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GENERAL

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October 30, 1963

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

The President has asked me to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending the transcript of the interviews with the leaders of the August 28 march on Washington.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. Jay Richard Kennedy
1155 Park Avenue
New York 28, New York

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JAY RICHARD KENNEDY
1155 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 28 ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

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October 25, 1963

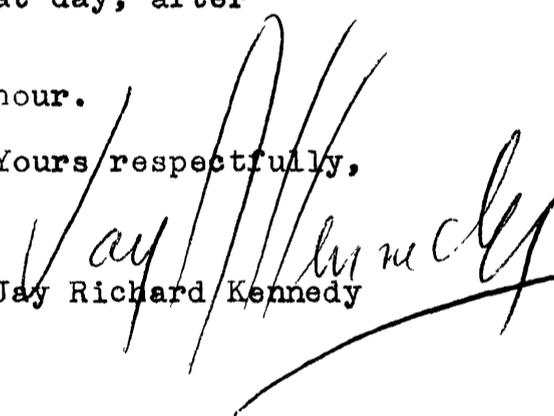
The President
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

On August 28th, 1963, the ten leaders of the March on Washington joined me to tape the only record of their views on many questions on that day, after their meeting with you.

Enclosed is the transcript of that hour.

Yours respectfully,


Jay Richard Kennedy

JRK:edn

TRANSCRIPT OF
"MARCH ON WASHINGTON. . . REPORT BY THE LEADERS"

Host - Jay Richard Kennedy

with

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Floyd McKissick
Walter Reuther
Martin Ahmann
A. Phillip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
John Lewis
Whitney Young, Jr.
Rabbi Joachim Prinz
Dr. Eugene Carson Blake

Metropolitan Broadcasting Television:

Teletaped: August 28, 1963

Television Broadcast. August 29, 1963, 7:30 - 8:30 P. M. E. D T.

Please credit Metropolitan Broadcasting Television

ANNOUNCER: "The seats are now empty, the platforms deserted. But the massive civil rights demonstration that took place yesterday here at the Lincoln Memorial will linger on. For the President, the Congress, and the American people, it will be impossible to ignore the pleas and shouts of the more than 200,000 who assembled here to demand jobs and freedom for all, regardless of color.

"To assess the significance of this day and its importance to the Negro, we have in our Washington studio tonight, ten of the leaders responsible for the demonstration. We will be with them and our moderator in just a moment. "

ANNOUNCER: "Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, the elder statesman of Negro causes in America, is president of the Negro American Labor Council and the Negro member of the executive council of the AFL-CIO. He was the initiator and chairman of the march for jobs and freedom.

"Walter Reuther, president of United Automobile Workers, vice-president of the AFL-CIO executive council.

"Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. He is a member of two Presidential committees, one on equal opportunity in the armed forces, the other on youth employment.

"Matthew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

"Mr. Floyd McKissick, national chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, the organization that in 1942 pioneered the use of non-violent direct action for racial equality.

"Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress.

"Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Wilkins has been a leader of the NAACP for over 30 years.

"The Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice-chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Dr. Blake has been a prime mover in associating white men of all faiths with the march on Washington.

"Mr. John Lewis, the youngest Negro leader, is chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the organization of southern Negro college students which has been active in staging sit-ins throughout the south.

"The moderator of this discussion is Jay Richard Kennedy, an author who received the Brotherhood Award of the Catholic Interracial Council in 1956 for his work in furthering interracial action. His forthcoming novel, Favor The Runner, is written against the background of the present Negro revolution."

KENNEDY: "Gentlemen, I really don't know how to thank you for being here, and I really don't know how to express to you what I believe the debt of this nation and the world is to each and every one of you tonight.

"Now, wherever people may be when they see and hear what you have to say, the fact is that we are here in Washington, and you have just come back from spending an hour with the President of the United States, and the March on Washington took place today. And the spirit and the feeling of that fact is around this table on your faces and between us and among us.

"Now, this March on Washington has demonstrated something to the people who lack faith in people: this talk about violence; the estimates of 50 and 60 and 80 thousand people, the fear that so many people coming together in one place in the hot month of August in the capital city of the United States has had people up nights.

"But the fact of the matter is that 200,000 people were here today. There was not one single incident of violence, not the threat of it, not the shadow of it. There was discipline, there was dignity. People marched, they listened, they spoke, they made their will known.

"And to some people this probably seems a miracle. Not to you men because you men led this. And of these leaders surely the senior member, the founder, the man who had the vision many, many years ago, to my personal knowledge 30 years ago, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, must have many thought of what led to today. This didn't just happen.

"As Bayard Rustin - he and Cleveland Robinson were the two men who handled what you called the Jimmy Higgins end of the March - Mr. Rustin said earlier today, 'In a way this day was anticlimactic because it is a day we have worked for,' he said, 'and it is here and we think of the future and the next steps.'

"But, Mr. Randolph, I think you'll agree that for the benefit of the vast majority of American people and people throughout the world, they were still in need for clearer understanding of how this miracle came about, the method, the struggles, the principles that were established, how we achieve the raising of the conscience of the nation on this question as you said we have to do, that the American people have to do.

"Now, I would like to ask you -- we haven't got that much time tonight, but I would like to ask you, if there is one central point about how you people reached the stage you reached today, what would you say that was?"

RANDOLPH: "Well, Mr. Kennedy, I think that we were able to reach the stage we reached today because of the pressure of the wide masses of Negroes throughout the nation. We knew that the mood of the Negro today is one of impatience and anger, frustration if not desperation.

"Negroes are jobless all over the nation. Young Negroes are discontented. They're in a state of unrest. As a matter of fact, they have dropped out of school, they're out of work, and they have run out of hope.

"They therefore constitute a powder keg of dynamite in every community in the nation. All of the members of our committee realized the great gravity of the situation, and we knew something had to be done. And we knew that it needed dramatization. Hence we settled the idea of a march where we would have thousands and thousands of people who would set their bodies in motion in the interest of the achievement of a great objective such as freedom, human dignity, equality and jobs.

"This is how the march came about. We also realized that legislation is not enacted as a rule only because it is needed or helpful, but that you've got to generate pressure upon the people whom you call upon to enact legislation. And we knew that we had to bring about this pressure.

"And if we were able to mobilize the total resources of various communities, including Negroes, labor, church forces and so forth, we would be able to bring such an impact upon the Congress and upon this, the nation, that we would make some progress in developing a national consensus in the interest of civil rights legislation. This is why we were able to build this great march today, which is one of America's great experiences."

KENNEDY: "Wouldn't you say, Mr. Randolph, that all these men measured up to the requirements of history today, the men at this table?"

RANDOLPH: "They really did, and as a matter of fact, there were all sorts of estimates about the dimensions of the march so far as numbers are concerned. We always anticipated a tremendous demonstration. However, we never had the idea that there would be a quarter of a million people involved in the march."

KENNEDY: "Of which 170,000 were Negroes..."

RANDOLPH: "Exactly."

KENNEDY: "...and 30 per cent were white, whereas all the experts were putting it the other way around, weren't they?"

RANDOLPH: "That's so true. That is right, and may I add that we are proud of the fact that this was an integrated project."

KENNEDY: "Yes, sir."

RANDOLPH: "A common enterprise of Negro and white citizens to serve as a witness of the commitment to the great ideal of human dignity."

KENNEDY: "Now, Mr. Roy Wilkins, yes, the people did this, and yes, the people came, and yes, the people bore witness. But I for one can't think of another nation on the face of this earth where it could have taken place in exactly this way. Would you agree with me on that, sir?"

WILKINS: "I certainly will, and I don't think of one myself."

KENNEDY: "Well, then, we must all say that there is a President sitting in the White House who has a vision and who has an understanding, a compassion and a foresight that must be registered here tonight. Wouldn't you say so?"

WILKINS: "I think so indeed. We had the good fortune to see the President immediately after the march, all ten of us here, and Mr. Kennedy was his usual charming and courteous self -- unhurried with a deep interest in our project and in the success of the tremendous demonstrations, even though he had awaiting him still the matter of the rail strike and other problems that weigh heavily upon the head of state, he was very gracious to us, and we pay tribute to him and thank him for the confidence that he expressed in the American tradition of protest.

"You will recall, I am sure, that the President, while hoping that there would be no violence, announced that he would welcome the march to Washington, that he felt the people had a right to express themselves, and in this, of course, Mr. Kennedy was himself exemplifying the highest traditions of American democracy. Today we thank him, and he in turn,

I think I may say, quote him to this extent, he thanked us for staging the kind of demonstration we did, in the way that we -- that it was staged."

KENNEDY: "Mr. Wilkins, can I ask you this, sir?"

WILKINS: "Certainly."

KENNEDY: "Don't you feel that the courage he showed is itself an example that may have an effect on the Congress, the courage?"

WILKINS: "I would say that the President never forgot, however, today in conference with us, the fact that he does not run the Congress of the United States, and he made that abundantly plain to us, and we went over with him our pleas on the civil rights legislation, our estimation that his bill, while the most comprehensive ever suggested by a president, ought to be strengthened. That it needed for example, an FEPC bill incorporated in it; that it needed additional authority for the Attorney-General of the United States to intervene in the denial of any civil rights case.

"Mr. Kennedy countered by saying that this was a matter for the Congress, and he made it plain to us that he felt that we ought to take our case to the Congress, and he and we expressed the confidence that both major political parties would give this matter their earnest attention and support.

"In fact, the President was -- I started to say singularly free, but he always has been free in these kind of conferences -- of partisan activity. There was no reflection on any political party, no undue praise for any political party; simply a call to all of us here to bring to bear the forces that brought the march here to put behind the Legislation."

KENNEDY: "That's exactly what I meant by courage, Mr. Wilkins, a non-partisan President of the United States facing an issue that is long overdue and must be dealt with.

"Now, Mr. Wilkins, while we're speaking about the White House and the Hill, I would like to ask you have you done estimates or anything about the chances of this legislation passing in this session?"

WILKINS: "We feel that we will get an effective civil rights bill if we go home and work for it as hard and as skillfully, patting ourselves on the back, as we worked for this march. And we talked with some congressional leaders this morning in the White House -- I'm sorry, on the Hill -- in the majority leader's office and the minority leader's office. And they were friendly and about as committed as you will find legislators committed at this stage of the game.

"We have friends there. It's our job, it seems to me, to enlarge the number of friends and to secure the number of votes we need for this legislation. "

KENNEDY: "But you do have a strong feeling, perhaps for the first time a strong feeling, that this legislation may be passed in this session. "

WILKINS: "I do because it has both Republican and Democratic support. The Republicans have spoken out on it in the Senate, and they are working on it in the House, and we all have hailed the bipartisan support for this bill. The Republicans are needed to pass this bill. The Democrats cannot do it alone, and I think we're going to have some teamwork here that will give us a healthy dividend for the country. "

KENNEDY: "And now I would like to ask you, Martin Luther King, Jr., whether, despite the timelessness of your dedication in the thing that this movement is dedicated to -- I mean, that brotherhood is not something new; the issue of humanity behaving like members of the human race is not something new; the conception that a civilization should behave as though it is civilized is not something new. This is in some senses timeless to modern man as we've know him.

"And yet at various steps along the way, vast changes do take place, and I would like to know your impression of what is different. Something is different. One feels it in the air. It is not only a question of numbers. What is different, Dr. King? "

KING: "Well, I think there is something different in this whole struggle. I think we can safely say that this is a great social revolution that is taking place in our nation, but it is different from other revolutions.

"Now, of course we've had many revolutions in history and most of these revolutions have ended up by destroying property. In the final analysis they were seeking to overthrow an existing government.

"In this situation there is no attempt to overthrow the government. The uniqueness of this revolution is that it is a quest on the part of millions of Negroes and their allies in the white community to make the nation live up to basic principles that stand in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

"In other words this is a revolution to get in, and not to destroy the existing government or to destroy property. And I think this makes a difference. And I think we saw today something of the nature of this

revolution. On the one hand it is a revolution which says: all, here, and now. But on the other hand, it is a non-violent, peaceful revolution.

"I think the other thing is that so many revolutions are based solely on despair, but this is a revolution of rising expectations, so to speak, so that it is a quest to get into the mainstream of American society, and it is a quest to go on toward a realization of the basic principles of democracy."

KENNEDY: "Dr. King, there is still one other question. Now I'm sure that every man at this table had a moment when he wondered, would some enemy perhaps cause the trouble that this non-violent revolution would then be charged with? That is not anything new in history; this business of provocateurs is nothing new.

