

Working Papers-Civil Rights Message
Feburary 4, 1948

Nash Files

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President's Committee
on
Civil Rights

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President's Committee
on
Civil Rights

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Attached are the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights broken down into four categories: those calling for (1) executive action, (2) congressional action, (3) state action, and (4) education. Where a recommendation calls for more than one type of action, as for action by the Congress and the states, or for alternative action, as by the Congress or the Executive Branch, the recommendation is included under both of the appropriate headings.

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EXECUTIVE ACTION

1. Enlargement of the staff of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice and the establishment of regional offices; increase in investigative action in the absence of complaints. (These recommendations are partially dependent upon congressional action for appropriations and possibly authority.)

2. Establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work.

3. Invitation of favorable consideration by the states of the recommendation for the establishment by the state governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the Federal Civil Rights Section.

4. Establishment of a permanent commission on civil rights in the Executive Office of the President.

5. Review of our wartime evacuation and experience looking toward the development of a policy which will prevent the abridgment of civil rights of any person or groups because of race or ancestry.

6. Appropriate administrative action to end all discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the organizations and activities of all branches of the Armed Services.

7. Clarification of the loyalty obligations of Federal employees, and establishment of standards and procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained.

8. Issuance by the President of a mandate against discrimination in Government employment and creation of adequate machinery to enforce this mandate.

9. Intervention by the Department of Justice in court attacks upon restrictive covenants.

10. Establishment by executive order of a unit in the Federal Bureau of the Budget to review the execution of all Government programs and the expenditures of all Government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

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CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

1. The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice should be given a substantial increase in its appropriation, should be raised to full divisional status in the Department, and should be granted increased authority to make appropriate use of civil sanctions, such as suits for damages or injunctive relief, suits under the Declaratory Judgment Act and the right of intervention by means of briefs amicus curiae in private litigation where important issues of civil rights law are being determined.
2. The enactment by Congress of new legislation to supplement Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code which would impose the same liability on one person as is now imposed by that statute on two or more conspirators.
3. The amendment of Section 51 to remove the penalty provision which disqualifies persons convicted under the Act from holding public office.
4. The amendment of Section 52 to increase the maximum penalties that may be imposed under it from a \$1,000 fine and a one-year prison term to a \$5,000 fine and a ten-year prison term, thus bringing its penalty provisions into line with those in Section 51.
5. The enactment by Congress of a new statute, to supplement Section 52, specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes.
6. The enactment by Congress of an antilynching act.
7. The enactment by Congress of a new criminal statute on involuntary servitude, supplementing Sections 443 and 444 of Title 18 of the United States Code.
8. Enactment by Congress of legislation establishing a procedure by which claims of evacuees for specific property and business losses resulting from the wartime evacuation can be promptly considered and settled.
9. Action by the states or Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite.
10. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right of qualified persons to participate in federal primaries and elections against interference by public officers and private persons.
11. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right to qualify for, or participate in, federal or state primaries or elections against discriminatory action by state officers based on race or color, or depending on any other unreasonable classification of persons for voting purposes.

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12. The enactment by Congress of legislation establishing local self-government for the District of Columbia; and the amendment of the Constitution to extend suffrage in presidential elections, and representation in Congress to District residents.

13. The modification of the federal naturalization laws to permit the granting of citizenship without regard to the race, color, or national origin of applicants.

14. The enactment by Congress of legislation granting citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa.

15. The enactment by Congress of legislation, followed by appropriate administrative action, to end immediately all discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the organization and activities of all branches of the armed services.

16. The enactment by Congress of legislation providing that no member of the armed forces shall be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation, or other service or business.

17. The enactment by Congress and the state legislatures of legislation requiring all groups, which attempt to influence public opinion, to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures.

18. Action by Congress and the executive branch clarifying the loyalty obligations of federal employees, and establishing standards and procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained.

19. The conditioning by Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

20. The enactment of a federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

21. The enactment by Congress of a law stating that discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the rendering of all public services by the national government is contrary to public policy.

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22. The enactment by Congress of a law prohibiting discrimination or segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in interstate transportation and all the facilities thereof, to apply against both public officers and the employees of private transportation companies.

23. For the District of Columbia:

The enactment by Congress of legislation to accomplish the following purposes in the District;

prohibition of discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in all public or publicly-supported hospitals, parks, recreational facilities, housing projects, welfare agencies, penal institutions, and concessions on public property;

The prohibition of segregation in the public school system of the District of Columbia;

The establishment of a fair educational practice program directed against discrimination, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the admission of students to private educational institutions;

The establishment of a fair health practice program forbidding discrimination and segregation by public or private agencies, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, with respect to the training of doctors and nurses, the admission of patients to hospitals, clinics, and similar institutions, and the right of doctors and nurses to practice in hospitals;

The outlawing of restrictive covenants;

Guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, to persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

24. The enactment by Congress of legislation ending the system of segregation in the Panama Canal Zone.

25. The establishment by act of Congress or executive order of a unit in the federal Bureau of the Budget to review the execution of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination.

26. The establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President, preferably by Act of Congress;

And the simultaneous creation of a Joint Standing Committee on Civil Rights in Congress.

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STATE ACTION

1. The establishment by the state governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the federal Civil Rights Section.
2. The establishment by the states of permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the federal Commission at the state level.
3. The increased professionalization of state and local police forces.
4. Action by the states or Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite.
5. The granting of suffrage by the States of New Mexico and Arizona to their Indian citizens.
6. The repeal by the states of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship because of race, color, or national origin.
7. The enactment by Congress and the state legislatures of legislation requiring all groups, which attempt to influence public opinion, to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures.
8. The enactment by the states of Fair Employment Practice Acts prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race, color, creed, or national origin.
9. Enactment by the state legislatures of fair educational practice laws for public and private educational institutions, prohibiting discrimination in the admission and treatment of students based on race, color, creed, or national origin.
10. The enactment by the states of laws outlawing restrictive covenants.
11. The enactment by the states of fair health practice statutes forbidding discrimination and segregation based on race, creed, color, or national origin, in the operation of public or private health facilities.
12. The enactment by the states of laws stating that discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the rendering of all public services by the national government is contrary to public policy.
13. The enactment by the states of laws guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, for persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

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EDUCATION

1. a long term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another.
2. aside from the education of the general public a civil rights campaign by the Government for its employees and for the men in the service.

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President's Committee
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January 26, 1948.

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE W. BUSH

Attached is the memorandum you asked
for.

PHILIP WASH

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President's Committee
on
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January 26, 1948.

RECEIVED BY THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

Director,
Bureau of the Budget

In connection with the special message to Congress on Civil Rights, and the legislation which we are now preparing, a question has arisen as to the exact basis of the Federal Government's policy of non-discrimination.

No one doubts what the policy is. However, it seems to have been announced from time to time by the various agencies in differing ways and in varying degrees.

I wonder if you could have a collection made of such policy statements and directives as may have been made or issued by the White House and the various departments on the subject of non-discrimination.

CLARK M. CLIFFORD
Special Counsel to the President

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H. R. 8388

74th Congress, First Session, dated June 6, 1935.

