so ably fills, with a happy blend of becoming grace and quiet efficiency. Today Rita McClain is one of the top experts in the country on consumer receivable paper.

The Church-sponsored program was subsequently abandoned in late 1962 when the increasing demands of the Negro Heritage project made it too expensive to expend executive time and talent in this very sensitive area. Since then the company has been maintaining its high volume performance essentially on a "cold canvas" basis.

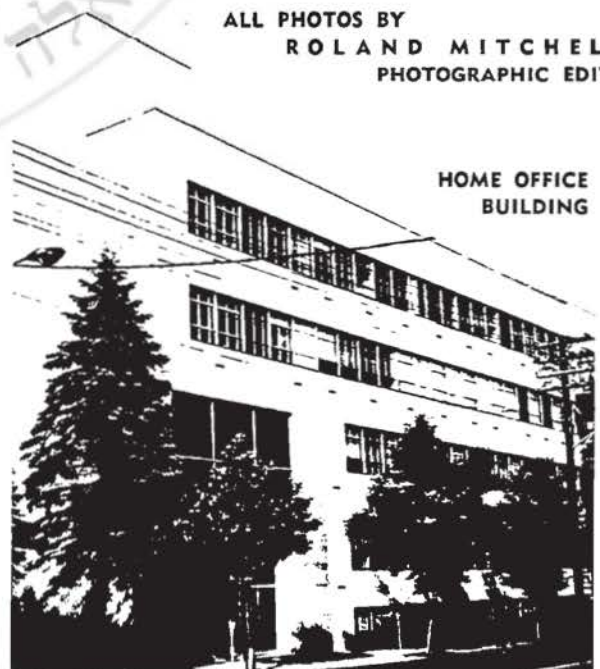
In November of 1962, stimulated by American Education Society success, new investors bought into the company providing the additional cash needed to put impetus behind the Negro Heritage project. The old corporation was dissolved and a new corporation — Educational Heritage, Inc. — was formed.

Today Educational Heritage, in addition to its home office in Yonkers, boasts seven branches located in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and California. It does an annual volume in excess of four million dollars and anticipates a volume of nine million dollars in the first year following publication of the Negro Heritage Library — a dream which has become a vivid reality as a result of the genius of Mr. Noel N. Marder, the executive acumen of Miss Rita K. McClain, executive vice president, Mr. Oswald P. White, vice president, the editorial and artistic talent of Mr. Alfred E. Cain, vice president and editorial director and more recently the promotional skill of Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker.



COLLECTION DEPARTMENT

ALL PHOTOS BY
ROLAND MITCHELL
PHOTOGRAPHIC EDITOR



HOME OFFICE
BUILDING

EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE, INC.

NEGRO HERITAGE VOLUMES (September 1964 publication)

PROFILES OF NEGRO WOMANHOOD (1619-1900)

Edited by Sylvia G. L. Dannett

Volume I of a two volume study of the role of Negro women in the progress of the Negro in the U.S.A. and Canada. The author tells the story by interweaving brief biographies of women who assumed roles giving impetus to the cause of racial advancement. Not all the women portrayed were consciously race "leaders"; in truth, some were not even "doers," but their experiences throw light on the conditions with which women of their race have been compelled to cope.

A Roll of Honor cites 60 other women for "their combined courage, dedication and inspiration" which "ennoble the heritage of the Negro in twentieth century America."

EMERGING AFRICAN NATIONS AND THEIR LEADERSHIP (Two Volumes)

Edited by Lancelot O. Evans

Mr. Evans, with the assistance of the staff of the Negro Heritage Library, has assembled a series of national profiles on those nations of the African continent with whom the American Negro has the greatest sense of kinship —

Burundi	Liberia
Cameroun	Malawi
Central African Republic	Mali
Chad	Niger
Congo (Brazzaville)	Nigeria
Congo (Leopoldville)	Rwanda
Dahomey	Senegal
Ethiopia	Sierra Leone
Gabon	Togo
Gambia	Uganda
Ghana	United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar
Guinea	Upper Volta
Ivory Coast	Zambia
Kenya	

The entry for each country concludes with a biographical sketch of the head of state.

Appendices include: "The Peace Corps in Africa," Directory of Embassies and Information Offices and the full text of "Charter of the Organization of African Unity."

The author has written a provocative prologue which opens dramatically, proclaiming:

"Africa is a warning sound . . ."

NEGRO ANTHOLOGY OF READINGS FOR CHILDREN

Edited by Alfred E. Cain

This volume is a compilation of readings for children. The items are selected from Negro history, folklore, and literature, and is intended as a book a child can grow with. Vocabulary controls according to age groups are employed and the book will include prose, poetry, a cartoon section, music and games. This book is intended to educate and entertain children up to their mid-teens and to stimulate their reading of the world's great literature. They will meet Alexander Pushkin and Alexander Dumas, literary giants of Negro ancestry.

A MARTIN LUTHER KING TREASURY

Because investigation and current magazine and newspaper reports indicate that Dr. King is the most respected spokesman for the Negro in our time, this volume contains a representative selection of his writings under one cover. By arrangements with Harper and Row, Dr. King's trade publishers, *Stride Toward Freedom* and *Strength To Love* will be included along with Dr. King's "Appeal to the President of the United States on Behalf of the Negro Citizenry of the United States in Commemoration of the Centennial of the Proclamation of Emancipation." This big report with forceful documentation was submitted to President Kennedy on May 17, 1962 and contains Dr. King's famous plea for a Second Emancipation Proclamation.

A distinctive feature in this book will be a "photographic diary," *The Days of Martin Luther King*.

NEGROES IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND GOVERNMENT

The Editors of Negro Heritage Library

This volume will be a collection of brief biographies about Negroes in the U.S.A. who have held public office — elective or appointive — or have because of eminence in other fields, influenced the policies of local, state or federal governments. Attention will also be paid to Negro Americans who hold significant appointments to the United Nations.

Wherever possible, introductory essays by social or official peers will accompany the biographies.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Edited by Alfred E. Cain

This documentary study will chart the path toward freedom travelled by the Negro since the days of slavery to the present. Because the Negro's fight for full citizenship has enlisted other champions, the contributions of white persons or groups are included. The book opens with the citation of the Anti-Slavery Resolution of the Germantown Quakers in 1688. Near its close the voice of the late President John F. Kennedy is recalled by his major statement on Civil Rights in 1963. The grandeur of the March on Washington, the infamy of Birmingham and the crisis of Little Rock and "Ole Miss" are all recalled. The volume ends with the text of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill.

THE NEGRO IN THE PERFORMING ARTS

This book will view the accomplishments of the Negro in the multi-faceted world of show business. The Negro's contribution as musical interpreter, dancer, actor and entertainer will be shown in biographical sketches, historical summaries, interviews and photographs. The span will be from Ira Aldrich to Sidney Poitier, from the "Black Patti" to Leontyne Price, from James Bland to Dizzy Gillespie.

Other volumes scheduled to be off the press near the end of the year are: *The Negro in Military History*, edited by J. A. Rogers with Oswald P. White; *The Negro in Sports*, edited by Jackie Robinson with Alfred Duckett; *The Negro Writer and Literature*, edited by George Broadfield; and *Sermons of Faith*, a book of sermons edited by Wyatt Tee Walker, Educational Heritage vice president.

Excerpts from the speech of Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference, International Inn, Washington, D. C., March 19, 1964 at 2:00 p.m.

We know that President Kennedy and now President Johnson inspired the nation to follow their lead in supporting the civil rights bill. We know that the great liberal leaders in the House and Senate in both parties have worked and continued to work for this legislation. I would like to use this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Department of Justice and the White House staff for all of their good works. Without the leadership of Chairman Celler and ranking minority member McCulloch of the House Judiciary Committee there would be no bill. These men deserve the thanks of the whole American people.

There are fewer than 25 representatives and senators in the Congress of the United States who are enthusiastic about making an all out struggle to defeat the pending civil rights legislation. The members of Congress are sensible men who read the newspapers. They observe what is happening in their communities. They know that the colored citizens of this country and the vast majority of the white citizens will no longer tolerate the ugly forms of racial segregation that continue to mar certain aspects of our national life. Only a small number of diehard anti-civil rights senators and congressmen are either unable or unwilling to face the realities in their own states.

Perhaps the most notable and at the same time most regrettable example of intransigence is Senator Richard B. Russell of the state of Georgia. There have been profound changes bringing about desegregation in schools and colleges and even the Senate of the Georgia State Legislature. Because of his great prestige in the United States Senate,

Mr. Russell could save the Nation from a deluge of strife and recrimination by agreeing to fair and full debate on the pending bill.

No one asks that the opposition be stifled. We only ask that the opposition direct its remarks to the merits of the bill and, after a period that reasonable men would accept as enough debate, the various titles be voted upon. The overwhelming victory in the House, where 290 members supported this bill as against 130 who were opposed, shows that conservatives and liberals accept the principle of equality under law. The words "Northern Republican-Southern Dixiecrat Coalition," had absolutely no meaning in the House of Representatives during the consideration of the Civil Rights Bill. About one-third of all the votes cast for the Civil Rights Bill came from members of the Congress who are supposed to be the conservative group and who also are supposed to be a part of the Republican-Dixiecrat alliance.

Those of us who work closely with the members of Congress knew during the summer of 1963 that we had an overwhelming majority of the members of the House in favor of the bill. This was demonstrated again and again when the religious, labor, civic, fraternal and civil rights organizations pooled their knowledge in strategy meetings. Again and again we counted the results. We always found nearly 300 members pledged to support a bill that would include all of the features now in H. R. 7152. It was clear at an early date that many of the persons thought of as conservatives had decided that the time had come for the country to be on record in favor of civil rights for all.

A powerful member of the House used his influence, leadership and statesmanship for the cause of civil rights. He spoke in the meeting of his state delegation, pointing out that much of what was advocated in the civil rights package was already the law in that state. He

represents a district in which there live persons who are susceptible to the kind of anti-civil rights propaganda now being circulated throughout the country. He received his share of adverse mail from these people. He also received some vitriolic telephone calls from persons who have supported him in his election campaigns. There were some pro-civil rights advocates who felt that he was not speaking out strongly enough in favor of civil rights. In spite of these varying pressures, he took a position which was affirmative. He was not intimidated by the anti-civil rights forces nor was he annoyed by the prodding of the pro-civil rights forces.

In quiet committee meetings and in informal discussions with his colleagues he asserted that this was a matter that deserved the highest and best of American statesmanship. During the floor consideration of the bill he was always present. He insisted that the opponents have ample time to speak. He voted against the crippling amendments even though there was no record of his vote. His final words to the supporters of civil rights as the bill left the House were, "We have given you a good bill. We want this bill passed in the Senate. We hope sincerely that the civil rights advocates will not accept a watered-down version after we have labored so hard to get a good bill."