"I wonder whether you would comment on what are the spiritual conditions that exist in a person who looks upon man in the expression of his manhood and humanity as a dangerous occasion. Do I make my question clear?"

KING: "Yes. Well, I think there are those individuals who constantly talk about violence and the possibility of a riot. And of course I find that the individuals who do this are really consciously or unconsciously creating the atmosphere for violence.

"In other words, the constant prediction of violence is often an invitation to it. On the other hand I think it is important to point out that when an individual stands up for his constitutional rights, even if in the quest for these rights violence is precipitated, the individual who stands up must not be blamed. Society must always protect the individual who stands up for his constitutional rights.

"It's the same as indicting or condemning the robbed man because his position of wealth precipitated the evil act of robbery."

KENNEDY: "Dr. King, the point that I still think we can agree on is there was no violence here today, there was none, not a bit of it, not a shred of it, not one inch of it, and all the violence seemed to be in the fevered imaginations of the people who wished this movement ill."

KING: "Yes."

KENNEDY: "And so, can we enunciate a new principle in our space age in the 20th century in this land of ours, that progress carries with it order; progress carries with it lawfulness, progress carries with it the creation of civilized relations between people. No violence is engendered by the militance of this movement."

KING: "Yes. Well, I certainly think you're quite right there, and I think the demonstration today revealed that it is possible to have large numbers of people moving out with their deep-seated longings and aspirations for freedom and human dignity, and violence does not have to emerge in the situation."

KENNEDY: "And this is the new event in American life, I would say. And I also agree with Mr. Randolph that we have reached a new stage. Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., do you agree that we have reached a new stage?"

YOUNG: "I do."

KENNEDY: "Now this new stage expresses itself in all sorts of ways and one way I think is that in today's fire of conviction and witness, such lingering disagreements, petty and minor, as had previously existed among you, mere shadows, have been burned away. Would you agree with me on that?"

YOUNG: "Certainly I would certainly agree to this. I would hasten to point out that I think here again, as in the case of violence or the possibility of violence, disagreement has been exaggerated, and that actually there had never to my knowledge been a basic serious disagreement among the civil rights group.

"Any time you get five or six organizations with such magnificent and sparkling leadership as you have in this kind of a group, you are bound to at moments have minor disagreements as to where there's overlapping in programs and in methods. But I think today we made it abundantly clear that while we may sometimes differ on methods, that we are united as never before in the common goal of achieving total equality now for our Negro citizens, and to me this came through quite loud and clear.

"I would also like to point out that I hope that this experience today, where Negro citizens, even though in the depths of a serious depression, even though they have suffered historic abuse and indignity, feel that they demonstrated their faith in the democratic society in this method of redress, and I would hope that in America today, witnessing this and seeing Negroes still react with dignity and pride, still sing the Star Spangled Banner and My Country 'Tis of Thee, would say now we do owe it to these citizens to let them get in the mainstream.

"I just can't see how anybody could have witnessed this today and denied something long overdue.

KENNEDY: "And can we, or may I, make a personal comment? Sitting around this table as we waited for all the lights and cameras to be put in position, I was very impressed by the comradeship around this

table. All these statements about personalities and flashing sparks of lightning and prima donnas, the things that columnists have just been wasting yards and yards of ink and paper on, I saw no demonstration of here at all. I see men who have joined each other, who know each other, and who have love and respect for each other here.

"And I want to say that. I just think everybody ought to know that that's a fact. And I also think that everyone ought to know that if they have learned a lesson from what has happened here today they must ask themselves where are they? You are here. A quarter of a million people were here. The President of the United States was here. Congressmen and Senators of both parties were here. And those people who were not here, we may ask of them: where were you? And where are now?

"I see you have allies of whom we have a right to make the demand and I would like to turn to you, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, because you have demonstrated the relationship between the word and the deed. I see no conflict between the word and the deed in you, sir. You believe in direct action. Can you perhaps tell these people how they can join you. How do we widen the fronts of allies here."

BLAKE: "Well, I think that the greatest contribution to the widening of the front of allies is the kind of leadership that these leaders of the Negro community have exercised over a long time.

"In the churches, particularly I am speaking for the National Council of Churches, Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox, in the churches, most of them, we've said the right things for many years. And I don't mean to belittle the pioneering efforts of most of the churches, there'd be someone who has been needling, trying to get us to be able to make progress. And some slow progress, as you know, has been made.

"But the thing that's happened in 1963 somehow and I don't think it's all man-made, is that the churches are beginning to move in line with what they've been saying.

"Direct action -- well, most of our people are pretty conservative. They're very orderly and they're these people that are worried about violence, and they aren't born demonstrators although their youth have begun to demonstrate. They've joined with Negro youth.

"And this I find with my contemporaries, their teenage children and older, they're pushing for a new kind of day. I believe that the churches, both in terms of the Protestant churches, and the Jewish synagogues and the Roman Catholic Church, it seems to have come at a time when we had opening conversations, particularly with the Roman Catholics, that we

didn't have before. And I even had the proxy of an archbishop for a little while today, which I've never had before and never expected; that if something was all right with me, it was going to be all right with him.

"This is new, and I believe that our problem is if we can produce the bodies, that is to say it's got to go beyond simply, a few leaders or a few specially interested people. It's got to be that the ordinary Christian person, white person in this country, begins to feel that this is his task and that he can't let up on it.

"I don't think that we've produced that, and I don't want to claim that we have. But I do say that the churches are trying, and I was delighted to see the number of church leaders that I could recognize down there and the number of white people.

"Because the last rally I've been to, happened to be, was on the occasion of a celebration in one of our cities for Mr. Evers death, and I said to myself, we ought never to let another rally like this be just Negroes.

"Oh, there were a few of us who had gone to represent fraternal organizations, but we weren't in the battle, and I am hoping that in this newness you are talking about, that ordinary people who up to now we haven't expected to lead will take the leadership."

KENNEDY: "Dr. Blake, you know that most people, regardless of what their religious faith may be, who have not been obliged by life and necessity to get out there where people can watch them, to get out there where people may hurt them, to get out there where their private image of themselves is altered, they are standing out in public. They are being studied and then besides it is a violation of their habit and sense of self. And along with it, the deep-seated prejudice that if you do that, if you get out there, violence is bound to come.

"Now, this is some kind of an idea that people get when they have been living in a state of protection too long.

"Do you feel that it is possible, just as a simple statement, possibly, do you think that it's possible to use the evidence of what happened today to demonstrate to these people that they are just wrong, that they are just wrong?"

BLAKE: "I believe so. I think that this is one of the great encouragements of today, that we can in the cities all over this nation begin to get people to act. I hope that they will meet together in communities and churches, interreligious, all together and decide what the steps are in this way that we can take.

"If they will begin to do that, I think that we're going to move. Because legislation, important as it is, is going to require definite work in place after place after place."

KENNEDY: "Right, Dr. Blake, and I have many questions to ask the rest of you gentlemen, and I will do so in a moment."

KENNEDY: "Dr. Blake, I -- getting back to the subject of allies and at the moment particularly among religious denominations, and I would like to now ask Rabbi Joachim Prinz a question."

"You heard of the other demonstrations that Dr. Blake said he had participated in. Is this your first demonstration of this kind?"

PRINZ: "This is the first demonstration of its kind, but I have participated in many similar demonstrations, and this is the first time that I began to realize that it is possible there is something sour and artificial about so-called brotherhood meetings, talk about tolerance and benevolence and all these things presupposing some superiority on the part of one group."

"That did not exist today. America has come into its own. America has found itself. It is a very happy meeting. This is not a very solemn meeting. People are very much in earnest, but it seemed to me that they were very happy about the fact that they could fulfill themselves, the personal commitment in the fulfillment of the American dream. It was really something profound and I think profoundly and fervently religious about this. People meant what they said, and when Dr. Blake said before that religion has come into its own, I want to add that Judaism also is coming into its own because we have finally found something beyond sermons. We no longer -- we are no longer satisfied with mouthing religion and sermonizing about it. We are sick and tired of Sunday and Sabbath religion. We want religion for our daily living and that could not be done in the America of the 20th century without leading America into itself, into its own fulfillment. I think this is what began, what we began to do today."

"As Mr. Wilkins said, we were able to stage it, but it was not really the staging, or I would say the staging was not possible without the tremendous and deep and genuine response on the part of the people who wanted this to be staged."

"We didn't lead them; they led us. And the response was so real, so real and so encouraging that I think all of us have found hope in all that and

hope in each other for we have found ourselves and each other in what we are doing and something concrete, some dedication to, some fulfillment of ourselves."

KENNEDY: "In short, an active religion."

PRINZ: "Religion in participation."

KENNEDY: "Mr. Ahmann, I would like to ask you, sir, do you feel that the Catholics of this country are sufficiently aroused as to the meaning of this moment? How do you appraise their participation in this historical movement?"

AHMANN: "It's very heartening for me to have seen today the number of Catholics that I knew as Dr. Blake knew Protestant leaders, who were present leading delegations, even on the platform a few of them. I think we've got the beginnings of the kind of religious revolution which can join with Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins and the rest of you, with Whitney Young, and CORE and the whole Catholic community are touched very deeply in the last month or two. And I think the march will be the focus and beginning of a new resurgence in the religious community. The position and commitment of resources in the Catholic community has been growing very rapidly and very dramatically.

"I expect increasing numbers of Catholics to make commitments, militant commitments, non-violent commitments in many, many ways and in all parts of the country.

"I think the presence of Catholic leadership, Archbishop O'Boyle and other Catholic leaders today demonstrates this on one level. I think for the first time extensive Catholic lay participation and many, many priests and brothers demonstrated it in another way.

"Most of all I suppose this has been eased by two things: one, the tremendous and distinguished leadership in the Negro civil rights organizations, and, two, by the opportunity to join hands with our Protestant brethren and with the Jewish religious community. And I think this has furnished a release. It's released the spirits within my own religious community to go on to other things, and I think it's been very heartening."

KENNEDY: "In short, you feel that you can bring back now to people who are receptive and ready a massive body of evidence after today. Is that right, do I understand you?"

AHMANN: "The evidence in the march, yes. The evidence will continue to grow. It's been building up as the march itself has built up. I even think with some of you that the march is a new beginning in a sense."

KENNEDY: "You feel that. "

AHMANN: "Yes, I certainly do. "

KENNEDY: "You feel, then, that you have a new basis to work on. "

AHMANN: "There were people in the Catholic community who had the same queasy fears about the march that other people in the country had. The march was beautiful. The reaction of people there was just magnificent. It was the people who made the march and this must strike a spark as it has in all of us. "

KENNEDY: "Now, Mr. Lewis, I read, as fate would have it, on the very same day a copy of Ebony and a copy of Life. This was last May. The copy of Life did a survey on youth, white youth, and the survey's caption was: 'My father has done it all. There's no place left to go. The religious movement has let us down. What is left to us to do?' Now, that is a far cry from the picture of youth in this movement here, and if there were 30 per cent of those present who were white, we would like to see that 70,000 itself become 250,000 the next time.

"What do you feel you offer to white youth? "

LEWIS: "Well, I think the movement has given the white youth of this nation an opportunity to participate in a great struggle, to be involved with what is outside of themselves. I was very happy to see so many young white people involved in the movement.

"And just looking at the crowd and looking at the people marching, what raised my heart, I guess, was to see hundreds and thousands of young white people walking the streets hand in hand with young Negroes. I think the movement is saying in a sense that you can get involvement and give serious consideration to not only yourself, you own personal life, but the life of others.

"In a real sense, I think that the young white people of this country look at the movement in the same sense as they look at the Peace Corps. This is a type of thing, I think, for a lot of young people, a lot of young Negroes to do, just like the Peace Corps, to get involved with something that would help to create a real democratic society.

"In our own organization we like to talk about the beloved community, the community of love, community of brotherhood.

"And the only way this can be done is that people together, both black and white, if you really want to create this society, I think the young

people can play a great part, can play a real role. I'll give you some good examples, some of the things that are going on now, where young white students come down from the north and work during the summer, maybe one or two years, take one or two years out of school, where they are willing to work and live with Negro families in the rural areas, in the Delta, Mississippi and southwest Georgia. I think this in itself is helping to build this redeemed or beloved community.

"I think this is a real opportunity, not only for Negroes, not only for the Negro youth, but also for the white youth."

KENNEDY: "Right. And I would like to connect that to something else, speaking to Floyd McKissick. The direct action program of CORE and the direct action program SNCC are somewhat similar. The differences are the ages of the people, I would say, wouldn't you, than in what they actually do. And when the idea of a domestic Peace Corps is brought forth, ideas come to my mind, such as our emergency education program, about joining in the sit-ins, joining in the anti-discrimination action, the boycotts and so forth.