A Bill to assure all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privilege in places of public accommodation, resort, and amusement, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that within the District of Columbia all persons are entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, and privileges of every public convenience and every place of public accommodation, resort, entertainment, or amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applying alike to all persons. No person being the owner, operator, receiver, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent, or employees of any such place shall directly or indirectly refuse, withhold from, or deny to any person any accommodation, advantage, or privilege thereof or in any publish or circulate any representation or communication to the effect that any accommodations, advantages, or privileges thereof shall be refused, withheld, or denied to any person on account of race, creed, or color. Hotels, inns, restaurants, eating houses, public libraries, and amusement parks shall be deemed to places of public accommodation, resort, entertainment, or amusement, but without in any wise limiting or restricting the meaning of that general phrase by such specific announcements.

Section 2. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section or who shall aid or incite the violation of any of said provisions shall for each and every violation thereof be liable to a penalty of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, to be recovered by the person agreed thereby in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; and shall, also, for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in the police court of the District of Columbia shall be fined not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or shall be imprisoned not less than 30 days nor more than 90 days, or both such fine and imprisonment.

Section 3. This Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Law of the District of Columbia."

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There are compelling reasons why we should act now to secure these rights. The peoples of the world are faced with the choice of freedom or enslavement, a choice between forms of government which harness the state in the service of the individual and forms of government which chain the individual to the needs of the state.

As a government, we have aligned ourselves on the side of the freedom-loving peoples. We intend to use all the resources at our command to help the freedom-loving states grow and remain strong.

To be effective, we ourselves must remain and grow strong and to this end we must conserve and develop all our resources. We have wealth in our fields, forests, mines and factories, but our greatest resource is and always has been our people and their free way of life.

To conserve and develop our human resources, we need to perfect the institutions which keep our people free and which sustain our free way of life.

These institutions are of two kinds. Some of them protect the individual's freedom from encroachment by Government or by private persons. Other institutions help men and women and children to expand their opportunities to live better in terms of jobs, houses, health, education, recreation and security. Both kinds of institutions sustain freedom; both must be perfected. The founders of our country held up for us the ideal of freedom and equality under just laws. Their hope is our hope. The hope of the individual human beings that make our Nation great. It is the hope of common humanity in every land, in every time and place.

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To conserve and develop our human resources, we need to perfect the institutions which keep our people free and which sustain our free way of life.

The ideal of freedom and equality under just laws is our Nation's hope. It is the hope of the individual human beings who make our Nation great. It is the hope of common humanity in every land, in every time and place.

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January 26, 1948

Mr. Nash:

With respect to civil rights, I would suggest language somewhat as follows:

"The Congress is under specific treaty obligation to determine the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of Guam.⁽¹⁾ A similar responsibility, arising from considerations of morality and national honor, rests on the Congress with respect to the inhabitants of American Samoa."

On the general subject of organic legislation, I would suggest language somewhat as follows:

"The Constitution reserves to the Congress the power, and therefore the responsibility, for the making of needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States.⁽²⁾ I therefore recommend that organic legislation be enacted by the Congress with respect to the island possessions of Guam and American Samoa. In addition to organizing a form of government, such legislation should define the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of those islands."

Roy E. James



(1) Article IX of the Treaty of Paris (30 Stat. 1754) provides in full as follows:

"The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

(2) Paragraph 2, Section 3, of Article IV of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

"The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

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4th Draft

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In my message to the Congress on the State of the Union on January 7, 1948, I spoke of five major goals for strengthening our democracy and improving the welfare of our people. The first of these goals is to secure fully the essential human rights of our citizens.

The United States was founded by men and women who came to these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. Our Declaration of Independence proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed.

The noble ideals of the founders of this Nation inspired the peoples of all lands, and made the United States the hope of the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women of many colors and creeds, of many races and religions, have come to this country to escape tyranny or intolerable discrimination in their homelands. Here they found a Nation built on the promise of liberty and equality. For many of these travellers it was a

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promise long-forgotten in their homelands. They sought a land
where they could work with the dignity of free men,
where ~~regard for the dignity of the individual was paramount.~~

Here they found a warm welcome for all who were willing to contribute to the good of the Nation.

The Growth of our Civil Rights Concept

Through the years of our country's growth, our concept of the Government's role with respect to civil rights has steadily changed. The Bill of Rights in our Constitution was drawn up to protect the citizens of the republic against any possible tyranny on the part of the new Federal Government. As the Nation grew in size and complexity however, the Federal Government became, not the enemy of liberty as some had feared, but the protector of the rights of its citizens. Through Constitutional amendments, Federal laws, and administrative practice, the Federal Government has become a friendly, vigilant guardian of the rights of all Americans.

But the greatest progress toward the attainment of our ideals has been in the minds and hearts of our citizens. We have come to appreciate more and more that the diversity of our people is a principal source of national strength, and that this

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strength can be fully developed only when all groups enjoy equal opportunities.

The Present Status of Civil Rights

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. There is less violence based on prejudice than at any time in our history. More than ever before our people are conscious of the danger of intolerance and have the will to resist the evil of discrimination. The economic well-being of recent years and full employment have made possible a wider enjoyment of civil rights by all groups in the Nation. No nation in history has ever offered more hope of the complete realization of the ideal of liberty and equality than has ours.

We will not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples — flagrant examples — of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence, not all groups are free to live and work where

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they please, and not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for education, for jobs, for homes, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

The Role of the Federal Government

The Federal Government must take the lead in securing the rights of all people wherever they are abridged or endangered. The States alone have not been able to eliminate such crimes as lynching, nor to make secure such rights as voting. The Federal Government must exercise continuous watch over its own activities to insure that Federal services are provided without discrimination.

Today as never before, the United States symbolizes the free way of life. We are confronted by other lands and other political systems which subordinate the individual to the state. History offers us the opportunity to prove that the free way of life can be a reality and is not just a dream; to show that the state can respect and protect basic human rights.

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In its efforts to foster and secure civil rights,
the Federal Government is limited by inadequate laws and by
the prejudices of a few of our citizens who still do not
realize the full dangers and the injustices of discrimination.

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

One year ago, I appointed a committee of distinguished
citizens to explore the extent and nature of the violations of
civil rights in this country, and to recommend remedies. I asked
this committee "to determine whether and in what respect current
law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed
by Federal, state, and local governments may be strengthened
and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people."

The report of this committee points out present ills
and makes a series of proposals designed to secure those rights
still abridged or denied to some groups. The report emphasizes
a truth which is fundamental in our consideration of the state
of civil rights in this country. The effort to secure fully
the rights of our people rests upon the understanding by every
person that in return for each right he enjoys he owes respect
for the equal enjoyment of the same right by his fellow men.

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The report makes very clear, moreover, that there is an inescapable obligation upon our democratic government to insure that its citizens enjoy the fullest measure of civil rights.

I believe the time has come, therefore, for the Federal Government to take decisive action. We can no longer afford a piecemeal approach. The Congress should enact modern, comprehensive, civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the hour, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of life.

STRENGTHENING THE MACHINERY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

As a first step, we must strengthen the Federal machinery designed to enforce civil rights legislation and create new agencies to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President. The Commission should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local governments, and with private organizations. It should review our civil rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make public reports at regular intervals.