Although I have not mentioned his name, I use this opportunity to tell you about him because I believe he is typical of many supporters of this bill. Also I would like for him to know that we who see the great need for this legislation have not forgotten, nor will we ever forget, that it is the product of bi-partisan efforts. It is the product of persons who may have different economic views, but who nevertheless are united in the desire to see that all of our citizens are treated fairly without regard to race.

Now we are in the Senate. Success there must be accomplished by the great and capable leaders such as Senator Jacob K. Javits, who is with us today, Senator Kenneth Keating, his able and dedicated colleague, Senator Hubert Humphrey, who is the Democratic leader on the floor in this fight, Senator Thomas Kuchel, who is the Republican floor leader of the fight and their colleagues who are handling the various titles of this legislation on both sides of the aisle. It is my belief and my hope that these men will work together as a team, forgetting about the partisan aspects of this question. They bring to this fight dedication and faultless personal convictions. Those of us who are on the outside would do well to lay down certain broad guidelines that we hope these men will accept in the Senate. We must work outside to keep the country alert and informed so that we may continue to mobilize public opinion on behalf of this great legislation. The House bill is the minimum that we will accept. Anything less than that will be a waste of time. There are opportunities for men of good will to consider what they believe to be worthwhile additions and revisions. It is my earnest hope and firm belief that the friends of civil rights will work in close harmony.

It is also clear that we must have no idle gestures on the matter of invoking cloture. The Senators of the United States can count. They know when there are enough votes for cloture. The votes for cloture are there in the Senate but members of the Senate know when those votes are available. They also know that to file a cloture petition when the votes are not available is an invitation to weakening a pending bill.

Finally, I would like to say a word that I hope you will take back to your communities and put into effect. Again and again, we hear that the so-called hate groups are stimulating a vast volume of adverse mail. We see whole pages of paid ads in the daily press. I would like to bring to your attention an editorial which appeared on Monday, March 9, in the Keene Evening Sentinel of Keene, New Hampshire. This newspaper published an ad inserted by an anti-civil rights organization. This editorial stated and I quote: "We do not think we should deny others the right to buy advertising space in this newspaper to express views contrary to ours. Accordingly, we published the ad but at the same time, we announce that we will make a contribution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in exactly the same amount as the revenue we received from the ad."

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the publishers of the Keene Evening Sentinel and to urge that other great newspapers which have accepted such advertising give this money to some part of the civil rights fight.

The newspapers of this country must let the enemies of human rights know that they cannot buy the soul and conscience of the nation by purchasing advertising. Much of the money spent by the segregation group comes from the treasury of the State of Mississippi.

Let no one forget that each time such ads appear in the great cities of the land they are sowing the seeds of hate that will yield an evil crop of racial tension and discord. If the newspapers feel that freedom of the press requires that such ads be printed, let us remind them that the press also demands that the Mississippi state treasury be identified as the source of payment for such disgraceful propaganda.

I hope that you will return to your home communities fired with a determination to arouse united and massive support for H. R. 7152.

I hope that you will begin now to prepare for the successful administration of this law when it is enacted.



Address by

Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan

AMERICAN JEWISH
before the
16th Annual Conference
of the
ARCTIVES

National Civil Liberties Clearing House

Washington, D.C.
March 19, 1964



Three days ago, President Johnson presented to Congress his message on poverty. It was a unique document for this nation, for in a sense it is the poor American's bill of economic rights. It acknowledges that a sizable proportion of our citizens are hobbled in their pursuit of happiness by economic circumstances beyond their control, and that it is necessary to help them achieve the capability to run a fair and equal race for the material rewards of our society.

President Johnson's poverty program is a necessary supplement to the civil rights bill, for the two are inextricably related. This relationship was specifically acknowledged last June by the late President Kennedy when he delivered his message on civil rights and job opportunities. Mr. Kennedy highlighted the necessity of coupling political rights and economic opportunities by noting: "There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job." In other words, if you can't afford to leave home, there's no point in worrying whether you'll be allowed to stay the night in Mrs. Murphy's boarding house.

It is worth recalling, too, that last August's March on Washington was for both jobs and freedom. The two go together in our society, just as inextricably as the relationship in the song that talks about love and marriage. As the song goes on to point out, you can't have one without the other.

Realizing that, I believe it can be said that gaining the passage of the civil rights bill will mark not the end of the struggle, but only the end of a campaign. We will have won on one front and will then have to make sure we do not lessen our concentration on the second front in the struggle for equality for all of our citizens.

The economic measures of the poverty program are necessary to make the political guarantees of the civil rights bill effective. Once it was thought that political power was sufficient to assure a fair share of economic power. However, in our economy, where the computer and the transistor are the symbolic tools of our time, skill is at a premium. We could develop a dangerous division in which a man judged fit to vote was judged not fit to work. It would indeed be a grim irony to hand the Negro the vote at a time when the ballot was no longer the lever it once was toward economic opportunity.

Passage of the civil rights bill, therefore, will mark a crucial time of testing of the liberal commitment to equality for all Americans. I suspect the civil rights battle in Congress is distracting a good many non-Southern, urban liberals from the struggle for civil rights on the socioeconomic front in their own back yards. The school boycotts in various Eastern cities are only the best-publicized example of the need to pay attention to the struggle for non-political equality outside of Congress.

We all read this week of a proposal for redistributing Negroes throughout the United States in the same proportion as they are of the total population. Even as civil rights advocates dismissed this suggestion as simply a maneuver in the Congressional debate over the Civil Rights bill, I wonder how many realized that, in a sense, the essence of the proposal is already coming to pass.

More Negroes now live outside the Southern states than within them. In contrast, as recently as 1940, more than three-fourths of all Negroes lived in the South. By 1960 only one-half remained, and the exodus has continued. In just the decade from 1950 to 1960, the Negro population of 12 Southern states went down by one-third, from 30% of their total population to 20%. Meanwhile, the Negro population of eight major industrial states outside the South rose by 55%, rising from 7% of their total population to 9%.

Negroes constitute a little over 10 percent of the American population. This means eight leading industrial states have just about met that distribution formula in terms of their Negro population. In Illinois, 10% of the population is Negro; it is 9% in Michigan and Missouri; 8% in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; and 6% in California.

The state with the largest Negro population is not one of the states of the old confederacy, but New York, which had a Negro population of almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1960. Nor is the

Negro population any longer predominantly rural. Almost three-quarters of all Negroes live in cities, a higher proportion than is found among whites.

The significance of the Negro's movement out of the South and into the cities is shown by this statistic: It is estimated on the basis of current population trends that in the 1980's the majority of the population of 7 out of 10 of the country's largest cities will be Negro. These cities will be Detroit, Cleveland, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis and Philadelphia. The seventh city, Washington, is already predominately Negro.

It can certainly be argued that in the areas where the majority of Negroes now live, they already have the full voting privileges which the Civil Rights Bill will secure for them everywhere. True enough, but this vote has not brought the Negro many meaningful economic benefits, which only helps substantiate in my mind the contention that political rights without economic opportunities are less than half a loaf. We are left with the unavoidable conclusion that while political equality for the Negro may be largely a sectional problem, economic equality is a truly national problem that requires a program apart from the passage of the civil rights bill for its solution.

For those who may seek some residual comfort from the thought that the Negro is at least catching up economically, let me offer discomfiture with the following facts: Negroes

are not only not doing as well as whites -- which is known and acknowledged by all -- but they are actually further away from catching up than they were a decade ago. That is, they have made advances, but less than whites, which means they have fallen behind relatively.

For example, in 1951 the average male Negro wage earner was earning 62% of what his white equivalent was being paid. By 1962, he was making only 55% as much as the average white worker. The Negro was therefore 7% further behind the white than he had been 11 years earlier.

Despite all the progress in civil rights during the past decade, the year in which the earnings of Negroes came closest to those of whites was 1951. At that time, the median wage for Negroes was \$1,285 a year less than for whites. By 1962, the distance had almost exactly doubled. While the Negro median wage had gone up to \$3,023, an increase of \$963, the white median had reached \$5,462, an increase of \$2,117.

More important, even, than the fact that Negroes have not made as much progress as whites is the fact that many Negroes now face an absolute economic crisis. The worst danger is not so much lesser jobs, but no jobs. Or, jobs that do not pay a living wage because they are so far down the economic ladder.

For example, the poverty line has been drawn at \$3,000 as the minimum income that a family can be expected to sustain itself on. Statisticians on my staff have determined that the

heads of 2.3 million families who have full-time employment nevertheless do not earn enough to put them above the poverty line. We are living in a society in which a job must mean more than paid work. The work a man does must be worth enough for him to earn his family's keep.

The irony of this situation is that many desirable job opportunities are opening up, but sufficient qualified Negroes are often not available to fill them because they had been denied the schooling or the skill training needed as preparation. Sometimes, of course, the education and training was open, but the motivation to take advantage of them was lacking because no opportunities for jobs were foreseen in the future.

The consequence is that most Negroes are in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations - job areas that automation and the other innovations of our technology are making most expendable. And the new jobs that are being created can be filled only by those with extensive education and training. Once a young man could come off the farm to the big city and, in a short while, learn to stand at an assembly line or find some other comparatively unskilled job that gave him a start. Such jobs are being wiped out. The computer that now watches over the machine cannot be supervised by the displaced machine-tender.

The employment crisis that already confronts those in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, or whose education and training are not preparing them for anything better than such a job,

can only get worse. Blue-collar work is shrinking and such jobs will continue to decline as a proportion of all available jobs. The fastest growing jobs will be those in the scientific, professional, and technical fields, the fields that require the highest levels of education and training.

The extent of the Negro's economic inequality is shown by the following figures: The proportion of employed whites in white-collar jobs is almost three times greater than the proportion of employed Negroes in such jobs. But the proportion of employed Negroes in unskilled, nonagricultural jobs is more than three times greater than the proportion of whites holding such jobs.

The extent of the employment crisis facing the unskilled, a group into which a far greater proportion of Negroes than whites fall, is highlighted by the unemployment data for 14 to 19-year-olds, a substantial number of whom are unskilled, high-school dropouts. The unemployment rate for all male youths, both white and Negro, was 21% last June, the highest figure since we began keeping records in the late Forties. And keep in mind that the rate for Negroes was higher than for whites.

The young people now pouring into the labor force represent the postwar baby boom coming to maturity. There will be more and more of them as this decade grows older. But the number of jobs available to them is not expanding

sufficiently. In fact, not one extra job was added in 1963 to the total available to teen-age workers. Last year, the number of unemployed teen-agers increased by the same amount as the total number of teen-agers who joined the work force.

To illustrate further the growing shortage of jobs for comparatively unskilled entrants into the labor force, let me cite the following data: In 1948, the unemployment rate was actually slightly lower among Negro teen-age males than among the white youths. By 1963, it had almost doubled for the white youths and almost quadrupled for the Negro youngsters.