"I would like, and I feel we need now, some statement about what seems contradictory to those who don't understand. How can something be deep in its militance and deep in its non-violence? How does this happen? How can we make this continue to happen. How and why does this go on?"

McKISSICK: "I think that as long as there are injustices, demonstrations will continue to go on. Let us look at the demonstrations of 1960, which were mere sit-in demonstrations. Then the demonstrations moved from sit-ins to kneel-ins.

"And they have progressively become more militant. Even students were willing to crawl under police guards, to hold to a bulldozer, lay in the streets. I think that is the idea of militancy. But never is there the attitude of striking back.

"I think when that -- when we reach the point of striking back, then we would lose our effectiveness. I don't think that that time will come so long as we continue at the rate we are."

KENNEDY: "It didn't come today, right?"

McKISSICK: "It certainly didn't come today as many people thought it would."

KENNEDY: "Would it be far-fetched if I suggested that our global policy, which recognizes the obsolescence of war and the dangers inherent

in war, a militant pursuit of peace -- isn't there some possible connection between our global policy as a nation and a government, and this policy domestically within our land? "

McKISSICK: "I think you're absolutely correct. I think all of our problems can be solved without war, actually when we actually accept the Christian concept of brotherhood, and that is the reason that the united forces of all of us working together, the same thing that was said by the speakers today: we can get together, and we can solve our problems, and this problem is not a Negro problem. This is truly an American problem. For the first time today I think this was the beginning in one sense and this was the end in another. The demonstration today was the end of a pattern of thinking, the way people have thought about protests heretofore.

"I think that we say the end of that, and the march created a climate for new and progressive thinking. And I think it is the beginning of the American pulpits, not the Negro pulpits, and the church will be with us. "

KENNEDY: "May we not possibly hope that it may be the beginning of the method for mankind... "

McKISSICK: "Correct. "

KENNEDY: "...through militancy, non-violence, and by the example of their faith in themselves deep down to those who carry violence inside themselves. Is that not possible, that this is a global example possibly? "

McKISSICK: "This is. This is. "

KENNEDY: "Yes. "

McKISSICK: "And you can say it probably better than I can. "

KENNEDY: "I don't think so, sir, because you speak with deeds, and that's the only language that counts when we make history.

"And speaking of deeds, and speaking of making history and the need for allies, Mr. Reuther, you have certainly fought on the side of justice, on the side of realism, on the side of mankind everywhere around this world. And anyone who knows anything about you knows what you stand for and have stood for by your deeds.

"And I know that you must feel that in the allies we get we must look to the entire family of labor to join in here, and that their failure to have

endorsed this march on Washington today makes the rest of your colleagues look rather, shall we say, short-sighted? What would you say, Mr. Reuther? "

REUTHER: "Well, I would say that I think their faith was too small and their fears were too great when they anticipated this. We had great faith in the good sense and the common morality of all the people whom we knew were going to join each other. And I think the real significance of what happened today is not that 250,000 Americans, who are dedicated to a common cause, the pursuit of human dignity and equal rights for all Americans and the fact that we came here to ask Congress to rise above partisan politics and to join this great moral question of equality, I think that's important.

"But I think the most significant thing that happened today is that this is the beginning of what I think is a sort of national coalition of conscience. It takes in the church groups, it takes in the civil rights groups, it takes in a very large segment of the labor movement, civic groups, and men of good will of all races and all creeds and all colors and all political persuasions, and joined together in a common crusade.

"And I believe that that crusade is being powered by good will and a belief in human brotherhood. And I believe that only as America moves ahead at every level of our society, in every community, in every state in which men of good will join together in searching for the answers to these problems in the light of reason, through rational and responsible action, only thus can we solve this problem.

"Now we can't fail. Because if men of good will fail to find the answers in the light of reason, then the apostles of hate will move in to fill the vacuum created by our failure, and they will search for the answers in the darkness of night. And brotherhood will take its place. This is why, I think, that this thing that started today is the beginning of the creation of this great coalition of conscience in which men of good will in community after community of the United States can be drawn together in the sense of common purpose, in the sense of common morality; and together we can find the answer to this problem. "

KENNEDY: "Encouraging, Mr. Reuther. Don't you think that when you and Mr. Randolph sit down with George Meany, and have a real friendly chat, just to help him evaluate the events of today, that he will have a lot to learn from both of you, and that you will both have a great deal to tell him, that he may have to hear and digest? "

REUTHER: "Well I would hope that he would learn from what happened, and not from what we tell him. Because I think what happened is the lesson. It proves beyond doubt -- and this is the great hope -- that free men, despite their different points of view, despite their racial and religious differences, can unite on a great moral question, like civil rights and the quest for equal opportunity and full citizenship rights. And I think that anyone who doubted that ought to be convinced that men are capable of great things, because they share common purposes."

KENNEDY: "I completely agree with you and I hope that in case George Meany and anyone else on the Council has failed to draw the necessary conclusions, that you two gentlemen will work with eloquence to help them to learn the conclusions they should have drawn for themselves."

REUTHER: "Well I'm sure that Mr. Randolph and I will be glad to cooperate on that little educational process."

KENNEDY: "Well I'm very very happy to hear that piece of information. Now Mr. Randolph, we've been sitting here and evaluating the variety of aspects of this momentous event. And I know you've been sitting here and listening and thinking and feeling. And you've heard the men express their views. Now Mr. Randolph, tell me, what does this all add up to you now? What do you see now, now that these men have spoken? Can you see a new beginning? Can you name the direction? What's the job to be done here?"

RANDOLPH: "Well I think it will serve as a great inspiration to Negroes and white people all over the country who've come together as we did today in a great coalition of conscience, as Walter very inimitably points out. In the final analysis, even though we may be able to get the legislation we need, legislation requires implementation. And consequently, the implementation will not be effective unless the moral outlook is sound. Therefore we have a continuing responsibility to develop the moral climate, the moral order that will serve as the underpinnings of this legislation we seek, which will give it reality and integrity."

"And I feel that this is certainly a great step forward in that direction. And I'm proud of this great occasion today, and proud of the leadership of the civil rights organizations. Our leaders are men of fine stature, of great dedication and integrity; and it gives one a great sense of hope to know that we have here at the head of these civil rights organizations men of the finest stature. And the outlook in the future is bright."

KENNEDY: "Can I ask you, Mr. Randolph, that these men may go back to their people and tell them what's next -- am I right in understanding -- that when that filibuster begins that you hope to have a thousand people a day on the outside speaking, but speaking the truth?"

RANDOLPH: "This is our hope. In other words, we plan to have a notable roster of celebrated citizens in the church, at the bar, in medicine, in education, in labor, who will carry on the contemporaneous filibuster, in the interests of demonstrating that the filibuster in the Senate is obstructing the processes of democratic government, but that our group, we're attempting to give the idea of government some reality, some force, and some meaning in our society. "

KENNEDY: "Well then, gentlemen, it certainly does seem that this is a beginning. And you surely have all your work cut out for each and every one of you and all the people you speak to.

"I'm sure none of us will forget this day. And I know I express the sentiments of the gentlemen at this table, and the millions of people represented in this great nonviolent revolution when I say that, above and beyond the significance of this outpouring of humanity here in Washington, D. C. today, and the defense of human rights and human dignity, that this is only one step. There have been steps before, and there will be other steps to follow.

"There is one persevering fact; and that fact says that government by, of, and for the people has not perished from this earth; and that hearing from the people, it can, in fact, and has in fact, today become stronger, more vital, more capable, within the framework of democracy, within the nonviolent framework of technique; so that our government and our people may meet its destiny as never before in the history of this land.

"Thank you all, and good night. "

WCC/EF **FOR RELEASE**

SATURDAY P.M. November 9, 1963

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GENERAL

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Alsop, Stewart

A tale of two cities

WASHINGTON: Recently, with a capable guide, I toured a foreign city. The foreign city is Washington, D.C., where I have lived for 18 years.

There are, of course, two Washingtons—White Washington and Black Washington—just as there are two Philadelphias, two Detroits, two of any big American city. A White Washingtonian may spend a few minutes in Black Washington when he is driving North. Otherwise Black Washington, which has a bigger population than White Washington, is as foreign to most White Washingtonians as Minsk, say, or Ulan Bator.

My guide for my tour of this unknown city was Clarence Hunter, a very able Negro reporter for the Washington *Star*. He showed me the Platinum Coast and the two Gold Coasts, where the richest Negroes live; the little enclave of the "old line aristocracy"; the vast middle-class areas; and the Second Precinct, where the poorest people live, and where much of the city's crime is spawned.

We had an excellent meal at Billy Simpson's, Black Washington's Tour d'Argent. We visited the school where Clarence Hunter's children go. We had a look at such landmarks as the Howard Theater, last stronghold of Negro vaudeville, and the Black Muslim mosque, which no white man is allowed to enter.

Certain special characteristics of this big city soon became apparent. For example, a great many of the women of Black Washington wear becoming wigs, and for some reason 9 out of 10 of the men have grown moustaches. The inhabitants of Black Washington are remarkably friendly people. Many greeted Clarence Hunter with a jolly warmth rare in White Washington, and when we went into a house, we were always asked to sit down, even when there was no place to sit.

Black Washington is very religious. There are churches everywhere, and in one house in the Second Precinct I counted 17 pictures of Christ. Another fact also became apparent. Black Washington is largely owned by White Washington.

Billy Simpson's is Negro-owned, and so are a small bank, several funeral parlors, a few car dealerships. But the Dunbar Hotel, Black Washington's Ritz, is white-owned, and so are almost all the stores on U Street, Black Washington's main shopping district. The slums are white-owned too, which is one reason why one day there could be bad trouble between White Washington and Black Washington. To see why, consider the case of Mrs. Marvella Johnson.

Mrs. Johnson (which is not her real name) lives in a tiny shack in the Second Precinct with her five illegitimate children—"Marvella is so good-hearted she just can't say no," remarked a social worker. Only Mrs. Johnson's good heartedness makes it possible to pay the monthly rent of \$69.50 for her shack, for public assistance for her offspring is her only source of income. She doesn't dare ask the landlord to put linoleum on the cracked concrete floor, or to have the toilet fixed. Landlords in the Second Precinct, when they get such unseemly requests, have a habit of raising the rents.

There is something a bit scary about the Second Precinct—for the well fed, there is always something a bit scary about poverty. I asked Clarence Hunter if he would feel happy walking the streets alone at night. "Let's put it this way," he said. "I wouldn't tarry."

There is nothing quite like the Second Precinct in White Washington. Oddly enough, since both

were largely built before the Civil War, the Second Precinct most closely resembles Georgetown, which is White Washington's Platinum Coast. Mrs. Johnson's house is hardly more habitable than a hut in Lagos or Accra, but tartered up and moved into Georgetown it would sell for \$50,000.

There is nothing quite like the Black Muslim mosque in White Washington either, or the Bohemian Caverns nightclub, or the Howard Theater, or the little restaurants which advertise: PIG'S FEET—CHITTERLINGS—FISH. According to Clarence Hunter, there is an invisible line between those who eat chitterlings—hog's intestines beloved in the Negro South—and those who don't. Those who don't are sometimes resented by those who do: "Who you tryin' to fool, boy?" But the great majority have now crossed the Chitterlings line, leaving the chitterlings fanciers in an ever-decreasing minority.

By the same token, whereas a generation ago most of the people of Black Washington lived like Marvella Johnson, the very poor and the very ignorant are now also in the minority. And what is really surprising about Black Washington is not how different it is from White Washington, but how much alike.

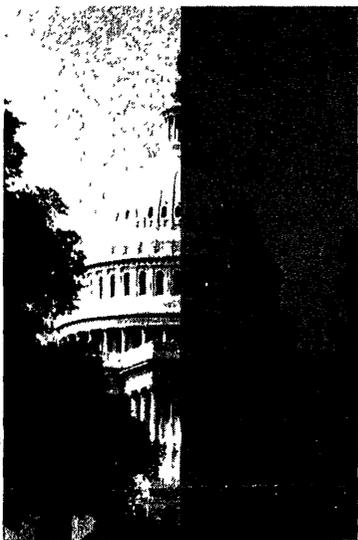
The Negro rich, who live in the Platinum Coast or Gold Coast areas near Rock Creek Park (the Chinese Wall which separates the two Washingtons) live just like their white neighbors in large, expensive, undistinguished houses. The "old line aristocrats," who live in a cluster of big old houses near Howard University, are the precise equivalent of White Washington's snooty "cliff dwellers." And the great mass of the inhabitants of Black Washington live neither in the Gold Coasts nor in the slums. They live in endless rows of small houses which look almost precisely like the houses of people with similar incomes in White Washington.