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I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint Committee on Civil Rights. It should be the function of this Committee to make a continuing study of matters relating to civil rights, and to consider means of improving respect for and enforcement of civil and Constitutional rights.

These two bodies should serve as the civil rights conscience of the Nation. They should keep us continuously aware of the state of civil liberty in the United States and keep us ever alert to opportunities to improve our democracy.

To provide more adequate machinery for the enforcement of Federal civil rights laws, I recommend that the Congress provide for a Division of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice, with an Assistant Attorney General in charge, and an appropriation adequate to enable it to fulfill its important responsibilities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation performs most of the investigative work in civil rights cases. Steps are being taken to provide its agents with specialized training in civil rights so that it may render more effective service in this difficult field of law enforcement. This may also require additional funds.

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INSURING EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER LAW

The new Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice must be given better legal tools with which to do its part of the job. I, therefore, recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen existing provisions of Federal law, namely sections 51, 52, 443 and 444 of Title 18 of the United States Code. These are the statutes which have been used by the Department of Justice as the basis for our present civil rights enforcement program. In particular, these statutes have been employed to safeguard the right to vote and the right to the safety and security of the person.

Section 51 now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal laws. This protection should be extended to include any inhabitant of the United States as well as any citizen. In its present form, Section 51 protects civil rights only against conspiracies by two or more persons. It should be amended to protect against infringements by any person or persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

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Section 52 now gives general protection to the individual against public officers who subject any person to a deprivation of any Federal right. It should be supplemented to enumerate certain of these rights so as to enable the Federal Government to provide stronger protection of the individual's personal safety and security.

Sections 443 and 444 now protect individuals against slavery and peonage. They should be amended to cover additional forms of involuntary servitude so that the great purposes of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution may be fully realized.

Federal Protection Against Lynching

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching -- a subject on which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy to insure every person accused of an offense against the law a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this goal but I regret to say that lynching -- the taking of private vengeance upon accused persons -- has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear

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of lynching, there exists a serious threat to our society.

I call upon the Congress to strike a final blow against this crime.

Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific States. Many of these people suffered property and business losses through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I hope that final action on this legislation will soon be taken.

EXTENDING THE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is an indispensable status for every mature and responsible member of a democratic society. It carries with it certain privileges and duties. However, not all of our people enjoy the full privileges of citizenship. Some of the legal residents of the United States and its territories and possessions are now denied citizenship. Some of our citizens are denied the right to vote. Some suffer discrimination while serving in the Armed Forces. All of these inequities should be remedied.

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Protecting the Right to Vote

The right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Sometimes individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Sometimes whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in certain states or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary and general elections in which federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to state as well as Federal elections insofar as interference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary

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action on the part of these states to remove this barrier.

Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should initiate measures which will insure that the right to vote shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of, or control of, elections. They are designed to provide Federal protection to qualified citizens of the right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, must remain the responsibility of state governments.

Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized American citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the racial or nationality barriers which still stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

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The Status of our Territories and Possessions

The present political status of our territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of full civil rights by their ^{residents} citizens. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa with a grant of American citizenship to the people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Service in the Armed Forces

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress toward equality of opportunity in our Armed Services without regard to race, color, and religion or national origin. [Reference to Secretary Forrestal]

EXTENDING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

We in the United States believe in the principle of equality of opportunity for all men. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

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Equality of Opportunity in Employment

~~discrimination in employment is a threat upon our~~
~~economic life.~~ In the ~~next~~ years ahead, we shall need to
make full use of our nation's skills of hand and brain. We
cannot afford to lose the energies of any man by denying him a
job he is fitted for solely because of factors which are not
related to his talents and his will to work. Once more I repeat
my request that the Congress pass a Fair Employment Practices
Act prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color,
religion or national origin. Such an act should apply to employers
and to labor unions, trade and professional associations, government
agencies and employment bureaus insofar as the policies and
practices of these organizations affect the employment status of
workers.

Equality in Movement across State Lines

The channels of interstate commerce must be open to all
Americans on a basis of complete equality. I urge the Congress
to enact a law prohibiting discrimination and segregation in
interstate transportation by both public officers and the
employees of private companies.

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Segregation in the District of Columbia

The Federal Government must put an end to discrimination in areas under its jurisdiction. This is particularly true of the District of Columbia which should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with such evils as segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and with racial barriers to places of public accommodation, which now exist for one-third of the District's population. Failing such action in the near future, the Congress, itself, should enact a model Civil Rights law for the Nation's Capital. The blot on our civil rights record which now exists at the very heart of our national life cannot and must not be allowed to endure.

(Insert paragraph on Panama Canal)

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NEED FOR ACTION BY THE STATES

There is much that the States can properly and appropriately do to protect civil rights, both to supplement Federal safeguards and to act in areas where the National Government is excluded for lack of Constitutional power. Accordingly, I am today addressing a letter to the Governor of each of our States respectfully inviting him to give consideration to the many possibilities for State action to make our civil rights more secure and to recommend to his legislature such new measures as he deems wise and necessary.

Conclusion

I am well aware that we cannot solve our civil rights problems solely by passing laws. The final victory for civil rights must be won in the minds and hearts of our people. Each of us must understand the value of the free way of life; each of us must understand the folly of prejudice; each of us must understand the importance of respecting his neighbor's rights.

And yet there is much that can be done by law. It may be impossible to change human nature or overcome prejudice by law, but many civil rights violations, which are the visible manifestations of prejudice, can be brought to an end by proper and reasonable Government controls.

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5th draft.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948,

I spoke of five ^{good} ~~major~~ goals for strengthening our democracy and

improving the welfare of our people. The first of these ~~goals~~

is to secure fully the essential human rights of our citizens.

I am now going to help you in your fight for
light and freedom for all people
The United States was founded by men and women who came

to these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater

opportunity than they had known before. Our Declaration of

Independence proclaimed to the world the American belief that all

men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to

secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed.

The noble ideals of the founders of this Nation inspired

the peoples of all lands, and made the United States the hope of

the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women

of many colors and creeds, of many races and religions, have come

to this country to escape tyranny or intolerable discrimination

in their homelands. Here they found a Nation built on the promise

of liberty and equality. Here they found a warm welcome for all

who were willing to contribute to the good of the Nation.

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Through the years of our country's growth, we have retained and strengthened our fundamental devotion to the vision of a democratic society in which men are free and equal. We have come to appreciate more and more that the diversity of our people is a principal source of our national strength, and that this strength can be fully developed only when all groups enjoy equal opportunities.

The Present Status of our Civil Rights

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. ~~The economic well-being of recent years and full employment have made possible a wider enjoyment of civil rights by all groups in the Nation.~~ No nation in history has ever offered more hope of the complete realization of the ideal of liberty and equality than has ours.

We will not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples ~~of~~ ~~discrimination~~ ~~examples~~ -- of discrimination which are utterly contrary to

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our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence, not all groups are free to live and work where they please, and not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for education, for jobs, for homes, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

~~The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights~~

One year ago I appointed a committee of fifteen distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend action to Federal, state and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a very frank and revealing report. ~~That~~ ^{What} ~~that this committee went about~~
~~its task so earnestly and so fearlessly proves the truth of its~~
~~assertion that our basic human freedoms are better cared for and~~ ^{well}
~~are more vigilantly defended than in any other country.~~ But I
am sure that every American who reads this candid report will

pix

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agree that the gap between our ideals and some of our practices
must be closed.