We are left with the paradox that even equality guaranteed by law and practiced by employers does not guarantee ultimate equality in the marketplace. The unskilled cannot accept skilled work; the high-school dropout cannot hold a job requiring college training.

If every discriminatory barrier to fair employment came down as of this moment, all the cumulative barriers to equal employment opportunity that are a consequence of past discrimination would remain. The employment of Negroes would not suddenly increase in proportion to their opportunities because they would not be qualified to take advantage of them.

It is this current inability to take advantage of whatever opportunities the law will guarantee that defines the nature of the problem that will continue to face us even after the civil rights bill has passed. The elimination of discrimination is therefore only the first step in achieving genuine equality.

What is needed in order to take advantage of new opportunities is threefold: first, more jobs, so that there will be work for those made qualified to seek it; second, education for the young commensurate with the requirements of our increasingly complex society; third, training or retraining, so that those out of school and unable to find jobs, or in the work force and already displaced or facing displacement from their jobs can become employable.

The administration is moving to provide all three. The tax cut, already enacted, is expected to infuse the economy with new energy, stimulating the demand that will lead to the creation of further employment. Some education and training programs have already been passed. Some of the outstanding examples are the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Area Redevelopment Act, both of which offer training to workers who lack skills or whose skills have become obsolescent. Some of this training is given in institutional settings, other courses are taught on the job. The objective is the same, to provide useful skills to those whose skills have been undeveloped or supplanted.

And this week we have had the President's far-reaching proposals for the most extensive program ever designed to promote the economic upgrading of Americans. This is to be done by means of education, training, and community programs to deal with the local factors that cause and continue poverty.

I hope that all of you, and your organizations, will recognize the need to continue the fight for the genuine achievement of full civil rights by supporting the enactment of the poverty program and by lending your influence, energy, and insight into the design and conduct of anti-poverty programs at the community level.

The Declaration of Independence declared that all men are created equal. We are now in a position to help assure that all of our fellow citizens can live according to their creator's intention.



From the Office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1964

The following are remarks of Senator Jacob K. Javits prepared for delivery at the 16th Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House at International Inn, Washington, D.C., 2 PM, March 19.

THE EMERGING CHARACTER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEBATE

The struggle for meaningful civil rights legislation is now centered on the Senate Floor, where for 10 days the attempt to make the bill the pending business -- that is, to make the bill itself subject to debate -- has been itself debated. Once the bill itself is before the Senate and after resisting the expected attempt to send it to the Judiciary Committee for another futile 10 days, what should be the course of its proponents?

The strategy of the bill's opponents, who are as always, well organized is clear: to talk until time runs out and the nation can no longer wait on other business; or until the proponents either take the bill down altogether or compromise away significant parts of it. This has been the successful strategy each time civil rights legislation has been before the Senate in the last two decades. In the case of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 it was successful to the extent that critically-valuable provisions of the bills were deleted under threat of the filibuster. What must be done to prevent it from becoming effective now, when the danger of a civil rights explosion looms greater than ever before?

First, the case for the bill must be made continually so that the Nation knows what is in the bill and what is not. A most determined drive, including newspaper ads and mailings, is being waged by a committee financed largely by the State of Mississippi and is designed to frighten key groups, like trade unions and homeowners, especially in the North, about imaginary effects of the bill or by misleading interpretations of its provisions. The bipartisan team of civil rights proponents is taking to the Floor each day to challenge the opponents of the bill and these advertisements. But this effort must be expanded. Civil rights groups must also direct public attention in a massive way to what is really involved in the bill and to the fact that legislation already is on the books in more than half the States which is stronger on public accommodations and fair employment practices, for example, than the bill now pending.

Second, the proponents themselves must remain thoroughly organized. Bipartisan teams managed each title of the bill on the Floor of the House of Representatives, and the same sort of organization has been established in the Senate, with managers assigned from both parties for each title and with Floor captains protecting the rights of the proponents and pressing the proponents' case in the course of the debate. In my long experience with civil rights debates, this is the best organized effort to date.

Third, the deadline which faces this legislation must be kept firmly in mind at every step. We must not forget that the opponents are maneuvering to delay, if they can, until the national nominating conventions make it necessary to end the Senate session. July may seem a long way off at this point, but the time remaining must be measured-- under the uniquely undemocratic test of staying power which is imposed by Rule XXII -- by the staying power of the opposition. And it is my judgment that the precondition to ending the debate -- by cloture or by the overwhelming demand of the nation -- will be present only when the pace of the debate is stepped up after some weeks of debate, natural to an issue of this magnitude. Then the people will know that the Senate means business and that there is no other way to get to a vote. The pace must be built up and with it the now quite successful bipartisan effort to meet quickly the opposition's quorum calls.

Fourth, no cloture vote should be attempted until it is clear to the proponents that there are probably sufficient votes to attain cloture. The unhappy experience of too-quickly called cloture votes in the 1962 literacy test filibuster is a horrible example of how not to break a filibuster. The same sort of too-quick move for cloture doomed the 1963 effort to amend Rule XXII, even after a majority of Senators had, for the first time, evidenced their willingness to change the rule.

I believe deeply that cloture can and will be achieved on the debate on this bill, but I believe that it can be done only with bipartisan organization, a determined effort to educate the public to what the bill means and does not mean, and a real drive with an eye on the clock. With these will come an awakening in the country to what is needed in civil rights and Senators from Western and smaller states who are generally reluctant to vote cloture will see for themselves that only if cloture is invoked can there be a legal and moral answer to the justifiable demands for equal opportunity which are sweeping the Nation.

Ironically, the first amendment proposed to the bill -- by the leader of the opposition, Senator Russell of Georgia -- is, in my view, an implied admission of the strength of the case being made for the bill. Senator Russell's resettlement commission plan to equalize the Negro populations of the States is, I believe, a desperation move indicating that even the opponents know effective civil rights legislation must be passed and that the majority of the Nation wants it passed. But it will nonetheless take enormous tenacity and diligence and skill on the part of the Senate civil rights proponents and of interested groups and citizens throughout the Nation to achieve this end.

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YOUNG ADULT ACTION GROUP
ORGANIZED IN 1963.

214 East Second Street
New York, N. Y. 10009

PREAMBLE TO CONSTITUTION

WE ARE THE YOUNG ADULT ACTION GROUP!

We were created to help our community which is the Lower East Side. We have vowed by coming to regular meetings, to help wipe out discrimination in jobs, housing, schools, and places of public accommodation. We are vowed to help our fellowman. We want our community to be a decent place to live and work by doing these things: wipe out tyranny from the slumlord, treachery of evil and help reduce juvenile delinquency.

Therefore, we make this proposition to create a new world and a better community, let it be said, "In Unity There is One."

I wish to know more about Young Adult Action Group. Please send information to:

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

BLACK And WHITE TOGETHER



Young
Adult
Action
Group

NOT ONLY IN OUR CLASSROOMS —
BUT IN OUR TEXTBOOKS TOO!!

In Detroit, Michigan, they are using Integrated Textbooks in their elementary classes in their Public School System.....

The YOUNG ADULT ACTION GROUP is urging the City Administration and the Board of Education to use Integrated textbooks in our school system.

This will give the child a better outlook on the whole situation of INTEGRATION! This will also help the child to have different feelings about the different races.....

Ever since the beginning of the Public School System — never has there been a black face in school textbooks except as stereotype!!!!!!!

We saw white faces in those books and we still do! The only black faces we saw were those of BLACK SAMBO or a Stereotype African Native!

PARENTS THIS AFFECTS YOUR CHILDREN AS WELL AS OUR'S!

URGE THE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO USE INTEGRATED TEXT-BOOKS!



June 29, 1964

Miss Bernice Bridges, Consultant
Education and Youth Services
National Social Welfare Assembly Inc.
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Miss Bridges:

Thank you for your kind letter of invitation of June 25 to take part in the National Teenage Conference on Human Rights at Princeton University.

I am pleased to be able to accept your invitation. As soon as you have additional information about the content of the program, I assume that you will send it to me.

You may find the enclosed article of some interest, and perhaps of some relevance as a background document to this workshop discussion. If you wish additional copies please let me know.

Looking forward to meeting you in person and with warmest best wishes I am,

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:fb

cc: Anne Wolfe

Encl. *Chai Defender for American Jews*

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.

345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MURRAY HILL 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY *President*

WINSLOW CARLTON *Chairman Board of Directors*

ROBERT E. BONDY *Director*

June 25, 1964

Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

The National Social Welfare Assembly is sponsoring a National Teenage Conference on Human Rights to be held August 17-21, 1964 at Princeton University. Participants will be youth members of national organizations and their local units. Among the cooperating organizations is the Youth Departments of the National Council of Churches and the National Catholic Welfare Conference; National Jewish Welfare Board, YMCA, YWCA, 4-H Clubs and others.

Would it be possible for you to come to Princeton on Wednesday afternoon, August 19, to be a resource consultant in a panel of religious leaders in a Workgroup on Religion and Race. The Workgroup is to meet from 2:00 P.M. to 5:30 with a free period mid-afternoon. We would like the Workgroup leaders to meet together at 1:00 P.M. and, if convenient, to join us for lunch at 12:00 Noon.

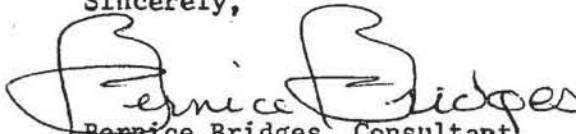
Professor Malcolm Diamond, Department of Religion, Princeton University, will serve as moderator of the discussion with a panel of three resource consultants, one each of the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths.

The Workgroup's purpose is to help the youth delegates learn basic information about the subject and to lead into discussion of what young people can do to help. The suggested focus of the Workgroup is on the role of religion in personal motivation and of religious organizations in ensuring equal rights and access to opportunities. There will be simultaneous Workgroups on housing, education, employment, legislation, voter education, etc.

We are working on a very limited budget and are therefore asking all speakers and group leaders to volunteer their time.

We shall be most grateful if you can help us and will appreciate hearing from you promptly as possible, by telephone if convenient.

Sincerely,


Bernice Bridges, Consultant
Education and Youth Services

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cc: Mrs. Ann Wolfe, Member
Conference Planning Committee

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

F-meetings

NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

August 17 - 21, 1964 - Princeton University

MEMORANDUM ON WORKSHOPS

Wednesday, August 19, 1964

Workshops are to be held Wednesday, August 19 from 2: - 4:30. All Workshop leaders are invited to lunch at 12:00 Noon in The Commons, and to a leaders' meeting at 1:00 PM in Wilcox Hall. A reply postcard is enclosed for your convenience in letting us know whether we may expect you in time for lunch.

Subjects of six concurrent Workshops will be:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| I. Education | IV. Role of Law |
| II. Employment | V. Political Action |
| III. Housing | VI. Religion and Race |

Purpose The youth planning committee listed the subject areas and said the Workshops should provide opportunity for them to learn about: 1) the issues and problems in each subject area; 2) how people are affected; 3) how the situation differs in different sections of the country; and 4) what are practical things that teenagers can do to improve the situation in their own groups and communities. One special point on which help may be welcome is: How do teenagers act in these problem areas when parents and the adult community are opposed?