The houses may be a bit more gaily decorated, with more pinks and light greens and other Mediterranean colors. Otherwise there is no evidence except skin color to indicate whether a neighborhood is black or white. Contrary to the universal myth, moreover, house values in Black Washington have steadily increased.

Black Washington is for the most part, in fact, just another American city, and its essential Americanness is everywhere evident, even in the bobby sox and blue jeans of the alert, well-behaved schoolmates of Clarence Hunter's children. This Americanness is hardly surprising. The people of Black Washington have had a long time in the melting pot—their forebears were in this country when Jack Kennedy's great-grandfather was a barefoot boy in Ireland, and Barry Goldwater's grandfather was growing up in Poland.

Despite the mosque and the wigs and the chitterlings, in short, Black Washington turned out to be a lot less foreign than I had expected, which is one reason why I was oddly hopeful when I ended my tour. There are certainly people in Black Washington who hate White Washington just because it is white. But Clarence Hunter says that the white-haters like the Black Muslims are a small, laughed-at minority. That may not always be true, if Negroes are permanently denied the rights of other Americans. Meanwhile, there are still ties that bind, and it seems reasonable to hope that the two Washingtons, like the two races elsewhere in the United States, can go on living amicably side by side, without tearing each other apart.

Stewart Alsop



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December 4, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LEE C. WHITE

With regard to the sermon preached by Elder *P. S. Michaux*
Lightfoot and the letter to the late President Kennedy
I suggest you drop him one of your immortal lines thanking
him for his interest.

Louis Martin

Attachment

2:11

WILLINGLY JESUS
SUFFERED FOR VICTORY

RADIO CHURCH OF GOD

WILLINGLY JESUS
SUFFERED FOR VICTORY

BROADCASTING OVER STATION
WTOP

Elder Tightfoot Solomon Michaux, Pastor

1712 R Street, N. W.

Washington 9, D. C.

September 25, 1963

THE WHITE HOUSE
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RECEIVED

Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear President Kennedy:

Inclosed you will find a copy of the Sermon I preached over the air concerning the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. I felt that you would like to know the opinion more or less of those who reach the ears of the Public on such a vital subject.

For thirty years I have been on the air on many of Columbia's Broadcasting Stations and have also broadcasted over the major networks in this country and England.

I would highly appreciate a comment from you. May God bless you.

Respectfully yours in the service of God and country,

Elder S. Michaux

Pastor

LSM/jbw
incl.

MORNING BROADCAST SERMON

by

ELDER LIGHTFOOT SOLOMON MICHAUX,

GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL FORCES OF RIGHT AGAINST WRONG.

" I HAVE A DREAM" ---SAINT MARTIN LUTHER KING.

"LET US NOT SEEK TO SATISFY OUR THIRST FOR FREEDOM BY DRINKING

FROM THE CUP OF BITTERNESS AND HATRED."

ELDER MICHAUX TELLS WHEN REV. KING'S DREAM WILL COME TRUE.

YES, RIGHTEOUSNESS WILL FLOW LIKE A MIGHTY STREAM WITHIN ALL MEN
WHEN THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR LORD
AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST -- BUT NOT UNTIL THEN ACCORDING TO GOD'S WORD.

"WONDERFUL FREEDOM! More than 200,000 people marched into the Nation's Capital on the 28th of August because they felt they had been freed IN PART but not fully. They were complaining of the failure of this Government of which they are a part, in KEEPING THE PROMISES that were made to them but I am glad that NO ONE CAN COMPLAIN ABOUT THE EMANCIPATOR, JESUS. They were under the shadow of the Monument to the great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln; they stood on the steps. Thanks be to God this morning that I am standing upon the stairway of the Kingdom of Heaven singing praises to the Emancipator FROM SIN-- NOT FROM SLAVERY OF MEN BUT SIN!

My precious ones, so great is the program ordained by God for the freedom of man THAT NO ONE CAN ABOLISH IT. IT IS GOD'S OWN DOING that one day we shall live upon this earth created anew after having been purged by His own power from EVERY CURSE that sin has brought upon it. He declares that it shall burn as an oven and from it, "He shall create a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth nothing but RIGHTEOUSNESS. So it was a marvelous scene of the more than 200,000 persons standing in protest against the Government of this country BUT-- NOT ONE SINGLE ONE OF THE 20 MILLIONS THROUGHOUT THE EARTH CAN PROTEST AGAINST THE FREEDOM GIVEN TO THE SOUL OF MAN WHO OBEYS THE KING OF KINGS.

Great credit has been given for the quietness and orderliness of this protest made by the representatives of the more than 20 millions or more of Negroes and others but do not forget my precious ones, that some credit must be given to Police Chief Robert V. Murray and all those who "chained the lion." You may see a circus parade and you'll behold the animals; you'll see the lion as he walks up and down in his cage and you'll stand there without fear because the lion is his cage. Don't forget that the Police Department of this city with others and the leaders of the army that came, were organized and all of the agitators and would-be disturbers were held in check in their "cages". So don't forget to give some credit to Chief Murray, his officers, the officials of the city and ALL OTHERS who so wonderfully organized things and kept them

in order so the "lion" couldn't get out. Don't forget that how!

I wish to say to you my precious ones, that THE WAY OF THE LORD IS PAST OUR FINDING OUT. PRAYER IS A PETITION TO A GREAT GOD and even to man for help. In Luke 11, Verses 1 and 2 you will find here that the Apostles of Jesus who were eye witnesses to His acts, saw the power that Jesus received from God through PRAYER. Not only did they see THAT but they had seen John pray and THINGS HAPPENED BECAUSE HE PRAYED. So one day as they sat with Jesus they asked him to TEACH THEM HOW TO PRAY AS JOHN TAUGHT HIS DICIPLES. The Scripture gives you the manner in which Jesus taught them to pray-- to approach the Throne of God. Read! "AND IT CAME TO PASS, THAT AS HE WAS PRAYING IN A CERTAIN PLACE, WHEN HE CEASED, ONE OF HIS DICIPLES SAID UNTO HIM, LORD, TEACH US TO PRAY, AS JOHN ALSO TAUGHT HIS DICIPLES." One day after Jesus had finished praying in a certain place, one of His Diciples said to Him, "Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his diciples." Read! (2) "AND HE SAID UNTO THEM, WHEN YE PRAY, SAY, OUR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED BE THY NAME...." Notice! "THY KINGDOM COME." He said, "THY KINGDOM COME," Read! "THY WILL BE DONE, AS IN HEAVEN, SO IN EARTH." As Jesus began to teach them to pray He said, "When ye pray, say, "OUR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN, HALLOWED BE THY NAME, THY KINGDOM COME. THY WILL BE DONE, AS IN HEAVEN, SO IN EARTH...." As God's will is done in Heaven, so let it be done in the earth, was His PRAYER.

The thought I want you to get from this PRAYER is that the petition which He taught to His Apostles to present to God was that HE, THE LORD, WOULD LET HIS KINGDOM COME AND HIS WILL BE DONE ON THE EARTH, HERE, JUST AS IT'S DONE ON THE PLANET CALLED HEAVEN WHERE GOD, THE CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE AND ALL THINGS, RULES; AND WHERE COUNTLESS MILLIONS OF ANGELS (SPIRIT BEINGS) ARE SUBJECT TO HIS COMMAND AND MOVE ACCORDING TO HIS DESIRES. So the thought I bring you this morning is this:-- HIS KINGDOM WILL COME AND HIS WILL WILL BE DONE ON THE EARTH AS IT IS DONE IN HEAVEN.

For your information may I tell you that there were millions of precious ones who were not here in the march but who marched in spirit against social injustices and for Civil Rights with A. Philip Randolph and others as their leaders and Saint Martin Luther King. It was Saint Martin Luther King who expressed his dream to millions of Americans who listened by radio and television on that August 28, 1963 when more than 200,000 Jews

AND Gentiles marched on Washington, the capital city of the greatest Democratic and professing Christian country in the world, to voice their sentiment against the injustices practiced against the Negro and others in this country.

At the time of this great gathering, St. Martin Luther King said in his address, " I HAVE A DREAM..." He said, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." That was a part of his dream. He also said to the thousands, "LET US NOT SEEK TO SATISFY OUR THIRST FOR FREEDOM BY DRINKING FROM THE CUP OF BITTERNESS AND HATRED..." Those words are WORDS OF A SAINT! He also said, "... No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until JUSTICE ROLLS DOWN LIKE WATERS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS LIKE A MIGHTY STREAM..." WE'LL NOT BE SATISFIED, NO! NO SAINT CAN BE SATISFIED! IT'S IN THE HEART OF EVERY SAINT TO SEE JUSTICE ISSUED TO HIS FELLOW-MAN AND RIGHTEOUSNESS PRACTICED WITH ONE ANOTHER.

But-- may I say to you that the dream of St. Martin Luther King shall NOT come to pass as long as there is a two-system political party existing in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama or in any part of this Government. Remember my precious ones, that politicians seek for influence, power and grandeur and as long as this is practiced among the children of men, St. Martin Luther King's dream will NOT COME TRUE UNTIL "THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD ARE BECOME THE KINGDOMS OF OUR LORD, AND OF HIS CHRIST;.." (Rev. 11:15) IT SHALL COME TRUE BUT NOT UNTIL THEN.

When Jesus sets up His Kingdom on this earth, the Holy Scriptures tell us in the 11th Chapter of Isaiah, reading from the 5th to the 10th Verse, what the condition will be then and this will be the answer to St. Martin Luther King's dream concerning the time when the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will sit down together at the table of brotherhood. But God spoke through His Prophet and told us THAT SUCH A DAY WILL COME BUT NOT UNTIL HIS KINGDOM COMES AND HIS WILL IS DONE ON THE EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN. So He says that at that time RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL EXIST, the RIGHTEOUSNESS OF NOT ONLY THIS GOVERNMENT BUT OVER THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD OVER WHICH CHRIST SHALL RULE. This will be the condition. Read! "AND RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL BE THE GIRDLE OF HIS LOINS,..." Righteousness shall be the strength of the loins of

the Son of God who shall rule and reign over the kingdoms of this world according to God's promise. Read! "AND FAITHFULNESS THE GIRDLE OF HIS REINS." "Faithfulness shall be the girdle of His reins," it says. (6) "THE WOLF ALSO SHALL DWELL WITH THE LAMB,..." Now here you are! Not only will the sons of former slaves and former slave-owners sit down as brothers but all viciousness and all violence shall be taken from the dumb brutes that shall be on the earth. He says here that "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb." THEY SHALL DWELL TOGETHER. Read! "AND THE LEOPARD SHALL LIE DOWN WITH THE KID; AND THE CALF AND THE YOUNG LION AND THE FATLING TOGETHER;..." "The leopard shall lie down with the kid and the calf and the young lion and the fatling shall lie down together, says God's Word. Read! "AND A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM." And a little child shall be able to lead the most pomp, and strongest contending man of this present world.

Read! (7) "AND THE COW AND THE BEAR SHALL FEED,..." Listen! The cow and the bear shall feed. What else? "THEIR YOUNG ONES SHALL LIE DOWN TOGETHER; AND THE LION SHALL EAT STRAW LIKE AN OX." In answer to the PRAYER which Jesus taught His Disciples to pray saying, "THY KINGDOM COME, THY WILL BE DONE AS IN HEAVEN, SO IN EARTH," God's Word says that the young ones of the cow and the bear shall lie down together and "the lion shall eat straw like an ox" when the Kingdom of our Christ shall be set up in this world. The lion SHALL NOT DEVOUR as he does now. (8) "AND THE SUCKLING CHILD SHALL PLAY ON THE HOLE OF THE ASP,..." The suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, where the most deadly, poisonous serpent hides itself. Read! "AND THE WEANED CHILD SHALL PUT HIS HAND ON THE COCKATRICE' DEN." "The weaned child shall put it's hand on the den of the cockatrice,(a deadly serpent,)" it says.