~~Responsibility for Securing Civil Rights~~

The basic responsibility for preserving and improving
civil rights rests upon each of us as individuals. The final
victory for the ideals of freedom and equality must be won in
the minds and hearts of our people, living together in mutual
respect and tolerance. We must each understand that the great
principle of the dignity of the individual applies equally to
all of our people — that the rights of one man are just as
sacred as the rights of another.

Our people must continue to work together, through
voluntary organizations and through State and local governments,
to achieve a full realization of civil rights. In recent years
many communities and States — in all parts of the country —
have developed practical, workable arrangements for achieving
greater tolerance and brotherhood. These efforts must be pushed
forward vigorously.

The strong will of our people for achieving true human
freedom speaks also through the ^{Robert} National Government.

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Through the years of our country's growth, our concept of the Federal Government's role with respect to civil rights has steadily changed. The Bill of Rights in our Constitution was drawn up to protect the citizens of the republic against any possible tyranny on the part of the new Federal Government. As the Nation grew in size and complexity, however, the Federal Government became, not the enemy of liberty as some had feared, but the protector of the rights of ^{the people} ~~its citizens~~. Through Constitutional amendments, Federal laws, court decisions, and administrative practice, the Federal Government has become a friendly, vigilant guardian of the rights of all Americans.

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union.

Our country's position in the world today makes it imperative that we ~~enlarge and~~ ^{extend} extend our civil rights so that by providing all our people with the maximum enjoyment of personal freedom and personal opportunity we shall be a stronger nation —

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stronger in our leadership, stronger in our moral position, stronger
in the deeper satisfactions of a united citizenry.

To achieve these ends, the Congress should enact modern,
comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the
hour, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of
life.

I recommend specific action directed to four main
objectives.

1. To strengthen the organization of the Federal

Government devoted to the protection of civil

rights, ^{to recommend} ~~we need~~ a permanent Commission on Civil

Rights, a joint Congressional Committee on

^{a Fair Employment Practice Commission}
Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in

the Department of Justice.

2. To insure equal protection under law for every

^{to recommend} ~~we need~~ stronger Federal statutes

under which Federal officials can ^{protect} ~~enforce~~

Constitutional rights.

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3. To extend the privileges of citizenship to those
now unfairly excluded, *I recommend studying the*
~~we need stronger laws to~~
protect the right to vote and to give residents
of various Federal territories and possessions
a greater voice in their own government.

added
4. To ~~insure~~ equal opportunity for every American,
I recommend
~~we need stronger~~ legislation relating to fair
employment practices and equal rights in inter-
state transportation.

STRENGTHENING THE GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

As a first step, we must strengthen the organization of
the Federal Government [designed to enforce] civil rights [legislation]
and we must create new agencies to watch over the state of our
traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent
Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission should work with other
agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local govern-
ments, and with private organizations. It should review our civil
rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and ~~make public~~
to the President
reports at regular intervals. ~~The Commission should be attached~~

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~~to the Executive Office of the President until a Department
is established to administer the Federal programs in health,
education and security. The Commission should then be trans-
ferred to the new Department.~~

I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint
Committee on Civil Rights. It should be the function of this
Committee to make a continuing study of matters relating to civil
rights, and to consider means of improving respect for and enforce-
ment of ~~civil and Constitutional rights~~ ^{these rights}

~~These two bodies should serve as the civil rights conscience
of the Nation. They should keep us continuously aware of the state of
civil liberty in the United States and keep us ever alert to
opportunities to improve our democracy.~~ ^{all}

To provide ~~more adequate machinery for the enforcement~~ ^{for better}
of Federal civil rights laws, I recommend that the Congress provide
for a Division of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice, with
an Assistant Attorney General in charge, and ~~an~~ appropriation ^s
adequate to enable it to fulfill its important responsibilities.

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The Federal Bureau of Investigation makes most of the investigations in ^{Federal} civil rights cases. Steps are being taken to provide its agents with specialized training so that they may render more effective service in this difficult field of law enforcement. ?

INSURING EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER LAW

Stronger statutes are needed for the Federal government to do its part of the job in protecting ^{these} the (civil) rights guaranteed by the Constitution. I ~~strongly~~ recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the existing provisions of Federal law which have been used by the Department of Justice as the basis for our present civil rights enforcement program. In particular, these statutes have been employed to safeguard the right to vote and the right to ~~the~~ safety and security of the person.

Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code now ^{protects} gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal laws. This protection should be extended to include any inhabitant of the United States as well as any citizen. ^{Moreover,} In its present form, Section 51 protects civil rights only against conspiracies by two or more persons. It should be amended to protect against infringements by any person or persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

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Section 52 of Title 18 now gives general protection to the individual against public officers who subject any person to a deprivation of any Federal right. It should be supplemented to enumerate certain of these rights so as to enable the Federal Government to provide stronger protection of the individual's personal safety and security.

443
Section 443 of Title 18 now protects individuals against slavery and peonage. (?) It should be amended to cover additional forms of involuntary servitude so that the great purposes of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution may be fully realized.

Federal Protection Against Lynching

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching -- a subject on which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy to insure every person accused of an offense against the law a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching -- the taking of private vengeance upon accused persons -- has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear of lynching, ~~there exists a serious threat to our society.~~ no one can be entirely free of fear, and there exists a serious threat to orderly law enforcement.

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I call upon the Congress to strike a final blow against this
crime.

Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand
Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific
States. Many of these people suffered property and business
losses through no fault of their own. The Congress has before
it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based
upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I
~~hope that final~~ action on this legislation will soon be taken.

EXTENDING THE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is an indispensable status for every mature
and responsible member of a democratic society. It carries with
it certain privileges and duties. However, not all of our people
enjoy the full privileges of citizenship. Some of the legal
residents of the United States and its territories and possessions
are now denied citizenship. Some of our citizens are denied
the right to vote. Some are denied the right of self-government.
All of these inequities should be remedied.

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Protecting the Right to Vote

W. L. ...
The right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in certain states or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to state as well as Federal elections insofar as interference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary

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action on the part of these states to remove this barrier.

Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should initiate measures which will insure that the right to vote shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of ~~or control of~~ elections. They are designed to ^{give} Federal protection to qualified citizens ~~of the right~~ ^{to} to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, ~~will~~ ^{will} remain the responsibility of state governments.

Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized ~~American~~ citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the racial or nationality barriers which still stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

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The Status of Federal Territories

I am in full accord with the principle that local self-government be extended to ~~the~~ District of Columbia. In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in presidential elections and representation in Congress to the residents of the District.

The present political status of our territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of ~~full~~ civil rights by their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa with a grant of ~~American~~ citizenship to the people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Territory
The residents of the Virgin Islands should be granted an increasing measure of self-government, and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States.