Methods The Workshop leader, or leaders, may wish to open with an introductory statement. Thereafter, we suggest involving the youth delegates in discussion: 1) by inviting their questions or comments; 2) by presenting a few sharp questions for group reaction. In response to the teenagers' questions and comments the resource consultant(s) will have opportunity to provide further information, examples, experience.

Content Since the six subjects are all broad topics, consideration will need to be given to the selection of the most important aspects that can be discussed in the time available. Will these suggestions be of some help:

I. Education Professor Charles W. McCracken, Newark State College, and Consultant, Princeton University Summer Studies

Supreme Court Decision of 1954 and subsequent rulings supporting the decision and clarifying "reasonable speed" etc.

The negative effects of segregated education on youth of the majority group as well as of minority groups.

The need for Federal Aid to Education.

Special needs of all deprived people.

Practical problem of how to change the situation in the North and in the South.

What can teenagers do? (Tutorial aides, aides in pre-school, nurseries, etc.)

II. Employment William Haskins, Executive Director, Urban League of Union County, New Jersey; George Weber, Chief, Division of Youth Activities, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor; John O'Connell, AFL-CIO Community Services Committee.

The War on Poverty - Economic Opportunities Act of 1964.

State and local FEPC.

Regulations pertaining to Federal contracts.

Labor Union practices.

School Drop Outs - Vocational Education.

Upgrading of minority youth by faster processes?

What can teenagers do?

III. Housing Isham Jones, Intergroup Relations Adviser to Zone Commissioner, Federal Housing Authority, New York, N. Y.

Ghetto-life and its effect on people.

Federal housing laws and regulations.

State and local laws and regulations.

Private housing.

Examples of what is being done.

What can teenagers do?

- IV. Role of Law (previously listed as Legislation) Paul M. Rilling, Director, Commissioners' Council on Human Rights, Washington, D.C.

Civil Rights Act (including public accommodation section).

States which have laws/those without.

Function of law as a crutch for behavior for those who are willing and those who are unwilling but are law abiding (with a tip of hat to the latter.)

What can teenagers do?

- V. Political Action (listed previously as Voting) Joseph M. Rourke, Deputy Director, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C.

Importance of voter registration, education and power of the vote.

Present political scene and human rights.

Work in political party of one's choice.

What can teenagers do?

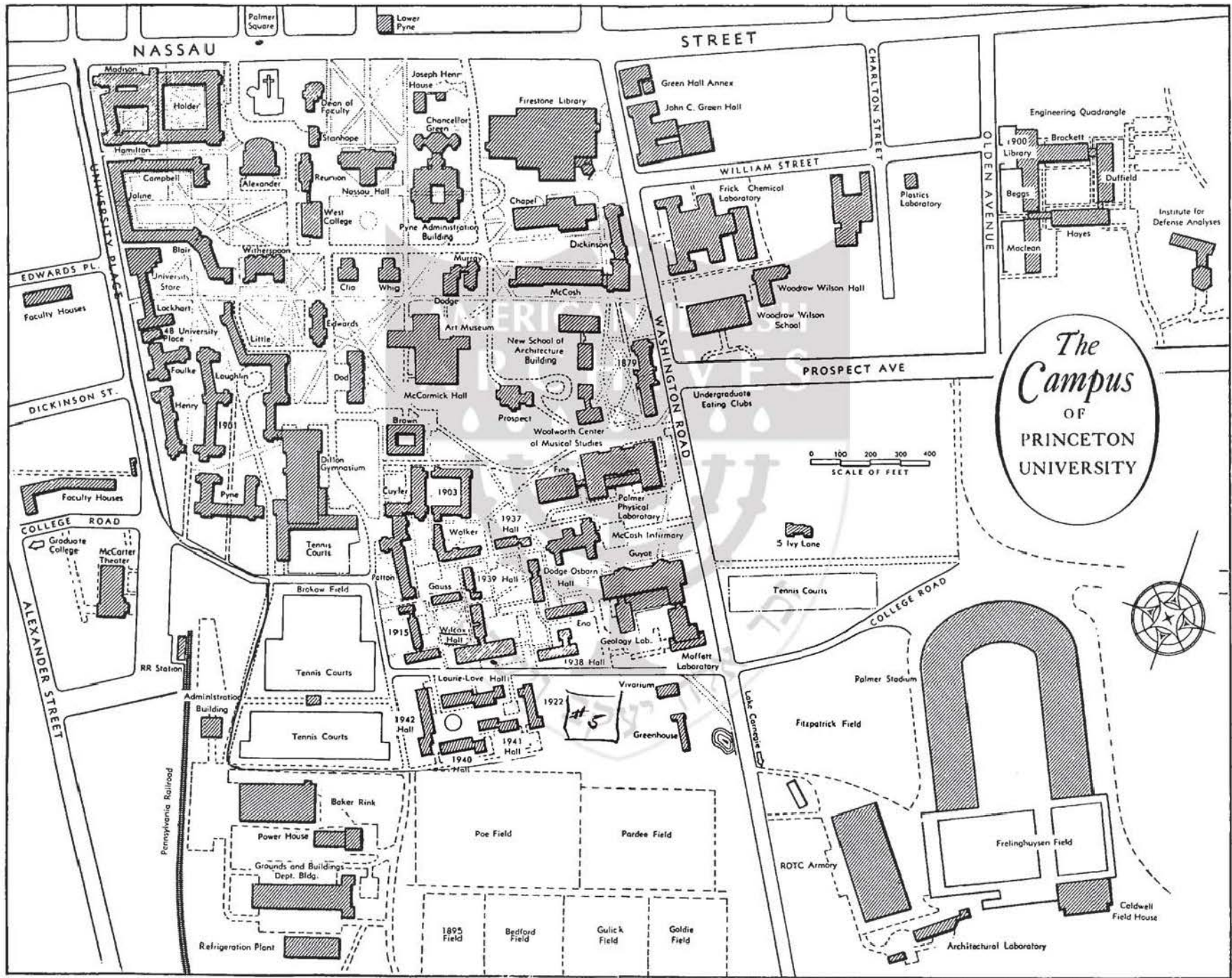
- VI. Religion and Race Prof. Malcolm Diamond, Department of Religion, Princeton University; Msgr. Gregory L. Mooney, Director, John F. Kennedy Community Center, New York; Rev. Robert L. Polk, Minister to Youth, The Riverside Church, New York; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, The American Jewish Committee, New York.

Role of religious leadership in

- o moving to change of attitude among members of the congregation
- o setting a moral climate for social justice
- o taking social action to improve conditions in communities and the nation.

Examples of progress.

What can teenagers do?



The Campus
OF
PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY



NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS - Princeton University 8/17-21/64

Speakers and Resource Consultants: Dr. Robert F. Goheen, President, Princeton University .. Alexander J. Allen, Executive Director, Urban League of Greater New York .. Dr. Alex Rosen, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University .. Dr. W. Watson, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville .. Arnold Harris, Executive Secretary, Community Relations Committee, Jewish Community Council of Essex County, New Jersey .. Daniel Seeger, College Secretary for The American Friends Service Committee in New York.

Professor Charles McCracken, Newark State College and Consultant, Princeton University Summer Studies .. Judge Mary Conway Kohler, New York City .. Professor Malcolm Diamond, Department of Religion, Princeton University .. Msgr. Gregory L. Mooney, Director, John F. Kennedy Community Center, New York City .. Rev. Robert L. Polk, Minister to Youth, The Riverside Church, New York City .. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, The American Jewish Committee .. William J. Haskins, Executive Director, Urban League of Union County, New Jersey .. George H. Weber, Chief, Division of Youth Activities, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. .. Joseph M. Rourke, Deputy Director, Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C. .. Isham Jones, Intergroup Relations Adviser to Zone Commissioner, Federal Housing Authority, New York City .. Paul M. Rilling, Director, Commissioners' Council on Human Rights, Washington, D. C.

Panel of representatives from Direct Action Organizations: Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) .. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) .. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) .. The Northern Student Movement (NSM) .. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Cooperating National Organizations: AFL-CIO Community Services Activities .. American Humanist Association .. Arrow, Inc. .. American Jewish Committee ... Boys' Clubs of America .. Division of 4-H and Youth Development, Federal Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture .. Future Homemakers of America and New Homemakers of America, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare .. Girls' Friendly Society .. National Board, YWCA .. National Council, YMCA .. National Council of State Committees .. National Conference of Christians and Jews .. National Council of Churches .. United Christian Youth Movement .. National CYO Federation, Youth Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference .. National Jewish Welfare Board .. National Council of Episcopal Churches, Youth Department .. National Council of Negro Women .. National Federation of Settlements .. National Urban League .. United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc. .. U. S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs .. The Salvation Army.

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7/22/64

SCHEDULE

NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS - August 17 - 21, 1964 - Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

	Monday, 8/17	Tuesday, 8/18	Wednesday, 8/19	Thursday, 8/20	Friday, 8/21
MORNING		7:00-7:30 Meditation	7:00-7:30 Meditation	7:00-7:30 Meditation	7:00-7:30 Meditation
		7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30-8:30 Breakfast	7:30-8:30 Breakfast
		8:45-9:00 Assembly 9:00-10:30 Small Discussion Groups: Problems in our own Communities 10:30-10:45 FREE 11:00-12:00 Assembly Address: Assuring Equal Rights	9:00-10:30 Assembly PANEL: Representatives of Direct Action Organizations 10:30-10:45 FREE 11:00-12:00 Assembly Continued	9:00-11:00 Task Forces 11:00-12:00 FREE	9:00-10:00 Meeting of Chairmen & Recorders
		12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	DEPARTURE
		1:00-2:00 Committees	1:00-2:00 Committees	1:00-2:00 Committees	
AFTERNOON	2:00-6:00 Arrival and Register - <u>Wilcox Hall</u> Settle in Dorms Meet other delegates Tour the Campus Swimming, Tennis	2:00-3:30 Choice of Recreation: Swimming, Tennis, Ping Pong, Soft Ball, Volley Ball 3:30-5:00 Assembly Address: Exploding Myths	2:00-4:30 Workshops I Education II Employment III Housing IV Role of Law V Political Action VI Religion & Race 4:30-6:00 Choice of Recreation	2:00-3:00 Choice of Recreation 3:15-6:00 Assembly Task Force Reports Discussion	
	6:00-7:00 Dinner	5:30 - Depart by Charter bus, with Box Supper, for NYC to see an off-Broadway production of IN WHITE AMERICA 11:00 Return by Charters Dorm Meetings	6:00-7:00 Dinner 7:30-9:00 Assembly Free-wheeling Discussion 9:00-11:00 Task Forces 11:00 Dorm Meetings	7:00-9:00 Banquet Address: Human Rights in the U.S. and the World 9:00-11:00 Conference Sing and Closing Program 11:00 Dorm Meetings	
EVENING	7:15-9:00 Assembly Address - The President of Princeton University Discussion: Problems in Our Home Communities 9:00-11:00 Folk Singing & Folk Dancing 11:00 - Dorm Meetings				

National Social Welfare Assembly

345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

right

TO : Speakers, Resource Leaders, Organization Staff and Volunteer Consultants

FROM : Bernice Bridges, Consultant, Education and Youth Services

Re : Participants at the National Teenage Conference on Human Rights, August 17 - 21, 1964, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey

1- ~~Legislation~~ Compliance
economic power of youth

2- attitudes
myths, stereotypes

3- relig instit - hiring

construction
labor
investments in finance
↳ individual
tutoring
teen age
spending

Number The total Conference will be about 150 persons including 125 - 130 teenage delegates and 20 - 25 organization staff and volunteer advisers. A preliminary study of 110 fully completed youth registrations indicates results reported below:

Sex: There are eight more girls than boys to date

Ages: Six are 19 years; 30 are 18 years; 47 are 17 years; 22 are 16 years and five are 15 years.