(9) "THEY SHALL NOT HURT NOR DESTROY IN ALL MY HOLY MOUNTAIN; FOR THE EARTH SHALL BE FULL OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LORD,...." The knowledge of God shall FILL THE MIND OF EACH AND EVERY MAN OR WOMAN WHO SEEKS TO BECOME A SAINT TO DO THE WILL OF GOD. And hear me now! Read! "AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA." St. Martin Luther King desired that RIGHTEOUSNESS FLOW DOWN LIKE WATER but GOD HAS PROMISED US THAT "AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA," there shall be righteousness. (10) "AND IN THAT DAY THERE SHALL BE A ROOT OF JESSE, WHICH SHALL STAND FOR AN ENSIGN OF THE PEOPLE;.." Jesse was the father of David and Jesus, the Son of God, was born of the House of David, ordained to rule the nations, symbolized by

David's throne. And in that day, Jesus shall sit upon the Throne of David to rule the Kingdom that shall come where THE WILL OF GOD SHALL BE DONE and where men and women, boys and girls of every kindred and every tongue that shall be saved BY THEIR OBEDIENCE TO THE WORD OF GOD, SHALL RULE AND LIVE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS. And in THAT DAY AND THAT DAY ONLY, SHALL THE DREAM OF ST. MARTIN LUTHER KING COME TO PASS. It will NOT be as long as men in the kingdoms of this world RISE UP FOR SUPREMACY.

Throughout the earth men are rising up against each other. Kingdoms are against kingdoms and subjects of governments are rising up against their rulers. Hate, malice, and ALL MANNER OF EVIL IS NOW BEING PRACTICED and the world and they who dwell therein are waxing worse. The God of all GRACE, the Creator of the human race NEVER INTENDED it to be but He created man in His own image; He created him to be His son and gave him the invitation,-- "WHOSOEVER HAS THE WILL TO DO MY WILL, SHALL BE MY SON." AND HE WILL EMANCIPATE EVERY INDIVIDUAL FROM THE POWER AND PENALTY OF SIN AND FILL HIS HEART WITH LOVE SO THAT RIGHTEOUSNESS WILL REIGN AND RULE IN HIM AS AN INDIVIDUAL. THUS HE FITS HIMSELF FOR THE KINGDOM TO COME WHERE ONE DAY, THE WILL OF GOD WILL BE DONE IN EARTH AS IT IS DONE IN HEAVEN. Won't that be a day when all sin has passed away?

That was a wonderful march and a wonderful exhibition of desire and a wonderful dream that St. Martin Luther King had but Daniel, God's Prophet also had a dream. He had the same dream but here is what he saw in his dream-- THE BEGINNING OF THE ENDING. In the 7th Chapter of Daniel beginning with the 1st Verse, it says, "IN THE FIRST YEAR OF BELSHAZZAR KING OF BABYLON DANIEL HAD A DREAM AND VISIONS OF HIS HEAD UPON HIS BED: ...". In the first year of the reign of Belshazzar, the King of Babylon, Daniel had a dream and visions as he lay upon his bed like St. Martin Luther King had while he was standing in the midst of the more than 200,000 protesting people. Read! "THEN HE WROTE THE DREAM, AND TOLD THE SUM OF THE MATTERS." Daniel wrote the dream and told the sum of the matters; St. Martin Luther King spoke his dream.

Read! (2) "DANIEL SPAKE AND SAID, I SAW IN MY VISION BY NIGHT, AND, BEHOLD, THE FOUR WINDS OF HEAVEN STROVE UPON THE GREAT SEA." He said, "I saw in my dream or my vision by night, the four winds of Heaven as they strove upon the great sea." (3) "AND FOUR GREAT BEASTS CAME UP FROM THE SEA, DIVERSE ONE FROM ANOTHER." Four great beasts

came up from the sea and each one of them was different from the other. (4) "THE FIRST WAS LIKE A LION, AND HAD EAGLE'S WINGS; I BEHELD UNTIL THE WINGS THEREOF WERE PLUCKED." "The first beast was like a lion and it had eagle's wings. I beheld it until it's wings were plucked," he said. Read! "AND IT WAS LIFTED UP FROM THE EARTH, AND MADE STAND UPON THE FEET AS A MAN, AND A MAN'S HEART WAS GIVEN TO IT." The beast was lifted up from the earth and made to stand up as a man and a man's heart was given to it.

(5) "AND BEHOLD ANOTHER BEAST, A SECOND, LIKE TO A BEAR AND IT RAISED UP ITSELF ON ONE SIDE, AND IT HAD THREE RIBS IN THE MOUTH OF IT BETWEEN THE TEETH OF IT; AND THEY SAID THUS UNTO IT, ARISE, DEVOUR MUCH FLESH." There was another beast in Daniel's dream. It was like a bear and it raised itself up on one side. It had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. And they said to it, "Arise, devour much flesh." (6) "AFTER THIS I BEHELD, AND LO ANOTHER, LIKE A LEOPARD, WHICH HAD UPON THE BACK OF IT FOUR WINGS OF A FOWL;..." Another beast came up which looked like a leopard, which had upon its back four wings of a fowl. Read! "THE BEAST HAD ALSO FOUR HEADS; AND DOMINION WAS GIVEN TO IT." It had four heads and dominion was given to it.

(7) "AFTER THIS I SAW IN THE NIGHT VISIONS, AND BEHOLD A FOURTH BEAST, DREADFUL AND TERRIBLE, AND STRONG EXCEEDINGLY;..." Daniel said he saw a fourth beast in the night visions; it was dreadful and terrible and exceedingly strong. Read! "AND IT HAD GREAT IRON TEETH: IT DEVOURED AND BREAK IN PIECES, AND STAMPED THE RESIDUE WITH THE FEET OF IT:." This great beast had great iron teeth and it devoured and break in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet.

Then Daniel said these words in the 15th Verse, "I DANIEL WAS GRIEVED IN MY SPIRIT IN THE MIDST OF MY BODY, AND THE VISIONS OF MY HEAD TROUBLED ME." He said, "I was grieved; I was troubled in my spirit, in the midst of my body and what I dreamed TROUBLED ME."

(16) "I CAME NEAR UNTO ONE OF THEM THAT STOOD BY, AND ASKED HIM THE TRUTH OF ALL THIS." Daniel asked one of the Angels that stood by in the dream to tell him the truth of all this; tell him what it all meant. Read! "SO HE TOLD ME, AND MADE ME KNOW THE INTERPRETATION OF THE THINGS." "He told me," said Daniel, "and made me know the interpretation of the things." Read! (17) "THESE GREAT BEASTS, WHICH ARE FOUR, ARE FOUR KINGS, WHICH SHALL RISE OUT OF THE EARTH." "These great beasts", said the Angel, "are four kings."

And they shall do what? Read! "WHICH SHALL ARISE OUT OF THE EARTH."

Today, my precious ones, THE BEGINNING OF THE END IS UPON US. The four great beasts are four kings striving one against the other for mastery. Russia, Great Britain, France And America are these great beasts that are contending and wrestling one against the other for mastery. And Daniel said he then saw the fourth beast as the words in the 23rd Verse express. It says, "THUS HE SAID, THE FOURTH BEAST SHALL BE THE FOURTH KINGDOM UPON EARTH, WHICH SHALL BE DIVERSE FROM ALL KINGDOMS, AND SHALL DEVOUR THE WHOLE EARTH, AND SHALL TREAD IT DOWN, AND BREAK IT IN PIECES." He said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, it shall be different from all the rest of the kingdoms. It shall devour the whole earth and tread it down and break it in pieces." THIS IS RUSSIA, RUSSIA! God is going to suffer the devil to go his limit, and when he has gone far enough, GOD WILL STOP HIM!

Listen to the next Verse! It says here:- (24) "AND THE TEN HORNS OUT OF THIS KINGDOM ARE TEN KINGS THAT SHALL ARISE:..." The ten horns out of this kingdom are the allies of Russia which she is seeking to bring under her dominion--ten of them. Read! "AND ANOTHER SHALL RISE AFTER THEM; AND HE SHALL DIVERSE FROM THE FIRST, AND HE SHALL SUBDUE THREE KINGS." After these another shall arise which will be different from the rest of them. HE, Red China, SHALL ARISE! HE HAS RISEN; HE HAS ALSO BROKEN OFF FROM RUSSIA AND HE'S FIGHTING FOR SUPREMACY.

God says this in the 25th Verse, "AND HE SHALL SPEAK GREAT WORDS AGAINST THE MOST HIGH,..." "He shall speak great words AGAINST GOD! Read! "AND SHALL WEAR OUT THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH,." He shall wear out the Saints of the Most High-- those who have overcome through the blood of the Lamb and have been TRUE TO GOD; who are waiting for the Lord to set up His Kingdom in the earth. They shall be beaten and shall suffer BUT THEY WILL NOT DENY THE LORD. They'll go down like St. Peter, St. John, St. Mark and St. Luke and all of the Holy Prophets; they shall be worn out as the Prophets of old. Read! "AND THINK TO CHANGE TIMES AND LAWS." They'll think he's going to change times and laws. Read! "AND THEY SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO HIS HAND.." And the Saints of the Most High shall be subdued while in earth by this old monster

ruler of Russia, the Communist Party. Listen! "UNTIL A TIME AND TIMES AND THE DIVIDING OF TIMES." He'll do that until God sets the time and the dividing of times.

Read! (26) "BUT THE JUDGMENT SHALL SIT,.. " But God is going to take over and set the Judgment. And what shall happen then? "AND THEY SHALL TAKE AWAY HIS DOMINION, TO CONSUME AND TO DESTROY IT UNTO THE END." And his dominion shall be taken away from him, to consume and to destroy him and all of his followers to the end.

(27) "AND THE KINGDOM AND DOMINION, AND THE GREATNESS OF THE KINGDOM UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN, SHALL BE GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH,..." "And the Kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the Kingdoms of this earth (the whole earth), shall be given to the people of the SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH," says the Word of God. The Lord says in His Blessed Word in the 50th Division of the Psalms and the 5th Verse, these words: "GATHER MY SAINTS TOGETHER..." Hallelujah! Listen to it again! Read! "GATHER MY SAINTS TOGETHER UNTO ME; THOSE THAT HAVE MADE A COVENANT WITH ME BY SACRIFICE." This is the last "go around." GOD IS SEEKING TO FIND HIS SAINTS IN THE EARTH WHO POSSESS THE SPIRIT OF ST. MARTIN LUTHER KING WHO IS TELLING THE PEOPLE TO "LET US NOT SEEK TO SATISFY OUR THIRST FOR FREEDOM BY DRINKING FROM THE CUP OF BITTERNESS AND HATRED." He wants you to let NO HATE, NO BITTERNESS, NO MALICE DEVOUR AND TAKE CONTROL OF YOU! "WAIT until my dream shall be fulfilled when the slave-owner and the sons of the slaves will sit down together at the table of brotherhood," he says.

My Brother and my Sister, this will come to pass and not only did St. Martin Luther King have that dream but every Saint has it. Every pure hearted person desires PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL TOWARD HIS FELLOW-MAN but this will never come until the kingdoms of this world "BECOME THE KINGDOMS OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST." Then this shall be fulfilled.

So hold out and hold on for God sent Jesus into the world to seek to find the sinner and give him the privilege to become a Saint and be gathered together, making himself ready for the Kingdom to Come where God's WILL will be done. The Scripture says, "Gather my Saints together, those that have made a covenant with Me by sacrifice, (by denying themselves.)" Read! "AND THE HEAVENS SHALL DECLARE HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS." The day shall come that THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN SHALL BE DECLARED IN THE MIDST OF

THE UNIVERSE. And what else does it say? "FOR GOD IS JUDGE HIMSELF." GOD WILL BE THE JUDGE HIMSELF! That will be the day when St. Martin Luther King's dream and the dream of Daniel and every Saint who desires it will come to pass. Their desire is that RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL COVER THE EARTH AS THE WATERS COVER THE MIGHTY DEEP. No Saint HAS any malice but as long as there is a worldly Government, men shall seek preeminence; they'll destroy and devour one another only for vain glory. But you suffer to do the WILL OF GOD; let it be found within you NOW so that one day when His Kingdom comes, HIS WILL will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

Don't worry about the kingdoms of this world! Vain is the ambition of man but the time is coming when God's Kingdom shall come that men will never die and he that believeth shall have everlasting life. Every time you are gathered together in the name of the Lord, you do so that you might be sustained in your faith of the Kingdom to Come. Every true Saint has the vision that St. Martin Luther King expressed. They want to see love manifested between the black and white, the rich and the poor; they want them to live as brothers and want to be their brothers.

We are in Norfolk, Va. in a meeting where the people in that section live in poverty and where sin is rampant. But we're there in the Spirit of the Lord seeking to find God's Saints who have been blinded by sin as you and I were one day. We were not Saints before we heard God's Word; we didn't believe that a person could be a Saint; we denied the possibility of our being like God BUT THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD FOUND US AND OPENED OUR EYES AND NOW OUR GOAL AND PRIZE IS THE KINGDOM TO COME WHERE HIS WILL SHALL BE DONE.