EXTENDING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

at all times are
equal to
We in the United States believe in the principle of equality of opportunity ~~for all men~~. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual

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of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to
enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

Equality of Opportunity in Employment

~~Discrimination in employment is a blight upon our
economic life. In the trying years ahead, we shall need to
make full use of our Nation's skills of hand and brain. We
cannot afford to lose the energies of any man by denying him a
job he is fitted for solely because of factors which are not
related to his talents and his will to work. Once more I repeat
my request that the Congress pass a Fair Employment Practices~~

~~Act prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color,
religion or national origin. Such an act should apply to employers
and to labor unions, trade and professional associations, government
agencies and employment bureaus [insofar as the policies and
practices of these organizations affect the employment status of
workers.]~~

Equality in Movement across State Lines

The channels of interstate commerce must be open to all
Americans on a basis of complete equality. I urge the Congress
to enact a law prohibiting discrimination and segregation in

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interstate transportation by both public officers and the
employees of private companies.

South
Segregation in the District of Columbia

W. H. H. H.
The Federal Government must put an end to discrimination
in areas under its jurisdiction. This is particularly true of
the District of Columbia which should be a true symbol of American
freedom and democracy for our own people and for the people of the
world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly
give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local,
elective government. They themselves can then deal with such
evils as segregation in the schools and other public facilities,
and with racial barriers to places of public accommodation, which
now exist for one-third of the District's population. Failing

Local
such action in the near future, the Congress, ~~itself~~, should

enact a model Civil Rights law for the Nation's Capital. The
spot at the very heart of our national life, and rights
blot on our civil rights record which now exists at the very
heart of our national life cannot and must not be allowed to
inequality in essential services ~~between~~ as among a
entire.

*problem for the United States; but they are also of great concern
to the whole nation.*
Segregation in the Panama Canal Zone

I have instructed the Secretary of the Army to investigate

the status of civil rights in the Panama Canal Zone with a view to

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eliminating such discrimination as may exist there. If legislation is necessary, I shall make appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

Discrimination in the Armed Services

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress toward equality of opportunity in our armed services without regard to race, color, and religion or national origin. I have ^{what} received assurances from the Secretary of Defense that, ^{so his office has been those} in accordance with my instructions, the remaining ^{work} elements of discrimination in the armed services are being eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made ^{cont} uniform.

NEED FOR ACTION BY THE STATES

There is much that the States can properly and appropriately do to protect civil rights, both to supplement Federal safeguards and to act in areas where the National Government is excluded for ^{any the doubt as the Committee recommends in regard to} lack of Constitutional power. ^{state for better part set at State for several} Accordingly, I am today addressing a letter to the Governor of each of our States respectfully inviting ^{partly out} him to give consideration to the many possibilities for State action to make our civil rights more secure and to recommend to his legislature such new measures as he deems wise and necessary.

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CONCLUSION

The position of the United States in the world today makes especially urgent these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

The United States is endeavoring to build a world family of nations -- a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making. We are working in company with other nations who share our desire for enduring world peace but who believe that, above all else, men must be free.

Our efforts to promote peace and to preserve freedom are challenged -- and attacked -- at every step by ^{men} ~~nations~~ whose intent with respect to peace is not yet clear, but whose utter and complete disregard for ^{human} ~~man's~~ freedom is tragically apparent. These nations are aggressively attempting to enslave millions of men now free. Their actions threaten all the democracies of the world, for when one ~~free~~ nation loses its freedom, the rest grow weaker.

The degree of respect for civil rights is the yardstick by which we measure the differences between those ~~(nations)~~ who strive for peace and justice and liberty -- and those who seek strife and tyranny and slavery.

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We believe that all men are created equal and that they
have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom of
thought and expression.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities
for jobs, for education, for homes, and for good health.

We believe that government should be a protector, not a
usurper, of the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the foundation
of our democracy.

These are the civil rights which totalitarian countries
deny their people.

We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we do know
that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than
any totalitarian nation has ever offered.

~~If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose
freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who
have already lost their civil liberties, we must correct those
remaining imperfections which tarnish our record. We must prove
that the practice of democracy lives up to its promise.~~

We can make ours as nearly a perfect a society as the
world has known. We know the way. We need only the will.

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6th draft.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948,
I spoke of five great goals for strengthening our democracy and
improving the welfare of our people. The first of these is to
secure fully the essential human rights of our (citizens.) I am
now presenting to the Congress my recommendations for legislation
to carry us forward toward that goal.

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought
these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater
opportunity than they had known before. They came to escape
oppression and to found a society in the deep conviction that men
are created equal and that the highest purpose of Government is to
secure the rights with which all men are inalienably endowed. In
the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United
States, (they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind
for equality and freedom.

These American ideals inspired the peoples of other
lands, and made the United States the hope of the oppressed every-
where. Throughout our history men and women of all colors and
creeds, of all races and religions, have come to this country to

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escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions strong, they have
helped build this democratic Nation upon the great promises
of liberty and equality. Together with those who preceded
them, they have helped to fashion the American creed.

~~That creed, which lies at the heart of our strength
as a Nation, can be simply stated:~~

We believe that all men are created equal and that
they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom
of thought and of expression and to worship God as they
please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal oppor-
tunities for education, for jobs, for homes, and for good health.

We believe that government should be a protector,
not a usurper, of the rights of the people, and that the people
should control the government.

These things in which we believe are the basic
civil rights which are the source and the support of our
democracy.

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through the years of our country's growth, we have retained and strengthened our fundamental devotion to the vision of a democratic society in which men are free and equal. We have come to appreciate more and more that the diversity of our people is a principal source of our national strength, and that this strength can be fully developed only when all groups enjoy equal opportunities.

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. ^{has our} ^{and} ~~No nation in history~~ has ever ^{been} offered more hope of the complete realization of the ideal of liberty and equality ~~than in our~~

We will not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples — flagrant examples — of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their

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own efforts. Not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship and participation in the government under which they live.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for education, for jobs, for homes, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

One year ago I appointed a committee of fifteen distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend action to Federal, state and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a frank and revealing report. ^{it} ~~The report of the committee~~ emphasizes that our basic human freedoms are well cared for and vigilantly defended. But it also makes clear ^{that there is a gap between our ideals} ~~the nature and extent of existing civil~~ ^{rights violations. That gap must be closed} rights violations. I am sure that every American who reads this ~~candid report will agree that the gap between our ideals and some~~ ~~of our practices must be closed.~~

The basic responsibility for preserving and improving civil rights rests upon each of us as individuals. The final

K. J. [unclear]

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cut

victory for the ideals of freedom and equality must be won in the minds and hearts of our people, living together in mutual respect and tolerance. We must each understand that the great principle of the dignity of the individual applies equally to all of our people. The rights of every man are fully as sacred as the rights of every other. In return for each right that a man enjoys, he owes respect for the equal enjoyment of the same right by his neighbor.

Our people must continue to work together, through voluntary organizations and through State and local governments, to achieve a full realization of civil rights. In recent years many communities and States — in all parts of the country — have developed practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood. These efforts must be pushed forward vigorously.

The strong will of our people for achieving true human freedom speaks also through the Federal Government.

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The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts adequate and modern civil rights legislation.

hour, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of
life.