School: Seventy five are in high school; 20 are in college (17 freshmen, 3 sophomores, 1 junior) and eight are high school graduates with no further educational plans stated.

Home Communities: With a few exceptions, the delegates are from different cities, towns, and small communities within 30 states plus the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Among the 30 states: four are in the West; seven are in the South; nine are in the Midwest; and ten are in the East.

Religion: While no inquiry was made about religious faith, some of the cooperating youth organizations are associated with the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths.

Race and Ethnic Groups: No inquiry was made, but other material in registration forms suggests that about 25 are Negro, six are American Indian; a few are Puerto Rican; and there will be at least one Mexican American and one Japanese American.

Affiliations: In addition to membership in the cooperating national organizations (listed separately) a majority of the delegates are active in other school and community youth groups. About 15 are members of the National Honor Society and an equal number are presidents or members of the student council. They are members of science clubs and rocket societies. They are future business leaders and junior statesmen. They belong to Latin, French, Spanish and German clubs; and to glee clubs, choirs, bands, dramatics and dance groups. They are active in athletic associations, swimming clubs, ski clubs and horsemen's association. They have been participants in the American Field Service program and international relations clubs. A few are members of Governors' Committees on Youth. Several have won awards and scholarships. At least 35 have been editors or members of boards of school newspapers, year books, etc. Only one mentioned membership in the youth section of a political party.

Work Experience: A majority of the delegates have had some work experience. Some mentioned volunteer jobs in community services such as hospitals, Red Cross, UNICEF, day camps, classes for mentally retarded, campaigns, libraries, etc. Others have worked at paid jobs such as: bus boy, baby sitting, farm work, soda fountain, newspaper carrier, waiter, wrapper, laundry, sales girl, yard work, warehouse, life guard, janitor, etc.

DELEGATES' COMMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The National Teenage Conference on Human Rights Registration form asked: 1) What human rights problems concern you most? Why? 2) What human rights problems have you observed in your youth organization, church or synagogue, school, community? Responses to these two questions follow.

Concerns

"... seems to me we forget we are all Americans protected by the same God and Constitution..."

"Since the Mexican does not make himself aware of politics and doesn't get out and select representatives ... (they) are actually holding back the process for us to enjoy equal rights."

"... I live in the only integrated co-op apartment building in -----."

"Citizens not receiving rights supposed to be guaranteed by the Constitution."

"Problem of equality in educational standards ... only with proper education that we will be able to overcome other human rights disputes."

"Housing and jobs ... Residential patterns affect schools and determine pupil population. Denial of job opportunity contributes to crime and poverty ..."

"... many citizens ... are denied the right to participate in their government by denial of the right to vote."

"Lack of communication among people of different ethnic backgrounds ... strength of society depends upon the unity of its people ... must exist as one assimilated group."

"Negro civil rights problem ... this year did quite a bit of research on the Black Muslims -- prepared an oration -- placed 2nd in State speech tournament."

"Even though there is little racial discrimination in my community I would like to have complete equality for all races."

"... bothered by de facto segregation in the North ... we are quick to criticize the South for their unfair treatment of other races but then we turn around and practice the same tactics in the North."

"Most concerned ... is problem of being accepted by the white man in job equality, housing, education ... and in accepting the Negro or Puerto Rican as a man."

"... concerned about teens in the civil rights movement. Will they give up when they run into a grim-looking problem ... will they allow falsehoods and useless compromise to infiltrate their minds ... teenagers can't afford to stop fighting for what they know is right."

"Why the Southern states don't allow Negroes to vote, because it means that our government isn't for the people, only for some people, and that proves to me that our government isn't very democratic."

"That a racial group demonstrates for its rights -- in particular the Negroes -- cannot be subject to criticism especially when said rights have been long denied ... the question when freedoms are secured by the devices of liberty, will the responsibilities arising therefrom be met? When equal opportunity in employment is secured will jobs be filled by qualified personnel? Will the secured freedoms be used as weapons of revenge or instruments through which one can contribute to the progress of the nation as a whole? Racial pride or racial haughtiness? Are the Negroes capable of taking advantage of freedoms heretofore deprived them? and if so, doing so wisely. But, where does one get a sense of responsibility and the necessary qualifications if the freedoms are denied in the first place?"

"I am shocked that there has to be a stated law before a man can be granted rights that were his at birth."

"The civil rights problems because (1) inevitably they will either advance or destroy America; 2) I naturally feel obligated to make the 'American Ideal' an American reality."

"I have been concerned with human rights all of my life, particularly because my parents were victims of the Nazi regime during World War II and I grew up among European refugees who came to America..."

"The problem of legislating equal rights. Understanding is the question and a law cannot solve educational and economic problems."

"The problem of equal rights for Negroes concerns me most because of two reasons: 1) I am a Negro, and 2) as long as I as a Negro am not free and cannot be guaranteed the full rights of the Constitution, then I believe no segment of our society is completely free."

"Equality of peoples."

"What I can do to help in human rights movement. I believe Negro integration in the U.S. is important to every American."

"... de facto segregation because it is the type I have seen."

"The civil rights conflict. It is always being discussed in the news. I want to learn more about the conflict and what part I must play in alleviating it."

"All human rights where injustice and prejudice exist, because I believe all people should have the same rights."

"I believe all human rights problems are equally important but what concerns me most is the lethargy of individuals and groups about the problems."

"Discrimination against Negroes is IN-human and contrary to teachings of Church and society."

"Lack of proper housing due to discrimination. The facilities people are forced to live in are atrocious."

"Racial conflict is detrimental to our nation's image as protector of individual rights, and is violation of moral and religious principles."

"To understand and to be understood. I am a Negro."

"Integration. Our nation was built for freedom of all races and creeds. I feel this is the way it should be. Many minority groups haven't the privileges others do."

"Equal educational opportunities because good education is essential to a full-rounded life."

"I want to be a first class citizen."

"Education. If a Negro can get a good education half the battle is won. But many Negroes are unwilling to work for civil rights."

"Racial discrimination in a world which stresses democracy."

"Integration of white, Negro, Puerto Rican and other racial groups."

"Tyranny, social and intellectual. I feel no greater crime can be perpetuated against an individual or society than limiting the extent of intellectual and social experience."

"Acceptance. I live in a neighborhood changing from Irish to Puerto Rican. The result has been formation of gangs or 'social clubs' in racial groups."

"A proposed amendment to U.S. Constitution to permit prayers and Bible reading in schools. This is a contradiction of America's basic principles and I am opposed."

"Prejudice against religious and racial groups."

"Racial discrimination is an obvious contradiction of the Declaration of Independence and a flagrant violation of the Constitution. Until every person feels free to live, eat, sleep and entertain himself in any place of his own choosing he is not truly free ... Nor can this country consider itself truly a member of the Free World."

"Failure of accepting persons of a different race or heredity on an equal basis without discrimination."

"Southern migration."

"Civil rights. ... Today children are brought up to hate people of a different skin color. If this problem is not settled we could have a second Civil War."

"Civil rights give the U.S. a bad reputation abroad. However, in our desire to ensure the rights of the Negro, let us not destroy rights of others."

"The way people of a different race are criticized. I believe all should have equal rights."

"Discrimination. I feel all men should have equal rights in all aspects of life, not an inferior place because of color or creed."

"Segregation. In this country everyone is supposed to have equal rights ... yet for the Negroes segregation is a problem."

"We are losing our freedom. Dictatorship is coming in. Federal and State governments are taking over more each year. The Negro situation and what's to be done?"

"Hate and prejudice between white and black is a major weakness in our nation, based on antiquated principles which can no longer survive in modern society. One also finds justice and equality of opportunity denied to those of inferior economic status. This does not allow the potential resource of the nation to be developed. And it fragments society into cliques and denies human rights to poorer segments."

"I want to see equality for everyone in job opportunities, voting and education."

"Lack of understanding among Negro and white boys and girls because of absence of 'integrated cliques' and 'integrated neighborhoods'."

"Discrimination against anyone because they happen to be Chinese, Moslems, Negroes or Jews."

"Equal school educational opportunities. Education is a most valued right."

"Self-centered people ...I am one of the few people in my class who does not hate Negroes."

"Not how equal rights can be attained but WHEN. Even if I cannot have equal rights I want my children to have them."

"De facto segregation."

"Lack of communication and basic understanding between the races."

"Equal rights and opportunities for all Americans and for every person on earth. Discrimination stops equal rights and opportunities. It is unfair that some people feel superior in business, social and school groups."

"Discrimination in hiring practices. I feel a person should be hired on his ability."

"That Negroes have not the rights and privileges of white people. A Negro has trouble getting a job even when better qualified."

"Inequality and injustice suffered by Negroes. It seems we give only lip service to the clause 'liberty and justice for all.' Until we support this clause with hearts and action our nation cannot be strong."

"Equal employment opportunity. Becoming prepared in a chosen profession, then being denied opportunity to pursue the career is undemocratic and unjust and especially if denied because of racial prejudice."

"There is a great deal of apathy about second class citizens."

Observations

"In my youth organization and church there aren't any human rights problems. In school they want the over-average student for everything. This way everyone has to be an honor student for just about everything, otherwise they can't participate in many activities."

"In ---- High School too many students think in terms of 'we and they' in relation to different faces and religions. School elections best demonstrate this attitude, as many of my friends tell me they expect all Jewish students to back a Jewish candidate and all Protestants to back a Protestant candidate."

"Our senior class chose a Negro newspaper editor for our Commencement speaker in an attempt to let our parents hear an educated Negro. The reaction was good, but one woman put cotton in her ears and read a book. This typifies the attitude of many in the community."