Don't play! Don't deceive yourself-- God is not mocked. If you sow to the Spirit you shall reap LIFE EVERLASTING; if you sow to the flesh you will reap corruption. Each man and woman whom God has created, has been created that he or she might be made equal with God's Son but GOD'S WILL MUST BE DONE ON THIS EARTH BEFORE YOU ARE MADE EQUAL. SO JUST SEEK TO DO THE WILL OF GOD AND BE BLESSED. May God bless you. Amen."

GENERAL

September 30, 1963

Dear Miss Baker:

Your letter to the President following your return to Paris after the August 28 March on Washington has been referred to me. I can assure you that the President appreciates the very moving and kind sentiments expressed in your letter regarding not only the major national issues facing this country but also your reference to his and Mrs. Kennedy's personal loss.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Miss Josephine^X Baker
Les Milandes
Castelnaud Fayrac
(Dordogne)
France

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1963
CENTRAL FILES

Les Milandes, September 2nd 1963

Josephine BAKER
Les Milandes
Castelnaud Fayrac
(Dordogne)
France

THE WHITE HOUSE

SEP 5 10 11 AM '63

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President John F. KENNEDY
White House

WASHINGTON DC

U S A

Mister President,

My visite in Washington on the 28th of this August 1963 was indeed the greatest moment of my life, to be there on the day of one of our most historical events was really wonderful for me because I have seen the beginning of the turning of the tide.

You have seen that most of the people want to live together in harmony and brotherhood as true Americans.

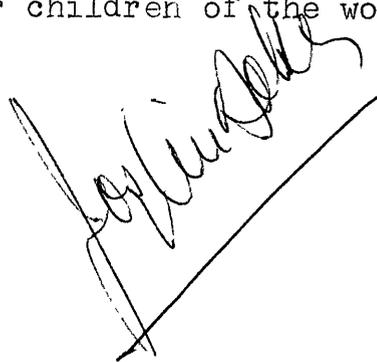
I am so very, very happy to have been able to live these most unforgettable moments toward the betterment of our problems. I am sure now you will be able to ajuste a lot of wrongs and errors that have been made because of the laws and habits and now our country will be the greatest place to live in the world. - You can make these changes of laws etc., and will be the only person, too. So may I say courage and may God speed you on the road of justice because all eyes are on you and if you take advantage of this unique occasion one day our children will be able to love and admire your statue as we all do Abraham Lincoln's today.

Now is the time, do what is indispensable to be done, but you must do it now and not wait.

- 2 -

I hope Mrs. Kennedy is in better health
and God send you another little baby to replace
the last one very quickly.

Most sincerely and faithfully - Josephine
Baker and all of her children of the world

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Josephine Baker", written in dark ink. The signature is slanted downwards to the right and is underlined with a single diagonal stroke.

①
GENERAL

H 52/1 " 20

August 23, 1963

Dear Miss Baker:

I have been asked to acknowledge your letter of August 15 advising of your intention to join the August 28 March.

Obviously, we share your hope that the March will be a positive demonstration of the manner in which this country affords an opportunity for those who feel themselves aggrieved to direct national attention to their plight. Most importantly we hope that the March will be a positive force in securing favorable action on the legislative program submitted by the President.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

X
Miss Josephine Baker
Les Milandes
Castelnaud - Fayrac
(Dordogne)

Les Milandes, 15 August 1963

~~XXXXXX~~

Josephine BAKER
Les Milandes
Castelnaud - Fayrac
(Dordogne)

THE WHITE HOUSE
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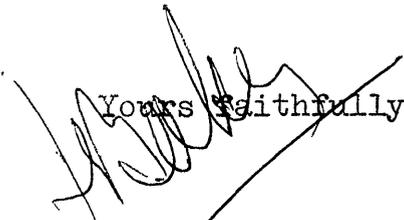
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President,

My intention is to come and join the 'March' on the 28th of August 1963, not as an agitator but as one who believes profoundly in the Rights and Dignity of Man and the urgent necessity of unity amongst all peoples.

Let us forget once and for all their color, their religion and the continents from which they may have come. No country in the world is more suited than our U.S.A. that we all love, and believe in and in which we have hopes to give this example. It is our duty to open the doors to true freedom for all Mankind in general.

Respectfully I am writing this letter so as to assure you of my good intentions and my sincerity.


Yours faithfully,

Josephine BAKER

RD

GENERAL

HU 2/FG 216

The White House
Washington

WA023 DL PD

1963 AUG 31 PM 3 04

ANN ARBOR MICH AUG 31 1100A EST

THE PRESIDENT

CARE P R SALINGER HYANNISPORT MASS (REPORT DELIVERY)

WILL YOU HELP ME, MY YOUNG 16 YEAR OLD DAUGHTER WENT TO WASHINGTON TO JOIN YOU AT THE FREEDOM RALLY HER MOTHER AND I GAVE PERMISSION TO GO SHE WAS WITH A GROUP ORGANIZED BY RESPONSIBLE CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS IN THEIR CHARTERED BUS. PRESIDENT KENNEDY, SHE HAS NOT BEEN SEEN ALIVE SINCE OUR LOCAL MINISTER SAW HER HEADING INTO THE CROWD LIKE THE FBI NOT ONE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

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OR POLICE AGENCIES TO WHICH I HAVE BEEN APPEALING STEADILY SINCE LAST THURSDAY HAVE PRODUCED A SINGLE CLUE. WE WERE PROUD TO HAVE HER WANT TO GO TO WASHINGTON NOW OUR FAMILY IS SHATTERED BY OUR LOSS. TO WHOM SHOULD WE TURN NEXT ? RESPECTFULLY

RUSSELL E^x WILSON 8250 ISLAND LAKE RD DEXTER MICHIGAN.

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



UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

GENERAL
HU 2/FG 216
FG 295

AUG 21 1968

Miss Virginia Lee Grimes
3023 - 14th Street, N. W., Apt. 402
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Miss Grimes:

Your letter of August 9, addressed to the Honorable Pierre Salinger, concerning the Civil Rights March scheduled for August 28 has been referred to me for reply.

I note your concern over the possibility of violence on that day. I would like to call your attention, however, to the recent press reports on the extensive and careful planning which has been made to assure that the March is conducted with order and dignity.

I also note your statement that Government employees wish that their offices be closed on that day. While it would not be appropriate for Federal agencies to close their offices and place their employees on administrative leave on August 28, all of the agencies have adopted the policy of approving employees' requests for annual leave when their services can be spared on that day.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman

cc: Hon. T. J. Reardon, Jr., the White House

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To remain with correspondence)

Date: August 22, 1963

TO: Honorable John Macy, Civil Service Commission

Prompt handling is essential. Correspondence should be answered or other necessary action taken within 48 hours after arrival at the department or agency. If any delay is encountered, please telephone office of the undersigned.

Please handle the attached correspondence as indicated below:

- A. Reply on behalf of the President XX
B. Draft for presidential signature
C. Draft for undersigned's signature
D. Other:
(1) For background briefing on which to base reply from this office
(2) For suitable acknowledgement or other appropriate handling
(3) For your information
(4) For comment

Furnish this office with a copy of your reply. Yes XX No

Return the original correspondence to this office. Yes XX No

REMARKS:

Letter to Pierre Salinger from Virginia Lee Grimes regarding the August 28th march.

T. J. Reardon, Jr. (Handwritten signature)

T. J. Reardon, Jr. Special Assistant to the President

By direction of the President:

P. Reardon

3023 14th Street, N. W., Apt. 402
Washington 9, D. C.

9 August 1963

The Hon. Pierre Salinger
The White House
Washington

Dear Mr. Salinger:

Feeling is strong among the government employees, wishing the offices would close on the day of the colored people's big march. Traffic lanes will be blocked and lunch-room facilities jammed. It will be difficult indeed to do a really good day's work.

Not to mention being in the midst of possible violence. It is easy to say that marchers will conduct themselves with order and dignity, but only those whose resentment against white people is high will bother to participate. If some of them have a few drinks or there is heckling, both strong possibilities, things can easily get out of hand with such a mob.

It is interesting to hear how many Washington negroes feel the march is an insult to the Kennedys when they are trying so hard to remove grievances. Perhaps they feel, also, that gang demonstrations will no doubt help panic the southern congressmen into filibusters. Anyway, militancy at this time seems to be both bad taste and bad judgment.

Yours sincerely,

(Miss) Virginia Lee Grimes
Virginia Lee Grimes

GENERAL

11/2/63
11/2/63

August 27, 1963

Reverend R. S. Jones
Secretary
1227 South Independence Ave.
Chicago, Illinois

Your August 19 letter to the President requesting a meeting on August 28 just received. Only those ten leaders of the organizations sponsoring the march listed in Mr. Randolph's letter to the President are participating in the meeting. I am sure you can understand the large number of participants in the march who would wish to meet with the President. Your generous comments and sentiments are, of course, appreciated.

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

White

The White House
Washington

to see white

1963 AUG 26 AM 7 39

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CHICAGO ILL 25

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR PRESIDENT: WE HAVE FOLLOWED YOUR ADMINISTRATION
WE ARE VERY PROUD OF THE GREAT STRIDES THAT YOU HAVE MADE AND
WE ARE PRAYING FOR YOUR CONTINUED SUCCESS. OUR PRESIDENT REVEREND
C. H. HAMPTON PLANS TO BE IN WASHINGTON FOR THE JOBS AND FREEDOM
MARCH IT IS OUR DESIRE THAT YOU WILL GRANT HIM AN AUDIENCE
WE WILL BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE ONE OF YOUR AUTOGRAPHED BOOKS GIVEN

TO OUR PRESIDENT TO RETURN TO OUR OFFICE WILL BE HAPPY IF WILL
VERIFY THIS WITH A TELEGRAM AUTHORIZING REVEREND HAMPTON TO
SEE YOU WITH THE OTHER DELEGATES THAT WILL BE IN WASHINGTON
SINCERELY YOURS

LAWNDALE MINISTERS CIVIC LEAGUE OF CHICAGO AND VICINITY REV
R S JONES SECY ^{5657 11227} 1216 SO INDEPENDENCE BLVD CHICAGO.

~~1470 West Warren~~

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

GENERAL

August 26, 1963

Dear Mr. Gors:

I have been asked to reply to your letter to the President regarding the proposed August "march on Washington."

The use of peaceful assemblies, large and small, to direct attention to grievances has a long and legitimate history in the United States. While the Administration did not suggest, approve, or endorse the August "march", the President has indicated that if it is an assembly of this type he does not oppose it. He has also made clear that he has not and will not condone the use of large numbers of people to attempt to intimidate the Congress.

Every indication is that those who are responsible for calling and planning the "march" have attempted to insure that there will be no march on the Capitol Building, and that it will be a peaceful meeting, will end the same day it begins, will make use of the ample grounds for assembly at the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial, and that its leaders will cooperate with the authorities to take all precautions against violence.

We appreciate your views on the issue and hope that the foregoing clarifies the situation as we see it.

Sincerely,

**Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President**

**Mr. H. R. Gors
134 Butler Street
Saugatuck, Michigan**

**RECEIVED
AUG 27 1963
CENTRAL FILE**

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ack 8/26/63
-W. B. S.

134 Butler St.
Saugatuck, Mich.
August 10, 1963

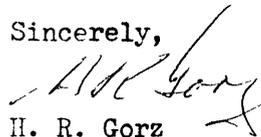
W-41

President John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington #25, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In regard to the August 28 March on Washington to promote the proposed civil rights legislation, these demonstrations are so patently Communist-inspired (see The Worker of Aug. 4th and Aug. 6th, 1963; Political Affairs of July, 1963; the August 1, 1963 edition of the National Guardian, all of which have been designated as Communist-controlled by HCUA). This writer strongly urges that measures be taken to curb or limit the effects of this demonstration, that adequate police protection be assigned to the area of the demonstrations, and that the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963 be discarded in its entirety, pending a more sensible approach to this sensitive problem.

Sincerely,


H. R. Gorz

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for

1010 13, 0100
10-10-10

GENERAL ③

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MU2/FG-216

WA001 NL PD

1963 AUG 25 AM 12 11

AR PHILADELPHIA PENN 25

PIERRE SALINGER

THE WHITE HOUSE

CAN I AS SALINGER OF EUGENE CARSON ^XBLAKE BE ACCREDITED TO
ATTEND PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE WITH LEADERS OF AUGUST 28TH FREEDOM
MARCH. WILL BE AT SHERATON CARLTON AUGUST 27TH PLEASE ADVISE

FRANK ^XHEINZE DIRECTOR ^XPRESBYTERIAN OFFICE OF INFORMATION
PHILADELPHIA PENN.