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Many of the steps which should be taken involve complex problems which cannot be speedily solved. But we should go forward immediately with the broadest possible civil rights program. Fortunately, the Congress has already given extensive study to a number of the proposals which should constitute a part of this program. The Executive branch of the Government has developed concrete and specific proposals which can serve as a basis for immediate consideration of other parts of the program by the Congress.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation at this session directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

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- 7 5. Providing home-rule and national suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia.
- 8 6. Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
- 5 7. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
- 10 8. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.
- 9 9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become nationalized citizens.
- > 6 10. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate-transportation.

Strengthening The Government Organization

As a first step, we must strengthen the organization of the Federal Government in order to enforce civil rights legislation more adequately and to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission should continuously review our civil rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make reports and recommendations to the President at frequent intervals. It should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local governments, and with private organizations.

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I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint
Committee on Civil Rights. This Committee should make a
continuing study of ^{legislative} matters relating to civil rights, and
~~to~~ ^{legislative} consider means of improving respect for and enforcement
of those rights.

These two bodies together should keep all of us
continuously aware of the ^{condition} ~~state~~ of civil liberties in the United
States and keep us alert to opportunities to improve ~~them~~ ^{them}

To provide for better enforcement of Federal civil
rights laws, there will be established a Division of Civil
Rights in the Department of Justice. I recommend that the
Congress provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General
to supervise this Division.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation makes the inves-
tigations in Federal civil rights cases. Steps are being taken
to provide its agents with specialized training so that they
may render more effective service in this difficult field of
Law enforcement.

Strengthening Existing Civil Rights Statutes

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I recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the existing provisions of Federal law which safeguard the right to vote and the right to safety and security of the person. These provisions are the basis for our present civil rights enforcement program.

Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal Laws, needs to be strengthened in two respects. In its present form, this section protects persons only if they are citizens, and it affords protection only against conspiracies by two or more persons. This protection should be extended to all inhabitants of the United States, whether or not they are citizens, and should be afforded against infringement by persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

Section 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives general protection to individuals against the deprivation of Federally-secured rights by public officers, has proven to be inadequate in some cases because of the generality of its language. A specific enumeration of the principal rights protected under this section is needed to make more definite and certain the protection which the section affords.

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Federal Protection Against Lynching

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching -- a subject on which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy, written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching -- the taking of private vengeance upon accused persons -- has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear of lynching, we shall not have achieved equal justice under law. I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime.

Protecting the Right to Vote

Under the Constitution, the right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in certain states or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding

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interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to ~~state as well as Federal~~ elections, *f. s. 1000* insofar as interference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary action on the part of these states to remove this barrier.

Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should initiate measures which will insure that the right to vote shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes. *in the case of Federal cases*

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of elections. They are designed to give qualified citizens Federal protection of their right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, will remain the responsibility of state governments.

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Home Rule and National Suffrage for the District of Columbia

I am in full accord with the principle of local self-government for residents of the District of Columbia.

In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in presidential elections and representation in Congress to the residents of the District.

The District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with the inequalities arising from segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and from racial barriers to places of public accommodation which now exist for one-third of the District's population.

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Here, at the very heart of our national life, *civil*
rights should be better cared for.
the present inequities in essential services are primarily
a problem for the District itself, but they are also of
great concern to the whole Nation. *Constitution*
Failing local action
in the near future, the Congress should enact a model
Civil Rights Law for the Nation's Capital.

The Status of Our Territories and Possessions

The present political status of our territories
and possessions impairs the enjoyment of civil rights by
their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation
granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for
Guam and American Samoa *including* with a grant of citizenship to the
people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Furthermore, the residents of the Virgin Islands
should be granted an increasing measure of self-government,
and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose
their form of government and their ultimate status with
respect to the United States.

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Equality of Opportunity in Employment.

Fair Employment Practice Commission
We in the United States believe that all men are

entitled to equality of opportunity. Social, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact Fair Employment Practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion or national origin. The legislation should create a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations and government agencies and employment bureaus.

Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific States solely because of their racial origin. Many of these people suffered property and business losses through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I trust that favorable action on this legislation will soon be taken.

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Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the ^{racial} racial or nationality barriers which ~~still~~ stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

Equality in Movement Across State Lines

The channels of interstate commerce should be open to all Americans on a basis of complete equality. The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional State laws requiring segregation on public carriers in interstate travel. Company regulations must not be allowed to replace unconstitutional State laws. I urge the Congress to prohibit discrimination and segregation in interstate transportation by both public officers and the employees of private companies.

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Franklin D. Roosevelt

The legislation I have recommended is a minimum program if we are to close the gap between our ideals and some of our practices. It is ~~urgently~~ needed to strengthen our democracy at home and our leadership abroad. Under the authority of existing law, the Executive branch will take every possible action to eliminate discrimination in Federal employment, in the armed forces, and in the provision of Federal services.

I shall issue an Executive order codifying the Federal policy of non-discrimination in Federal employment *at the same time of Federal services.* and providing for appropriate enforcement machinery.

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress toward equality of opportunity in our armed services without regard to race, color, and religion or national origin. I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made consistent.

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I have instructed the Secretary of the Army to investigate the status of civil rights in the Panama Canal Zone with a view to eliminating such discrimination as may exist there. If legislation is necessary, I shall make appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

In addition to action by the Federal Government, there is much that the States can properly and appropriately do to protect civil rights, both to supplement Federal safeguards and to act in areas where the Federal Government is excluded for lack of Constitutional power. For example, the President's Committee on Civil Rights recommended the adoption by the States of fair health practice acts and fair educational practice acts, the enactment of civil rights codes by those States which do not already have them and the creation of State Commissions on Civil rights. The position of the United States in the world today makes especially urgent these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

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The position of the United States in the world today makes especially urgent these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

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The United States is endeavoring to build a world family of nations -- a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making. We are working in company with other nations who share our desire for enduring world peace *and who believe with us* but ~~who believe~~ that, above all else, men must be free.

The Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations is presently engaged in preparing an international bill of human rights by which the nations of the world may bind themselves to ~~each other~~ by international covenant to give effect to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

President Truman
We have ~~assumed the leadership~~ *initiated* in this undertaking designed to create an order of law and justice fully protective of the rights and the dignity of the individual. We must achieve at home that complete degree of respect for the rights by which we measure the difference between those nations who strive for peace and justice and liberty -- and those who seek strife and tyranny and slavery.

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We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we do know that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than any totalitarian nation has ever offered.

If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, we must correct those remaining imperfections which tarnish our record. We must prove that the practice of democracy lives up to its promise.

We can make ours as nearly a perfect a society as the world has known. We know the way. We need only the will.

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7th draft.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948,
I spoke of five great goals for strengthening our democracy and
improving the welfare of our people. The first of these is to
secure fully ~~the~~ essential human rights ~~of our citizens~~. I am
now presenting to the Congress my recommendations for legislation
to carry us forward toward that goal.

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought
these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater
opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United
States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men
are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure
the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. In the
Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United
States, they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind
for equality and freedom.