"I have witnessed discrimination against Negroes, Jews, Cubans and Catholics in many parts of ----- . In fact, there is a boy in one of my classes who is an active member of the Ku Klux Klan."

"Some people feel that popularity is all that is needed for ability ... Why do people use name-calling as a basis for comedy?"

"In school I occasionally notice instances when a teacher who is white is much too harsh on a Negro student."

"Officers are selected on popularity, not qualifications."

"We cannot go places together because colored people are not allowed."

"At school two Negro girls are constantly harassed. They are the only Negroes in school."

"... differences in housing."

"There really is no overt violation of human rights but there is much loose talk such as 'I wouldn't want a nigger moving into my neighborhood.' We often overlook these comments but I think this spreads seeds of discrimination and strife."

"... de facto segregation. It is evident in my high school which has three Negroes."

"Glaring inequalities in nearby urban area, but I live in a suburb which is primarily white."

"Landlords do not allow Negroes in their buildings."

"Petty arguments between ethnic groups."

"There is much poverty, ignorance, dope addiction, school dropouts, unemployed, etc. I would like to be able to help my people."

"In school many students are unwilling to associate with those of another race."

"Community deprivation, poverty, poor education."

"I have no way of proving there is racial discrimination but (attributed to zoning) there are no Negro students in my school, no Negro teachers, no Negro office workers, no Negro custodians."

"There are many social differences (income level, nationality, conformity groups) which separate people."

"A fine Negro family was not able to buy a house in an all-white section even though the man is a respected teacher in the high school and well-liked by faculty and students. This is not right."

"Non-acceptance of minority groups."

"False impressions of people of minority groups."

"Some discrimination against Jewish members."

"None. Ours is a small community made up of almost the same kind of people. We have no people of other races."

"School leaders care little about interests of others. There is economic and racial discrimination."

"I have observed racial and social prejudices in my school."

"At school are many people who are unreasonable. Our housing and education needs much work."

"There is conflict over 'de facto' segregation and racial imbalance in school system."

"My high school is 40% Negro but I have only one Negro in each of my four major classes. Negroes are not sold houses in my district. In our church of 1100 people, two Negro families belong."

"Through court order an all-Negro school was closed because of inferior facilities and teaching."

"Conflicts I have observed (reluctant association, feelings of inferiority, superiority, hatred) are, I believe, due to closed minds and insufficient or improper exposure to problems."

"White neighborhoods have the better schools. They are not so over-crowded."

"Students in my church class hate Negroes but they don't know any."

"The poor student in school has less opportunity. But there are many. Something must be done."

"Unequal educational facilities for white and Negro and segregated recreational facilities in the community."

"Although leadership isn't a human right ... it is one of the essentials to obtain these other rights ... School composed of 40% Mexican-Americans, only very small percentage on student council ... same applies in community ... few Mexican-Americans in a favorable government office."

"Biggest problem ... the attitude of 'I'm not prejudiced, but...' ... more of a problem than that of admitted bigotry because person feeling this way does not even realize how unfair he is being."

"None (problems) in organization with which I am active ... becomes visible in school I attend ... obvious inferiority of courses, equipment and instruction for the 'less intelligent' group."

"I belong to an integrated parish where human rights problems have largely disappeared ... a noticeable amount of prejudice and separation of cultures in my former high school."

"Social system of the (high) school controlled by a small, select and exclusive clique ... a few small but not violent demonstrations ... also some by Ku Klux Klan."

"... since Negroes are not allowed in our town past 6:00 o'clock... have witnessed beginning of various problems in our home town. ... I date a Jewish boy in school and have run into various problems..."

"Certain fraternities, sororities and social clubs do not accept Negroes in membership."

"In our school (private) two types of students ... those who pay ... and those too poor to pay. School keeps the groups separate in different classrooms and even though same recreational facilities are used there is almost no mixing between the groups."

"... The first Negro family just recently moved into our community. The result was hate and prejudice ... I have seen this both in school and out."

"There is discrimination in my school ... I have observed acts of prejudice by some teachers in selecting members for various scholastic and athletic activities .. and in disciplining of pupils."

"Not many problems (in school) but there were a few ... I feel if you're the only Negro in a class, and a little smarter than the rest, speak up, so I did and I was called all kinds of vulgar names and received very bad notes of prejudice."

"In our church there isn't any problem because no Negro attends."

"There are no problems where I live because realtors do not sell to Negroes."

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY, INC.

345 East 46 Street

New York 17, N.Y.

July 17, 1964

Professor Malcolm Diamond
Department of Religion
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Diamond:

We are pleased to be able to report to you that the following persons have consented to serve as a panel of resource consultants for the Workshop on Religion and Race, to be held on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19, as part of the National Teenage Conference on Human Rights:

1. Monsignor Gregory L. Mooney, Director
John F. Kennedy Community Center
34 West 134th Street
New York, New York
2. Rev. Robert L. Polk
Minister to Youth
The Riverside Church
Riverside Drive/122nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10027
3. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

As Chairman of discussion, you may wish to be in touch with the three panel members in advance, thus addresses have been listed. Msgr. Mooney, Rev. Polk and Rabbi Tanenbaum have been advised that you have consented to serve as moderator of the panel and Chairman of discussion when the workshop participants become involved.

The Workshop will be scheduled to meet from 2:00 PM to 4:50 PM with about a 5 to 10 minute break at 3:15. Meetings will be in Wilcox Hall.

Prof. Diamond - 2

July 17, 1964

All Workshop leaders have been asked to meet together at Wilcox Hall at 1:00 PM before the Workshops convene at 2:00 PM. We have also invited all leaders to join us for lunch at 12:00 noon in the Commons (Lower Cloister, we think). If you can join us for lunch we shall be pleased to have you. Perhaps during lunch you and the three panel members could have preliminary conversation about the procedure.

As soon as possible we shall send all Workshop leaders a summary of information about the young people who will be attending the Conference.

Meanwhile, we wish to thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Bernice Bridges, Consultant
Education and Youth Services

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Enclosures

cc: Msgr. Mooney
Rev. Folk
Rabbi Tanenbaum

P.S. We think you may wish to see the enclosed reprint of an article, "The American Negro's Myths & Realities," by Rabbi Tanenbaum. I hope we can secure copies for all the Conference participants.

PROGRAM WORKSHEET
 NATIONAL TEENAGE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS - August 17-21, 1964 - PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, N.J.

	Monday, 8/17	Tuesday, 8/18	Wednesday, 8/19	Thursday, 8/20	Friday - 8/21
MORNING		Early Meditation 7:30-8:30 Breakfast	Early Meditation 7:30-8:30 Breakfast	Early Meditation 7:30-8:30 Breakfast	Early Meditation
	FINAL SESSION of Advance Leadership Meeting, to begin Sat., August 15 at 2:00 P.M. - WILCOX Hall	9:00-General Assembly 9:15-Discussion Groups Problems in Our Own Communities 10:30-Snacks 11:00-General Assembly Address: Assuring Equal Rights - Whitney Young, Jr. Natl. Urban League	9:00-General Assembly Direct Action Orgs. NAACP CORE SNCC NSM 10:30-Snacks 11:00-Assembly - Continue	9:00-Task Forces - Continue 10:30-Snacks 11:00-Task Forces complete work. Duplicate their reports.	7:30 - Breakfast DEPART
		12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	12:00-1:00 Lunch	
		1:00-2:00 Committees Meet	1:00-2:00 Committees	1:00-Committees	
AFTERNOON	Arrival and Registration of Delegates	2:00-3:00 Choice of Recreation: Swimming, Tennis, Ping Pong, Soft Ball, etc. 3:15-Snacks 3:30-General Assembly Address: Myths & Facts about People - Sociologist Questions & Comments	2:00- Workgroups - • Housing • Education • Employment • Legislation • Voting • Religion & Race 3:30-Snacks & Recreation 4:30-Workgroups continued	2:00-Recreation 3:30-General Assembly Task Force reports Discussion Consensus and/or Minority Speaker	
	6:00-7:00 Dinner	5:30-Dinner	6:00-7:00 Dinner	7:00-Banquet	
	7:30-General Assembly • Welcome by President, Princeton University - • The Conference Plan - • Discussion of Human Rights Problems in Our Own Community 9:00-Folk Singing and Dancing 11:00-Dorm Meetings	6:30-Charter Buses to NYC to see "In White America," a play by Prof. Duberman of Princeton University (Play based on documentary material) 10:30-Return by Charter Bus	7:30-General Assembly Free-wheeling discussion: What is most urgent & how do we feel about all that has been said 9:00-Task Forces Meet on What Can We Do? 11:00-Dorm Meetings	8:15-Address: Human Rights - A World-Wide Task 9:30-Music -- 11:00-Final Ceremony 11:30-Dorm Meetings	
EVENING					

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

from the desk of DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG
Community Relations Consultant

August 10, 1964

INITIATING THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Introductory

This memorandum furnishes information regarding the Community Relations Service established by Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-352) which was signed into law July 2nd. Former Governor Leroy Collins of Florida was named by President Johnson as the Service's first Director. On July 19th an appropriation of \$1.1 million was requested of the Congress. Although the appropriation has not yet been obtained - it is expected before Congress adjourns this month - some planning has been done and some operations are underway.

Scope and Method

The functions of the Service are described in Titles II and X of the Act. It will have a full time staff and also professional and non-professional consultants.

It has been often said that one of the values of legislation is that a whip over the offender lessens the likelihood of resistance. The Community Relations Service will proceed from the opposite pole, trying to secure voluntary compliance. The Service may move into a dispute and provide assistance "to communities and persons" upon its own initiative or at the request of a "State or local official or other interested persons." It may utilize the cooperation of appropriate state, local or private agencies.

The Service differs markedly from the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. The focus of the Civil Rights Division is on enforcement and it is staffed principally by attorneys. The Community Relations Service will work for conciliation and will be staffed principally by intergroup and community relations specialists.

The Status of the Service

Since the Act creating the service is based upon the Interstate Commerce clause of the Constitution it is established "as a part of the Department of Commerce." The Service's administrative responsibilities to the Department of Commerce will, however, be minimal. It is understood that Governor Collins will maintain direct contact with President Johnson and the White House and not be dependent for communication on the Secretary of Commerce. The White House will maintain direct and relatively frequent consultation on the progress of the Service.

Preparing to Function

An improvised staff for the Service has been assembled since early July and housed in the Department of Commerce. On this temporary staff John Perry, former Consultant to the Committee on Civil Rights of the Democratic (New York) State Advisory Council, serves as executive assistant to Governor Collins. Among those borrowed from other agencies, this staff includes Harold Fleming of the Potomac Institute as deputy director, and Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Committee (liaison with organizations). Abraham Venable, a staff member of the Dept. of Commerce, is compiling community profiles and a directory of organizations active in the civil rights effort. The directory includes biographies of the officers, directors, etc. of such organizations. Jay Janis, a former builder and now in government service who was active in AJC's Miami chapter, is assembling names of prospective mediators. The Service's information officer currently is David Pearson of Atlanta, Georgia. A. M. Secrest, editor of the Cheraw Chronicle (South Carolina), is also serving on the temporary staff.