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A0502

CARLTON R. SICKLES
MEMBER AT LARGE, MARYLAND

See letter

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

August 26, 1963

The President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the House Concurrent Resolution which I introduced today, expressing the sense of Congress that employees in the executive branch of the Federal Government and in the municipal government of the District of Columbia should be granted administrative leave on Wednesday, August 28, 1963.

Since the Congress may have insufficient time to express itself on this resolution, I urge Executive action to accomplish this purpose.

With best wishes.

Very sincerely,

Carlton R. Sickles
Carlton R. Sickles, M. C.

CRS:rsf
Enclosure ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Answered by

telephone

8/27/63

GENERAL

HUS/FG

LE/PE

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SEP 4 1963
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88th Congress
1st Session

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress that employees in the executive branch of the Federal Government and in the municipal government of the District of Columbia should be granted administrative leave on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, in connection with the civil rights activities in Washington, District of Columbia, on such day.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate con-
curring), That it is hereby declared to be the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, respectively, should grant, to the extent compatible with the performance of vital Government services, to employees in the executive branch of the Federal Government and in the municipal government of the District of Columbia, respectively, the day off from work (in addition to annual leave otherwise authorized by law and without loss of compensation) on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, the date on which the activities for the advancement of the civil rights of United States citizens are to be conducted in Washington, District of Columbia.

GENERAL

1002/ 6216

August 26, 1963

Dear Mrs. Hart:

I have been asked to reply to your letter to the President regarding the proposed August "march on Washington."

The use of peaceful assemblies, large and small, to direct attention to grievances has a long and legitimate history in the United States. While the Administration did not suggest, approve, or endorse the August "march", the President has indicated that if it is an assembly of this type he does not oppose it. He has also made clear that he has not and will not condone the use of large numbers of people to attempt to intimidate the Congress.

Every indication is that those who are responsible for calling and planning the "march" have attempted to insure that there will be no march on the Capitol Building, and that it will be a peaceful meeting, will end the same day it begins, will make use of the ample grounds for assembly at the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial, and that its leaders will cooperate with the authorities to take all precautions against violence.

We appreciate your views on the issue and hope that the foregoing clarifies the situation as we see it.

Sincerely,

**Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President**

**Mrs. Clinton Hart
830 St. Anthony
Lake Charles, Louisiana**

RECEIVED
11-27-63

wbd

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ack. 8/26/63
W. B. S.

7/15

830 St. Anthony
Lake Charles, La.
August 13, 1963

President John F. Kennedy
Washington D. C.

W-41

Dear President Kennedy:

Perhaps to receive a letter from an American citizen is of ~~now~~ more consequence than the addition of another drop of water to the ocean.

It is safe to say I believe, that the majority of Americans feel as I do. This is for this reason I write to you.

I am a Christian. I am a native Hawaiian who has lived in the South approximately ten years. Last, I am a well-informed American.

You know, better than I, that the racial strife is originated, supported and directed by the Red Fascists who are seeking to destroy our Republic. The August 28 March on Washington is wrong. It will not help the negroes but it will do great damage to them in the long run.

Respectfully,

Mrs. Clinton Hart



Committee for Nonviolent Action

325 Lafayette Street New York 12, N. Y.

Walker 5-9415

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GENERAL

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c/o Peace Action Center
1731 Park Road N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20010
August 19, 1963

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Ralph DiGio, Treasurer
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George Willoughby, Co-Secretary

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CNVA West
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San Francisco, Calif

Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell
Appointment Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20025

Att: Mrs. G. King

Dear Mr. O'Donnell:

In response to a telephone call I made to you today I am enclosing a letter from Bradford Lyttle sent to Pres. Kennedy dated 10, Aug., 1963, which she indicated had been traced and had not been found. I hope, with the Walkers, that an audience with the President can be arranged within the time mentioned.

Any reply may be left with me at the above typed address or by phone 232-6626. I look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Irwin R. Hogenauer
Local Walk Coordinator

Enc. Letter to Pres. Kennedy

phone 232-6626

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1963
ST. LOUIS
MISSOURI

Post
Co

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 21, 1963

I called Secretariat at State re the attached and talked to Marilyn Jackson there.

She took the information concerning the correspondence, then reported back that State recommends that the President NOT see this group.

State however, is interested in the group's whereabouts, and asked that we notify them should they contact the White House upon arrival here.

I called Mr. Hogenauer, who is the local coordinator of the group, and explained that in view of the interational aspect of the Walk, he should contact State. I also told him appt. with Pres. could not be arranged.

Gwen King

August 14, 1963

Letter to Mr. O'Donnell from Bradford Little, who is the head coordinator of the march on August 28th, asking for an appointment with the President for himself and a group while they are in Washington for the march.

Mr. Bradford Little will be in the area from August 24th until September 5th.

(Mr. Ervin Hogenbauer of Washington called today re the above. He is Chr. of the Committee for Non-violent Action and head of the march for the Washington area.)

232-6626-



Committee for Nonviolent Action

325 Lafayette Street New York 12, N. Y.

Walker 5-9415

C
N
V
A

A. J. Muste, Chairman
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Clarence E. Pickett
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Gene Sharp
Bill Sutherland
Ralph T. Templin

Regional Committees

New England CNVA
RFD 1, Box 197B
Voluntown, Conn
CNVA West
P O Box 5983
San Francisco, Calif

August 10, 1963

President John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Kennedy:

I am writing to you on behalf of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, a nonviolent direct action project sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA). Since the Walk began May 26 in Quebec City, we have sent you regularly literature relating to it. You may, therefore, already be familiar with the following items enclosed with this letter to help give you a clear picture of the nature and purposes of the Walk:

1. The "Call" to the Walk (blue and black), the main promotional document;
2. "What Is CNVA", a folder which describes the sponsoring organization;
3. "The Cuban Crisis Policy Statement"; CNVA's policy recommendations for Cuba and international relations in general;
4. A copy of the latest "CNVA Bulletin", describing some of the Walk's experiences and other direct action projects for peace.

The Walk now has covered more than 700 miles, passing through, among others, the following cities: Quebec City, Trois Rivieres, Montreal, Hawkesbury, Ottawa and Brockville (all in Canada), Watertown, N.Y., Rome, N.Y., Norwich, N.Y., Binghamton, N.Y., Scranton, Pa., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Morristown, N.J., Newark, N.J., New York City, Elizabeth, N.J., and New Brunswick, N.J. Hundreds of people have participated in the walking for from a few hours to more than two months. Thousands have talked with us, tens of thousands have read our leaflets, and millions of people on the North American Continent, in Europe and in Asia have read about the Walk in newspapers, seen pictures of it on television or have heard about it over the radio.

There are now 43 walkers ranging in age from 11 to 63. They come from four countries: Canada, Denmark, the United States and West Germany. About 15 are women.

Page Two
Letter to President Kennedy
August 10, 1963

The walkers share a deep desire for world peace and the belief that peace must come through the exercise of concern for the welfare of human beings everywhere, reason, intelligence, generosity and nonviolent resistance to injustice and aggression wherever these evils may occur. They share a profound distrust of military power and economic and political coercion as instruments of peace, believing them to be immoral and, in our age of advanced technology, incapable in the long run of preventing violent conflict.

The walkers have chosen Cuban-American relations as the issue upon which to focus their attention because they know that last October the Cuban crisis very nearly precipitated a nuclear war. In your Report to the People of October 22, 1962, you said:

"It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union."

On October 28 you wrote to Premier Khrushchev that you "were aware that developments were approaching a point where events could have become unmanageable." The results of a "full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union" were described July 26, 1963 in your Remarks on the Test Ban Treaty:

"A war today or tomorrow, if it led to a nuclear war, would not be like any war in history. A full-scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes, could wipe out more than 300,000,000 Americans, Europeans and Russians, as well as untold numbers elsewhere. And the survivors, as Chairman Khrushchev warned the Communist Chinese "would envy the dead." For they would inherit a world so devastated by the explosions and poison and fire that today we cannot even conceive of all its horrors."

Tensions between the United States and Cuba, antagonisms of their respective governments and peoples to each other, therefore are vital concerns to the walkers and should be to all Mankind.

The walkers believe that the deterioration of U.S.-Cuban relations over the past six decades is an outstanding example of the inability of military power and economic and political coercion to, in the long run, bring peace. Although at a few times since 1898 the United States has adopted policies designed to help the Cuban people - notably the sanitation, education and communication improvement programs administered by General Leonard Wood during U.S. occupation of Cuba after the Spanish-American War - for most of these years our policies have been shaped to assist American businesses and other investments in Cuba, and have disregarded the political and economic welfare of the Cuban people. Thus, we are largely responsible for the Cuban sugar mono-economy which created a large class of underpaid, landless agricultural laborers who faced unemployment eight months of the year, we winked at widespread American financed gambling and prostitution enterprises in Havana, we sometimes encouraged and did little to oppose the corrosive traditions of political

Page Three
Letter to President Kennedy
August 10, 1963

corruption that extinguished hopes of political and social reform in Cuba, and we consistently recognized and gave military aid to undemocratic and ruthless political adventurers such as Machado and Batista. Therefore, our cup is filled today not with the nectar of Cuban friendship but with the bitter dregs of hatred and disillusion of a poor people who have experienced little other than contempt, bribery, threats and military intervention from their powerful and wealthy neighbor to the north. American statesmen have sought to place the blame for Cuban intransigence on Dr. Castro and communism. Surely, however, you and your advisers recognize the neglected responsibilities and tragic human and political errors hinted at in the following sentences from the Department of State's policy booklet "Cuba":

"The people of Cuba remain our brothers. We acknowledge past omissions and errors in our relationship to them."

That paragraph continues:

"The United States, along with the other nations of the hemisphere, expressed a profound determination to assure future democratic governments in Cuba full and positive support in their efforts to help the Cuban people achieve freedom, democracy, and social justice."

We share this spirit of determination to help the Cuban people. That is one reason we have undertaken our arduous trek of 3300 miles from Quebec City to Guantanamo - to show the Cubans that there are Americans who wish to regard them as friends and brothers rather than as enemies and fair game for exploitation.

It is our deep hope and the prayer of many of us that you and your administration will recognize in our Walk for Peace a small but potentially effective means for relaxing U.S.-Cuban tensions and building friendship, trust and mutual aid between the two peoples and governments. We make the following requests of you:

First, that you direct the Department of State to endorse for travel to Cuba the passports of walkers who may apply. A mimeographed letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk is enclosed which gives the most important reasons why we believe we should be permitted to travel to Cuba. Salient among these is our feeling that the United States must never be the architect of a "Cuba Wall" that in any way resembles the "Berlin Wall."

Enclosed, also, is a petition, the first of many we will send you, signed by U.S. citizens and others who seek your support for the Walk's travel to Cuba.

Second, we ask that the walkers be granted an interview with you in the White House, while we are in Washington between August 22 and September 2. We recognize the value of your time, but we understand, too and with you, the paramount importance of peace, and therefore we believe it right, proper and wise for the President of the United States to give a few minutes of his time to hear and discuss the views of a band of his countrymen who have committed ten months of their lives to carryout a

Page Four
Letter to President Kennedy
August 10, 1963

walk for peace across three nations.

We look forward to your earliest convenient reply, which should be directed before August 21 to me c/o the Committee for Nonviolent Action, 325 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. 12, N.Y. (phone: Walker 5-9415), and after that date to me c/o The Washington Peace Action Center, 1731 Park Road, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures

Bradford Lyttle
Coordinator, the Quebec-Washington,
Guantanamo Walk for Peace

August 17, 1963

GENERAL

Dear Mr. Gresham:

I have been asked to reply to your letter to the President regarding the proposed August "march on Washington."

The use of peaceful assemblies, large and small, to direct attention to grievances has a long and legitimate history in the United States. While the Administration did not suggest, approve, or endorse the August "march", the President has indicated that if it is an assembly of this type he does not oppose it. He has also made clear that he has not and will not condone the use of large numbers of people to attempt to intimidate the Congress.

Every indication is that those who are responsible for calling and planning the "march" have attempted to insure that there will be no march on the Capitol Building, and that it will be a peaceful meeting, will end the same day it begins, will make use of the ample grounds for assembly at the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial, and that its leaders will cooperate with the authorities to take all precautions against violence.