These ideals inspired the peoples of other lands, and
their practical fulfillment made the United States the hope of
the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women
of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come

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to this country to escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions
strong, they have helped build this democratic Nation and have
constantly ~~renewed~~ ^{renewed} our devotion to the great ideals of liberty
and equality. With those who preceded them, they have helped
to fashion and strengthen ^{our} the American ~~creed~~ ^{faith}.

We believe that all men are created equal and that
they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom
of thought and of expression and to worship as they please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal oppor-
tunities for jobs, for homes, for good health and for education.

We believe that government should ~~be~~ ^{be} protector
not ~~be~~ ^{be} usurper of the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the source
and the support of our democracy.

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Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. Never in our history has there been more hope of the complete realization of the ideals of liberty and equality.

We will not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples — flagrant examples — of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts. Not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship and participation in the government under which they live.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for education, for jobs, for homes, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

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One year ago I appointed a committee of fifteen distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend action ^{to} Federal, state and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a frank and revealing report. ^{fact} It emphasizes that our basic human freedoms are ^{well} cared for and vigilantly defended. ^{the} But it also makes ^{clear} that there is a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices. This gap must be closed.

To ~~close the gap~~ ^{fill the gap} will take the strong efforts of each of us individually, and all of us together acting through voluntary organizations and ^{our} government.

As individuals we must ~~deeply understand~~ ^{earnestly} practice mutual respect and ~~tolerance~~ ^{tolerance} for the rights of others.

Through our communities and states - in all parts of the country - we must continue to develop practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood.

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere

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in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts modern, comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the ~~hour~~^{hour}, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of life.

Some of the steps which should be taken involve complex legislative problems which cannot be speedily solved. But we should go forward immediately with the broadest possible civil rights program.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation at this session directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a ~~Joint~~^{Joint} Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

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5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation.
7. Providing home-rule and ~~national~~ ^{in District elections} suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Strengthening the Government Organization

As a first step, we must strengthen the organization of the Federal Government in order to enforce civil rights legislation more adequately and to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights. ^{report to the President} The Commission should continuously review our civil rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make ~~reports and~~ recommendations to the President at frequent intervals. It should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local governments, and with private organizations.

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I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint *Congress*
Committee on Civil Rights. This Committee should make a
continuing study of legislative matters relating to civil rights and
should consider means of improving respect for and enforcement of
those rights.

These two bodies together should keep all of us
continuously aware of the condition of civil liberties in the United
states and keep us alert to opportunities to improve ~~them~~. *the system*

To provide for better enforcement of Federal civil
rights laws, there will be established a Division of Civil
Rights in the Department of Justice. I recommend that the
Congress provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General
to supervise this Division.

Strengthening Existing Civil Rights Statutes

I recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the
existing provisions of Federal law which safeguard the right to
vote and the right to safety and security of ~~the~~ person. *and property* These
provisions are the basis for our present civil rights enforce-
ment program.

Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which
now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured

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by the Constitution or Federal laws, needs to be strengthened in two respects. In its present form, this section protects persons only if they are citizens, and it affords protection only against conspiracies by two or more persons. This protection should be extended to all inhabitants of the United States, whether or not they are citizens, and should be afforded against infringement by persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

Section 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives general protection to individuals against the deprivation of Federally-secured rights by public officers, has proven to be inadequate in some cases because of the generality of its language. A specific enumeration of the principal rights protected under this section is needed to make more definite and certain the protection which the section affords.

Federal Protection Against Lynching.

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching — ^{agent} ~~a subject on~~ which I cannot speak too strongly.

It is a principle of our democracy written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great

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progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching — ~~the~~
~~taking of private vengeance upon accused persons~~ } has not yet
finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks
in fear of lynching, we shall not have achieved equal justice
under law. I call upon the Congress to take decisive action
against this crime.

Protecting the Right to Vote

Under the Constitution, the right of all properly
qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise
of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals
are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some
whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in
certain states or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right
to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding
interference by public officers or private persons with the
right of qualified citizens to participate in ^{special} primary and general
elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This
legislation should extend to elections for state as well as Federal
officers insofar as interference with the right to vote results from
discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color,
or other unreasonable ~~classification~~ ^{qualification}.

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Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary action on the part of these states to remove this barrier. Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should initiate measures which will insure that the right to vote in elections for Federal officers shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of elections. They are designed to give qualified citizens Federal protection of their right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, will remain the responsibility of state governments.

Fair Employment Practice Commission

We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

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Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion or national origin. The legislation should create a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations and government agencies and employment bureaus. The degree of effectiveness which the war-time Fair Employment Practice Committee attained shows that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by government action and thus eliminate the influence of prejudice in employment.

Equality in Movement Across State Lines

The channels of interstate commerce should be open to all Americans on a basis of complete equality. The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional state laws requiring segregation on public carriers in interstate travel. Company regulations must not be allowed to replace unconstitutional state laws. I urge the Congress to prohibit discrimination and segregation in interstate transportation by both public officers and the employees of private companies.

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The District of Columbia

I am in full accord with the principle of local self-government for residents of the District of Columbia.

In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in presidential elections and ~~representation in Congress~~ to the residents of the District.

The District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with the inequalities arising from segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and from racial barriers to places of public accommodation which now exist for one-third of the District's population.

Here, at the very heart of our national life, civil rights should be better cared for. The present inequalities in essential services are primarily a problem for the District itself, but they are also of great concern to the whole Nation.

Failing local corrective action in the near future, the Congress should enact a model civil rights law for the Nation's Capital.

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Our Territories and Possessions

The present political status of our territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of civil rights by their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa including a grant of citizenship to the people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Furthermore, the residents of the Virgin Islands should be granted an increasing measure of self-government, and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States.

Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the remaining racial or nationality barriers which stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

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Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific states solely because of their racial origin. Many of these people suffered property and business losses as a result of this forced evacuation and through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I trust that favorable action on this legislation will soon be taken.

* * *
The legislation I have recommended for enactment by the Congress at the present session is a minimum program if we are to close the gap between our ideals and some of our practices. It is needed to strengthen our democracy at home and our leadership abroad.

Under the authority of existing law, the Executive branch ^{will} ~~will take~~ every possible action to improve the enforcement of the civil rights statutes and to eliminate discrimination in Federal employment, in the provision of Federal services, ^{facilities} and in the armed forces.

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I have already referred to the establishment of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation will work closely with this new Division in the investigation of Federal civil rights cases. Steps are being taken to provide its agents with specialized training so that they may render more effective service in this difficult field of law enforcement.

Office

I shall shortly issue an Executive order codifying the Federal policy of non-discrimination in Federal employment and in the provision of Federal services.

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress toward equality of opportunity in our armed services without regard to race, color, and religion or national origin. I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made consistent.

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I have instructed the Secretary of the Army to investigate the status of civil rights in the Panama Canal Zone with a view to eliminating such discrimination as may exist there. If legislation is necessary, I shall make appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

In addition to action by the Federal Government, there is much that the states can properly and appropriately do to protect civil rights, both to supplement Federal safeguards and to act in areas where the Federal Government is excluded for lack of Constitutional power. For example, the President's Committee on Civil Rights recommended the adoption by the states of fair health practice acts and fair educational practice acts, the enactment of civil rights codes by those states which do not already have them and the creation of state commissions on civil rights.