Some other Federal employees on loan to the Service have also helped in the planning stage. A great deal of preparation and planning has been done by this temporary staff to make it possible for CRS to go into action as soon as its own funds are available.

National Citizens' Committee

A Committee of about 400 persons active in community relations (both lay and professional) will adorn the Service. Nominees were solicited through agency channels and through various channels of the administration. The list is to be heavily weighted with businessmen affected by the civil rights law who regard it favorably. A good many will be people with prestige and stature chosen for "honorific" reasons. Some will go into communities, not as conciliators to deal with specific problems, but to reason with their peers. Some will serve on committees of speakers.

The Permanent Staff

The Community Relations Service will be headquartered in Washington, with its entire full time staff located there. Its consultants living in proximity to the spots where they will be needed will be acquainted with mores and sentiments of their own areas. The records, including profiles of communities will be in the Washington office. Some of the full time staff will, no doubt, need to travel out of Washington but the consultants' role, in their own areas, will be highly important. Consultants will be paid a maximum of \$75 per day and expenses.

Concerning the Consultants, Roy Millenson, AJC's Washington representative, reported that "The CRS is in the process of gathering a pool of conciliators who would be contract employees of the government for the duration of the case on which they would be serving. They would be called to conciliate complaints in disputes within the general area in which they reside. Qualifications, as tentatively

conceived, call for those who have some knowledge of human relations and have access to the power structure of the community and, if possible, possess some conciliation or mediation experience. This is a separate pool of conciliators from those on the citizens committee.

Perspective

To carry out the programs of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Administration has asked for \$13,008,000 for the current fiscal year, of which less than 10% is allocated to Community Relations Service. Eight million dollars will be used by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make surveys, conduct training courses and furnish grants for in-service training. This \$8,000,000 is related solely to school desegregation.

The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice will receive \$295,000. The Department of Justice is to hire 49 additional lawyers and 60 clerical workers at a cost of \$1,093,000, about the same amount as has been requested for CRS. The Community Relations Service will have a total full time staff of about 25 professional and 25 clerical workers. Although several persons have already been selected as permanent personnel, Governor Collins will be unable to complete the Service's staff until the appropriation is granted. Many applications are already on file.

A major task of Community Relations Service will be to secure public accommodations compliance. The highest skills of human relations will be needed. The division of roles between professional and non-professional Consultants is not altogether clear, but it is assumed at this time that professional consultants will facilitate the work of men whose reputations, personal influence etc. will enhance their value. Professional consultants may be staff members of community relations agencies.

S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

Reprinted from

THE NATION

68

MARCH 9, 1964

Hammer of Civil Rights . . . Martin Luther King, Jr.

For the fourth year running, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., presents to the readers of The Nation his annual report on the progress of civil rights (see "Equality Now," Feb. 4, 1961; "Fumbling on the New Frontier," March 3, 1962; "Bold Design for a New South," March 30, 1963).—Editors.

Exactly one hundred years after Abraham Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation for them, Negroes wrote their own document of freedom in their own way. In 1963, the civil rights movement coalesced around a technique for social change, nonviolent direct action. It elevated jobs and other economic issues to the summit, where earlier it had placed discrimination and suffrage. It thereby forged episodic social protest into the hammer of social revolution.

Within a few months, more than 1,000 American cities and towns were shaken by street demonstrations, and more than 20,000 nonviolent resisters went to jail. Nothing in the Negro's history, save the era of Reconstruction, equals in intensity, breadth and power this matchless upheaval. For weeks it held spellbound, not only this country, but the entire world. What had moved the nation's foundations was a genuinely new force in American life. Negro power had matured and was dynamically asserting itself.

The impact of this new strength, expressed on a new level, means among other things that the civil rights issue can never again be thrust into the background. There will not be "One hundred years of litigation," that cynical threat of the segregationists. Nor will there

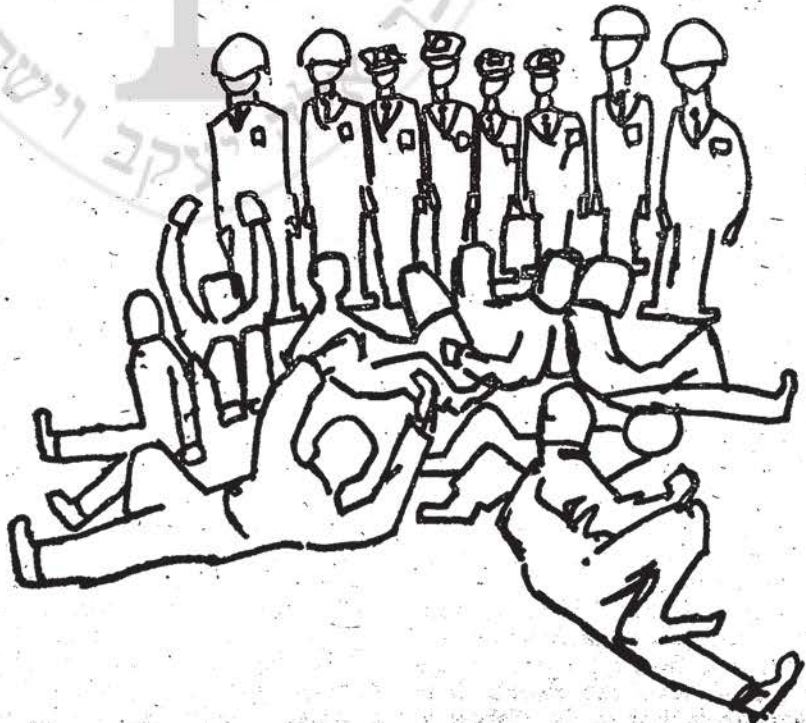
be easy compromises which divert and stagnate the movement. The problem will now be faced and solved or it will without pause torment and agonize the political and social life of the nation.

In the past two decades, the contemporary world entered a new era characterized by multifaceted struggles for human rights. Continents erupted under the pressures of a billion people pressing in from the past to enter modern society. In nations of both the East and the West, long-established political and social structures were fissured and changed. The issues of human rights and individual freedom challenged forms of government as dis-

similar as those of the Soviet Union, colonial Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States.

The Negro freedom movement reflects this world upheaval within the United States. It is a component of a world era of change, and that is the source of its strength and durability. Against this background the civil rights issue confronts the 88th Congress and the Presidential campaign of 1964.

Earlier civil rights legislation was cautiously and narrowly drawn, designed primarily to anticipate and avoid Negro protest. It had a double and contradictory objective; to limit change, and yet to muffle protest. The earlier legislation was conceived and debated under essential-



ly calm conditions. The bill now pending in Congress is the child of a storm, the product of the most turbulent motion the nation has ever known in peacetime.

Congress has already recognized that this legislation is imbued with an urgency from which there is no easy escape. The new level of strength in the civil rights movement is expressed in plans it has already formulated to intervene in the Congressional deliberations at the critical and necessary points. It is more significantly expressed in plans to guarantee the bill's implementation when it is enacted. And reserve plans exist to exact political consequences if the bill is defeated or emasculated.

As had been foreseen, the bill survived intact in the House. It has now moved to the Senate, where a legislative confrontation reminiscent of Birmingham impends. Bull Connor became a weight too heavy for the conscience of Birmingham to bear. There are men in the Senate who now plan to perpetuate the injustices Bull Connor so ignobly defended. His weapons were the high-pressure hose, the club and the snarling dog; theirs is the filibuster. If America is as revolted by them as it was by Bull Connor, we shall emerge with a victory.

The keys to victory in Birmingham were the refusal to be intimidated; the indomitable spirit of Negroes to endure; their willingness to fill the jails; their ability to love their children—and take them by the hand into battle; to leave on that battlefield six murdered Negro children, to suffer the grief, and resist demoralization and provocation to violence.

Argument will inevitably be made that in the Senate cloture is the only weapon available to subdue the filibuster. And cloture requires that a two-thirds majority be mustered before a simple majority can legislate. In thirty-five years, the only time that cloture has been successfully invoked was against a fragile liberal group opposed by the Administration regulars and almost the entire Republican delegation. That is hardly a convincing precedent for the success of cloture in the present fight.

On the other hand, if proponents of the civil rights measure will adopt some of the burning spirit of this new period, they can match their tenacity with that of the filibuster-

ers. The Dixiecrats can be worn down by an endurance that surpasses theirs. What one group of men dedicated to a dying cause can do, another group, if they are as deeply committed to justice, should be able to do. When the Southern obstructionists find themselves at the end of their physical and moral resources, cloture may be employed gently to end their misery.

It is not too much to ask, 101 years after Emancipation, that Senators who must meet the challenge of the filibuster do so in the spirit of the heroes of Birmingham. They must avoid the temptation to compromise the bill as a means of ending the filibuster. They can use the Birmingham method by keeping the Senate in continuous session, by matching the ability of the segregationists to talk with their capacity to outlast them. Nonviolent action to resist can be practiced in the Senate as well as in the streets.

There could be no more fitting tribute to the children of Birmingham than to have the Senate for the first time in history bury a civil rights filibuster. The dead children cannot be restored, but living children can be given a life. The assassins who still walk the streets will still be unpunished, but at least they will be defeated.

The important point is that if the filibuster is not beaten by a will to wear it out, the Dixiecrats will be justified in believing that they face, not an implacable adversary, but merely a nagging opponent. Negroes are not going to be satisfied with half a loaf of the legislation now pending. The civil rights forces in the Senate will have to find the strength to win a full victory. Anything less will be regarded as a defeat in the context of today's political realities.

While attention is now properly focused on legislation, it is still useful to widen our perspective by stepping back a little. For the past several years Negro rights have been imperiled and impeded by a confusion of tactics. In the earlier years of the administration of President Kennedy, Executive power was advocated as a more effective weapon than legislative action. It was argued then that laws existed, but were not adequately exercised; that a broad application of Executive

power could effect many significant changes. The Civil Rights Commission, easily the most underrated agency of government, began its life in political isolation because neither side respected it. In one of its early reports it declared that the federal government was the single heaviest financial supporter of segregation. Much of this evil, the commission indicated, could be cured by Executive action.

President Kennedy did begin a new use of his Presidential power by exposing the little-observed practices of many government bureaus. Changes of some significance began to alter the profile of certain agencies. His committee on Fair Employment, headed by then Vice President Johnson, opened jobs and upgraded opportunities for Negroes in many plants in the South. Though the tempo was slow and the goal distant, the direction was right.

President Kennedy also, after considerable delay, issued an order prohibiting segregation in government-financed housing. It was conspicuously flawed with compromise and to this date has not significantly altered any housing patterns. Nevertheless, it was another example of the application of Presidential power, and if timidity of conception or execution limited the effect, still a new path was chopped through the thicket. Alert and aggressive civil rights forces have an opportunity to pave a highway over it. These examples of Executive action illustrate that gain is possible even in the absence of legislation.

However, before a serious drive was mounted in this direction, the unfolding of massive and revolutionary direct action restored legislation to the head of the list, and virtually all public attention has since focused on Congress.

Perhaps unintentionally, one method became posed against the other; the investigation and use of Executive power receded as the legislative battle crowded into the limelight. But there is no reason why the civil rights movement should abandon one weapon as it flourishes another. It would amount to negligence to allow the creative use of Executive power to wither because gains are possible on the legislative stage. More than that, when the legislation becomes law, its vitality and power will depend

as much on its implementation as on the strength of its declarations.

Legislative enactments, like court decisions, declare rights, but do not automatically deliver them. Ultimately, Executive action determines what force and effect legislation will have. The elusive benefit of legislation is illustrated by the fact that for some years federal law has authorized the appointment of federal registrars where voting rights are denied. Yet to date not one registrar has enrolled one voter from among the millions of eligible Negroes who remain disenfranchised. An even more striking example of Executive vacuum, as Dr. Howard Zinn has pointed out, is that civil rights legislation passed in 1866 is still not enforced in the South. The United States Criminal Code Title 10, sections 241 and 242, make it a crime for officials to deprive persons of their constitutional rights, and for any persons to conspire to that end. The numberless violations of that law stand in sharp contrast to the infrequency with which the Justice Department has attempted to invoke it.

The simple fact is that federal law is so extensively defied in the South that it is no exaggeration to say that the federal union is barely a reality. For the Southern Negro it is more a tragic myth. He has been exploited, jailed and even murdered, by deeds which federal writ can reach, but his oppression continues essentially unrelieved.

The most tragic and widespread violations occur in the areas of police brutality and the enforcement against the Negro of obviously illegal state statutes. For many white Americans in the North there is little comprehension of the grossness of police behavior and its wide practice. The Civil Rights Commission, after a detailed, scholarly and objective study, declared it to be one of the worst manifestations of the Negro's oppression. The public becomes aware of it only during episodes of nonviolent demonstration, and often concludes that what they have witnessed is an atypical incident of excessive conduct. That the behavior is habitual, not exceptional, is a fact little understood.

Police brutality, with community support, or at best indifference, is a daily experience for Negroes in all too many areas of the South. They live in a police state which, paradoxically, maintains itself within a

democratic republic. Under these conditions, an occasional law suit by the federal government, which may drag for years through the courts, is no remedy. Indeed, it is sometimes worse than nothing. It demonstrates the futility and weakness of federal power.

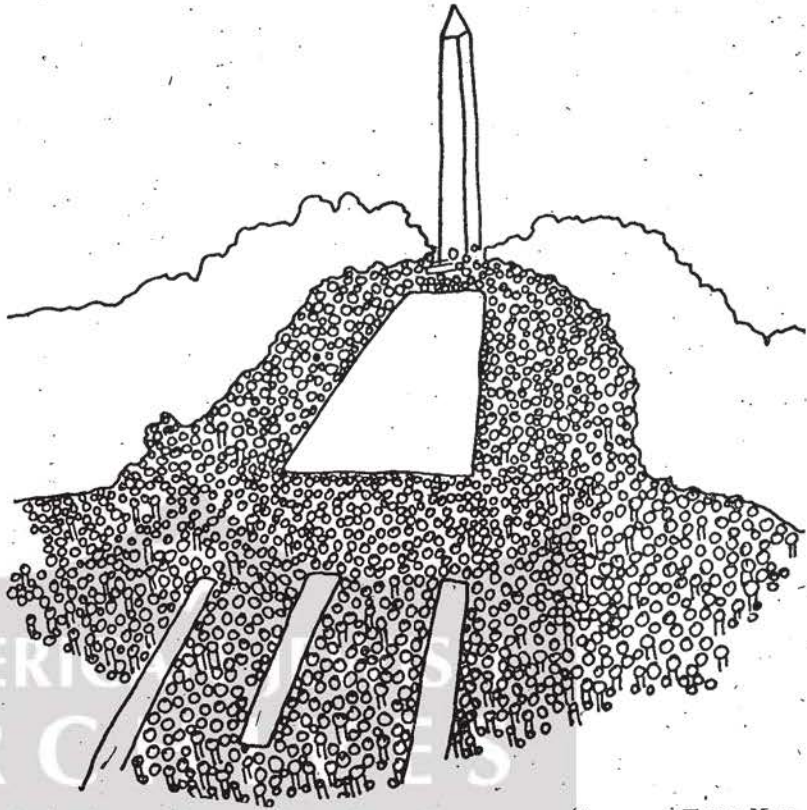
People often wonder why Southern demonstrations tend to sputter out after a vigorous beginning and heroic sacrifice. The answer, simply and inescapably, is that naked force has defeated the Negro. A ruling state apparatus, accustomed for generations to act with impunity against him, is able to employ every element of unchecked power. A slow-moving federal suit, or sporadic and frequently ineffectual federal mediation, is scarcely more adequate to support the Negro in such a one-sided engagement than would be a pat on the back.

Negroes have found nonviolent direct action to be a miraculous method of curbing force, but it is not a cure-all. When the glare of a thousand spotlights illuminates the misdeeds of Southern police, their guns and clubs are temporarily muzzled. Yet so shameless are the mores of the feudal South that even in the presence of millions of witnesses police still employ such

barbaric weapons as the cattle prod and the high-pressure hose. Moreover, when a deed can be cloaked in night, the depravity of conduct is bottomless. The blasting to death of four Sunday school children is such an example. Assassinations, mutilations, floggings and bombings are others.

When the armored car of the Birmingham police rumbled into the spotlight, it was regarded as a grotesque but rare example of local police power run wild. In the past weeks the Mayor of Jackson, Miss., has boasted of the armor he has accumulated for next summer. It includes "Thompson's Tank," a 13,000-pound armored battle wagon, carrying a task force of twelve men armed with shotguns, tear gas and submachine guns. The mobile equipment also includes three troop lorries, two searchlight tanks and three giant trailer trucks, nearly 500 men; plus a reserve pool of deputies, state troopers, civilian city employees and neighborhood citizen patrols. This local army awaits nonviolent demonstrators with undisguised hostility and the familiar trigger-happy eagerness for confrontation.

The inevitable conclusion is that as Negroes have marshaled extraordinary courage to employ non-



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violent direct action, they have been left — by the most powerful federal government in the world — almost solely to their own resources to face a massively equipped army. They have endured violence to reveal their plight and to protest it; their government has been able to muster only the minimum courage and determination to aid them.

This contradiction cries out for resolution. Legislation, commissions, bi-racial committees, cannot change a community when those in the seats of power locally are aware that they can organize and employ force while the federal power temporizes. There are governments in some areas of the world today that have no effective control in some regions of their country. The United States a century ago did not have control of areas dominated by unsubdued Indian tribes. But we are nearing the year 2000 and our national power almost defies description. Yet it cannot enforce elementary law even in a dusty rural Southern village.

It is not my intention, in presenting these stark facts, to make a blanket condemnation of this Administration or its predecessor. The Kennedy administration initiated the pending bill and, at this writing, the Johnson Administration has fought off weakening amendments. It would be not only unrealistic, but unfair, to ignore the complexities that face and frequently confound national leaders who have inherited a hundred years of evasions, compromises and malevolence. Nevertheless, to understand difficulties should not be a preparation for surrendering to them.

Along with the fight to add legislation to the law books, the intolerable conditions of the South require that the Administration look in a new way to its powers and their use. The President and the heads of every relevant agency should allocate the time to study the question; they should literally throw away the key to the room until answers are uncovered.

An example of the creative innovations that might be forthcoming is the assignment in recent years of federal marshals in situations unsuitable for troops. Earlier, no one had thought of using the marshals as a civil rights measure. Yet

the federal marshal is well known even to school children; he attained legendary fame in the taming of the West and is exalted today in books, movies and television.

It is a challenge to wonder what the organization of a marshal's corps might do to bring law into the South. Up to now, however creative the idea to use them may have been, they have too often been hastily withdrawn and their recruitment revealed as an emergency measure with no thought that they might remain on the scene for as long as resistance to law required.

Above all, the federal government must not overlook the fact that the heroics of some Southern officials are more impressive for stagecraft than for determination. The battle-clad brigades are designed to terrorize Negroes and to generate alarming illusions of warfare in the timid onlookers, North and South. They will not freeze the blood of Negroes who have cast out their fears. They should not intimidate a federal power that has not hesitated to commit its forces on fronts around the world.

Still another example of creative search through the legal corridors of the federal law was the discovery that the Interstate Commerce Commission had power to require desegregation of interstate buses and terminals. This right of law in support of the Freedom Ride movement made possible a relative degree of progress; at the same time, a project that had been born in violence ended in peaceful victory.

Finally, many new elements of the South are as appalled by these histrionics as are citizens of the North. They would welcome the curbing of the up-dated, iron-booted Klansmen. There is genuinely a new South, but it cannot surface without the shelter of federal power and order. The dignity of the federal government would be radiantly enhanced if it arrayed a trained, self-confident force of federal marshals against these armed usurpers who have stomach for battle only with the unarmed and nonviolent.

The country abounds in specialists and experts in law enforcement. If the Administration would summon to the White House a conference of experts to deliberate

with the highest officials of government, it could not fail to produce practical and effective answers. The Administration participants should include not only the President but also the National Security Council.

Some of the other participants in a White House session might be the heads of the Treasury law-enforcement agencies. There is a need to know what is going on in conspiratorial racist circles. Many of the shocking bombings might have been avoided if such knowledge had been available. Something must certainly be done to capture those who have with utter impunity caused dozens of bombings across the South. The law-enforcement agencies of Treasury are suggested because the Bureau of Narcotics is extensively experienced in working within secret groups and obtaining effective results. And the alcohol-tax unit of Internal Revenue is probably more familiar with the rural South than is any other agency, because for years it has been tracking down "moonshiners."

These examples are cited, not as outstanding or special, but to suggest that the scope of inquiry should be so wide that no possible key will be overlooked in the search for solutions. If determination is expressed at the highest level, and if it is realized that the prevalent lawlessness of the South must come to an end, the victory cannot fail. The massive power of the federal government, applied with imagination, can make this problem yield.

The necessity for a new approach to the Executive power is not a matter of choice. The new-found strength of the civil rights movement will not vanish or wither. Negroes have learned the strength of their own power and will unleash it again and again. The surge of their revolution must inevitably engulf the nation once more, and if effective methods have not been devised, chaos can result from future confrontations dealt with indecisively. Now is the time to anticipate needs, not when the flames of conflict are raging. This is the lesson the past teaches us. This is the test to which concerned national leaders are put — not by civil rights leaders as such, but by conditions too brutal to be endured, and by justice too long delayed to be justified.