The position of the United States in the world today makes especially urgent these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

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The peoples of the world are faced with the choice of freedom or enslavement, a choice between forms of government which harness the state in the service of the individual and forms of government which chain the individual to the needs of the state.

We in the United States are working in company with other nations who share our desire for enduring world peace and who believe with us that, above all else, men must be free to build a world family of nations — a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making.

As part of that endeavor, the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations is ~~presently~~ ^{now} engaged in preparing an international bill of human rights by which the nations of the world may bind themselves by international covenant to give effect to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have played a leading role in this undertaking designed to create a world order of law and justice fully protective of the rights and the dignity of the individual.

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To be effective in these efforts, we must protect ~~and~~
~~extend~~ our civil rights so that by providing all our people with
the maximum enjoyment of personal freedom and personal opportunity
we shall be a stronger nation — stronger in our leadership,
stronger in our moral position, stronger in the deeper satis-
factions of a united citizenry.

We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we
do know that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our
people than any totalitarian nation has ever offered.

If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world
whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to
those who have already lost their civil liberties, we must correct
those remaining imperfections ~~which tarnish our record~~. We must
prove that the practice of democracy lives up to its promise.

We can achieve ever greater freedom and opportunity
for all our people. We know the way. We need only the will.

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Nov
8th draft.

TO THE SENATORS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948, I spoke of five great goals for strengthening our democracy and improving the welfare of our people. The first of these is to secure fully our essential human rights. I am now presenting to the Congress my recommendations for legislation to carry us forward toward that goal.

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. In the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind for equality and freedom.

These ideals inspired the peoples of other lands, and their practical fulfillment made the United States the hope of the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come

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to this country to escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions strong, they have helped build this democratic Nation and have constantly reinforced our devotion to the great ideals of liberty and equality. With those who preceded them, they have helped to fashion and strengthen our American faith:

We believe that all men are created equal and that they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and of expression and the right to worship as they please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for good health and for education.

We believe that government should protect, not usurp, the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the source and the support of our democracy.

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Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. Never in our history has there been more hope of the complete realization of the ideals of liberty and equality.

We will not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples -- flagrant examples -- of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts. Not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship and participation in the government under which they live.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for education, for health; and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

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One year ago I appointed a committee of fifteen distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend action by Federal, state and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a frank and revealing report. The report emphasizes that our basic human freedoms are better cared for and more vigilantly defended than ever before. But it also makes clear that there is a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices. This gap must be closed.

This will take the strong efforts of each of us individually, and all of us acting together through voluntary organizations and our governments.

The protection of civil rights begins with the mutual respect for the rights of others which all of us should practice in our daily lives. Through organizations in every community -- in all parts of the country -- we must continue to develop practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood.

The protection of civil rights is the duty of every

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government which derives its powers from the consent of the people. This is equally true of local, state, and national governments. There is much that the states can and should do at this time to extend their protection of civil rights. Wherever the law enforcement measures and the authority of state and local governments are inadequate to discharge this primary function of government, these measures and this authority should be strengthened and improved.

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts modern, comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the day, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of life.

Some of the steps which should be taken involve complex legislative problems which cannot be speedily solved. But we should go forward immediately with the broadest possible civil rights program.

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I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation at this session directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.
5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation. *F. A. Williams*
7. Providing home-rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

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10. - Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Strengthening the Government Organization

As a first step, we must strengthen the organization of the Federal Government in order to enforce civil rights legislation more adequately and to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights reporting to the President. The Commission should continuously review our civil rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make recommendations to the President at frequent intervals. It should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local governments, and with private organizations.

I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights. This Committee should make a continuing study of legislative matters relating to civil rights and should consider means of improving respect for and enforcement of those rights.

These two bodies together should keep all of us continuously aware of the condition of civil rights in the United States and keep us alert to opportunities to improve their protection.

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To provide for better enforcement of Federal civil rights laws, there will be established a Division of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice. I recommend that the Congress provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General to supervise this Division.

Strengthening Existing Civil Rights Statutes

I recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the existing provisions of Federal law which safeguard the right to vote and the right to safety and security of person and property. These provisions are the basis for our present civil rights enforcement program.

Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal laws, needs to be strengthened in two respects. In its present form, this section protects persons only if they are citizens, and it affords protection only against conspiracies by two or more persons. This protection should be extended to all inhabitants of the United States, whether or not they are citizens, and should be afforded against infringement by persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

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Section 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives general protection to individuals against the deprivation of Federally-secured rights by public officers, has proven to be inadequate in some cases because of the generality of its language. A specific enumeration of the principal rights protected under this section is needed to make more definite and certain the protection which the section affords.

Federal Protection Against Lynching.

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching -- against which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear of lynching, we shall not have achieved equal justice under law. I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime.

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Protecting the Right to Vote

Under the Constitution, the right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in (certain states or communities.)

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary, special and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to elections for state as well as Federal officers insofar as interference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens

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and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary action on the part of these states to remove this barrier. Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should initiate measures which will insure that the right to vote in elections for Federal officers shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of elections. They are designed to give qualified citizens Federal protection of their right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, will remain the responsibility of state governments.

Fair Employment Practice Commission

We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

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Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion or national origin. The legislation should create a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations and government agencies and employment bureaus. The degree of effectiveness which the war-time Fair Employment Practice Committee attained shows that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by government action and thus eliminate the influence of prejudice in employment.

Interstate Transportation Facilities
Equality in Movement Across State Lines

The channels of interstate commerce should be open to all Americans on a basis of complete equality. The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional state laws requiring segregation on public carriers in interstate travel. Company regulations must not be allowed to replace unconstitutional state laws. I urge the Congress to prohibit discrimination and segregation in the use of interstate transportation facilities by both public officers and the employees of private companies.

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The District of Columbia

I am in full accord with the principle of local self-government for residents of the District of Columbia.

In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in presidential elections to the residents of the District.

The District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with the inequalities arising from segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and from racial barriers to places of public accommodation which now exist for one-third of the District's population.

~~Here, at the very heart of our national life, civil rights should be better cared for.~~ The present inequalities in essential services are primarily a problem for the District itself, but they are also of great concern to the whole Nation.

← Failing local corrective action in the near future, the Congress should enact a model civil rights law for the Nation's Capital.

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Our Territories and Possessions

The present political status of our Territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of civil rights by their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa including a grant of citizenship to the people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Futhermore, the residents of the Virgin Islands should be granted an increasing measure of self-government, and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States.

Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the remaining racial or nationality barriers which stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

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Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific states solely because of their racial origin. Many of these people suffered property and business losses as a result of this forced evacuation and through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I trust that favorable action on this legislation will soon be taken.

* * * * *

The legislation I have recommended for enactment by the Congress at the present session is a minimum program if we are to close the gap between our ideals and some of our practices. It is needed to strengthen our democracy at home and our leadership abroad.

Under the authority of existing law, the Executive branch is taking every possible action to improve the enforcement of the civil rights statutes and to eliminate discrimination in Federal employment, in providing Federal services and facilities, and in the armed forces.