We appreciate your views on the issue and hope that the foregoing clarifies the situation as we see it.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. William F. S. Gresham
901 Peoples Bank Building
Lynchburg, Virginia

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The News

Published by The Lynchburg News, Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia

Formerly Carter Glass & Sons, Publishers

PHILIP LIGHTFOOT SCRUGGS, Editor

JOHN A. HAMILTON, Associate Editor

DAVID W. WRIGHT, Managing Editor

Monday, July 22, 1963

Welcoming The Rioters

The President of the United States stood before the people at his most recent news conference and gave his blessing to a Negro march on Washington that amounts to pointing a gun at the head of Congress.

"I look forward to being here" for the demonstrations, said John Kennedy. "I am sure the members of Congress will be here."

It was a veiled challenge to Congress not to follow its suggestion that it might take a holiday if Negroes carry out their threat to send 100,000 marchers into the capital.

Last week's conference marks the first time in the modern history of this nation—dedicated to the proposition that men are governed by laws and not by men—that the head of state has encouraged intimidation of the elected representatives of the people.

The march, tentatively set for Aug. 26, shapes up as a "peaceful assembly calling for a redress of grievances," said Mr. Kennedy.

In that statement he appears to consider the demonstration no more difficult to handle than any routine holiday parade. But he can't believe that for a minute.

The march is being held to bring pressure on the Congress to pass the President's civil rights legislation and the leaders of the demonstration have acknowledged the possi-

bility of violence. They have acknowledged it to the point of making the possibility an open threat.

There is an omnipresent danger that an incident will spark a riot of gigantic proportions which no police force could hold in check, a riot which would endanger the lives of thousands of innocent citizens as well as those of the marchers and cause untold property damage. It has the potential of a bomb with a time fuse. . . .

One wonders if this can be the same man who made haste to send troops into Mississippi and Alabama on the pretext that there just might be violence—despite assurances of the highest authorities of those States that law and order was not threatened and would be maintained.

This is the same man who now shrugs off the possibility of danger in a situation a thousand times more explosive than those at Oxford and Tuscaloosa.

Meanwhile, caught in the middle are those citizens, the vast majority of the population of Washington, who will be denied the free access to their streets, their businesses closed and blocked off, and who will be subjected to the danger of a riot which could menace their lives.

Who speaks for them? Who defends the rights of the majority to the protection of the law?

1089-(71)

out 8/17/63
jan

MEN'S WORK

SYNOD OF VIRGINIA

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

MEN'S COUNCIL, SYNOD OF VIRGINIA

F. W. BUSH, *President*
C. D. DIGGS, *Vice-President*
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE

REV. W. B. SULLIVAN, D. D., *Secretary*
307 PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

W-41
July 23, 1963

EAST HANOVER
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REV. J. L. AUTEN

LEXINGTON
A. P. CAMPBELL
REV. R. S. MILES

MONTGOMERY
W. F. S. GRESHAM
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JAMES W. MILLS
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ROANOKE
HARRY FLYNN
REV. G. B. TALBOT

WEST HANOVER
COL. D. W. PAULETTE
J. L. LANCASTER

WINCHESTER
JAMES L. LAISE
REV. ROBERT C. BRADFORD

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
President, The United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir;

Please find enclosed an editorial from the Lynchburg Virginia News of yesterday morning. I feel sure that the sentiments expressed in this editorial are those of millions of other Americans in this country, including mine.

I am convinced that your race relation policy in this country is giving much comfort to our Communist foe. Your efforts are creating untold havoc for our American way of life. America was built on the observance of law and order, not the absolute rule you are trying to shove down our throats today.

You and your brother Robert had better take stock of your actions now before it is too late. You are fermenting a Civil War in this country.

Sincerely yours,

William F. S. Gresham
William F. S. Gresham

WFSG. gt

William F. S. Gresham
901 Peoples Bank Bldg
Lynchburg, Va.



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 26, 1963

GENERAL

HU 2/F 4/216

11 4 - 1

F 11/20

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE PIERRE SALINGER
Press Secretary to the President

The attached statement on the segregation at the Soldiers' Home could be issued by either General Haislip, the Governor, or Secretary Vance who has ultimate responsibility.

I have been pressed by the Star and the Washington Post for some sort of response.

I think this statement will cover the situation.

A.S.
Arthur Sylvester

Attachment

STATEMENT BY GENERAL HAISLIP

The Governor of the Soldiers' Home issued the following clarifying statement with respect to reports of segregation in the hospital at the Soldiers' Home:

"Under a policy now in effect any member of the Soldiers' Home may be quartered in any portion of the hospital where he can receive needed medical treatment.

"The one member of the Soldiers' Home who recently expressed a desire to move from Ward 6 has been moved."

Gen Underwood - [Star questioned
Ward Post

W. H. Howard

600 / JMB
July 19, 1963

GENERAL
HU2/FG-216
FG 216-5

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Louis Martin
*Democratic National Committee

The attached copy is for your information.

Richard K. Donahue

re meeting held at the Police Dept. re March on Aug. 28th

dlt

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1963
GENERAL FILES

For Medaly

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PLANNING BOARD
OF THE
UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION

NR
CC
pl

1420 NEW YORK AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

NATIONAL 8-3227

MEMORANDUM

July 11, 1963

To: Charles Horsky
From: Rodney H. Clurman *h*
Re: The meeting held at the Police Dept.

This is a summary outline of the meeting held at the Police Dept. Thursday morning to discuss plans for the August 28 Civil Rights demonstration:

The following were present: Chief Murray, Deputy Covell, Deputy Wallrodt, Deputy Johnson, Deputy Winters, Deputy Layton, Inspector Wright, Mr. Caldwell - Justice Dept, Mr. Sutton Jett, - National Park Service, Chief Murdock - Park Police, Paul Rilling - Human Relations Counsel, Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, Baynard Rustin, - Deputy Director of the March, Sterling Tucker, E. Franklin Jackson, Bishop Smallwood Williams, Julius Hobson, Joseph Beavers.

The meeting was tape recorded and transcripts will be delivered to all participants.

Mr. Rustin served as the spokesman for the group. He emphasized that the only individuals authorized to speak for the leadership group are direct representatives of that group (Roy Wilkins, Martin L. King, James Farmer, John Lewis, Whitney Young and A. Phillip Randolph) and that they would meet Friday in New York to discuss all plans and make decisions. Today's meeting was for purposes of exchange of information with the responsible officials in Washington.

Deputy Chief Howard Covell ran the meeting.

Rustin indicated that there would be four areas of activity on August 28 and that all participants would be urged to arrive and leave on that day.

1. Demonstrations on jobs and unemployment at the White House.
2. March down Penna. Ave. to Lincoln Memorial.
3. Mass meeting at Lincoln Memorial.
4. Lobbying in a "variety of ways".

Mr. Charles Horsky

July 11, 1963

Rustin indicated that the 300,000 figure being used was not from the "leadership" and that better estimates were 100,000 or over.

Rustin laid out the following plan:

Delegations would go to visit members of Congress by pre-arrangement and Congressmen would be invited to come to areas where State Delegations would congregate, mainly churches, to address the delegations.

The time schedule planned is:

10 - 12 noon lobbying

12 noon on - White House demonstrations followed by march and mass meeting at Lincoln Memorial.

Mr. Rustin indicated that the theme of the march being recommended was "A tribute to Medgar Evers and all the White and Negro individuals who had been killed in the Civil Rights Struggle". This is to give the march a solemn tone and discourage hyper-activity. Instead of bands, groups of choruses singing "We Shall Overcome" will be in the parade.

Rustin indicated that historically violence in Negro demonstrations came from outside agitators or police brutality.

Guardians - Members of the NY Police force who are Negroes have an organization called the Guardians. They will be used at the internal security force for the Negro leadership in the demonstration and will number in excess of 1,000. They will have arm bands with MARSHALL on them and while they will have no police authority in Washington, they will be used to maintain order. They will conduct a school on four Thursday evenings in N. Y. to train bus and train Captains as additional control personnel. Identification will be provided for all people in the march to distinguish them from outside groups.

The organized group plans to advise officials of all movements in advance to insure adequate planning.

Rustin indicated that white church groups had requested approval to participate by having in excess of 2,000 Protestant, Jewish and Catholic ministers surround the Capitol in prayer during the day. 

Rustin indicated that they would arrange for ambulances, first aid stations, doctors and nurses and water stations to be provided for emergency use and might need help in these areas.

Julius Hobson indicated that the use of bull horns for crowd control

Mr. Charles Horsky

July 11, 1963

had been most helpful in the June 14 demonstration. Hobson requested use of the horns. Chief Murray indicated they would be glad to make them available but that they only had four or five and the Park Service had an additional three or four. Paul Rilling indicated he would look into the matter.

Rustin indicated that they will plan to organize the arrival of all busses, trains and planes to provide maximum coordination and organization and encourage everyone to leave that same night. He indicated that there might be motor-cades into the city from Boston to North Carolina.

At this point, Rustin addressed himself to the "Representative of the Justice Department" and said that they must be "vigilant" and see to it that this was an orderly affair all the way along the route particularly in states where Negroes in busses might have problems. Rustin indicated that such actions as bus burnings or other actions that had happened in the past could change the entire tenor of the whole demonstration. He said they would furnish a memorandum of all major routes that the busses will be taking.

Mr. Caldwell, in reply, indicated that he did not represent the FBI but was the personal representative of Burke Marshall and that Justice cannot take preventative action and that policing of busses was impossible. Bishop Williams indicated that the FBI should be alerted and make investigations about possible plots to harm demonstrators en route to Washington. Rustin continued that when the President goes to NYC plans are made to ensure that he is not harmed and that similar ^{NYC} should be taken. Rustin indicated that the leadership wanted indications that "routes will be watched".

Mr. Caldwell indicated that the President is protected by Secret Service by law and the function of crime prevention is in local hands and not the Justice Dept. He said they should feel free to approach other local officials.

Rustin indicated that he felt this portion of the conversation should not continue.

Julius Hobson indicated that a report in the papers said that Lincoln Rockwell planned to have over 10,000 men in counter demonstration and that the police should be aware of this.

Mr. Charles Horsky

July 11, 1963

Chief Winters asked about the participation of children and was told that participants were being told that none under 17 should come although some children might come with their parents. Winters indicated that the Youth Aid Division would be available to assist at the Lincoln Memorial mass meeting.

Inspector Wright urged staggering of bus arrivals and prior notification of routes for maximum escorts and traffic control. It was also emphasized that it would be helpful to have distinctive markers on busses arriving.

Sterling Tucker indicated that not all the marchers would be Negro and that the demonstration was planned to be representative of "Americana".

There was general agreement that the demonstration of June 14 was complete, peaceful and successful and that plans for this one would follow along those lines.

The question of police dogs was raised as a "psychological factor". Chief Murray indicated that there would be dogs assuming there was no trouble. ?

It was requested that Lt. Davis of Precint #2 be assigned as liason officer with the Coordinating group. The group indicated that one of the Washington representatives of the National organizations would be selected as major liason as soon as possible.

The entire emphasis of the ninety minute meeting was to do everything possible to make the planned demonstration as well organized and peaceful as possible with all groups working together toward the common goal.

cc: Jack R. Goldberg

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GENERAL

Hil... 7/16
FS 716-4

June 26, 1963

Dear Congressman: *Charles C. Diggs, Jr.*

On behalf of the President, please permit me to acknowledge your letter to him of June 8th enclosing a carbon copy of your letter of the same date to the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Tobriner has today supplied me a copy of his letter to you of June 20th in response to your letter to the Commissioners. As Mr. Tobriner's letter indicates, the Commissioners are requesting additional staff for the Council on Human Relations which will permit a better investigation of complaints of discrimination within the District Government. The letter also states, as Mr. Tobriner also stated publicly on June 14th, that he has requested an opinion from the Corporation Counsel on the power of the Commissioners to enact a Fair Employment Practices ordinance; indeed Mr. Tobriner's statement went farther than his letter and announced that in the event the Corporation Counsel advised that the Commissioners had the power to act, they would schedule hearings promptly.

Steps are also being taken to improve the effectiveness and to diminish the complaints against the Police Department and to make clear to all District Government department heads the necessity for full cooperation with the Commissioners' policy on Civil Rights.

- 2 -

There are, no doubt, many other steps which ought to be taken to insure that the District Government proceeds in full accord with the program of President Kennedy in the Civil Rights field. You may be sure that I will work with the Commissioners in every way possible in this area.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

June 20, 1963

Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., M.C.
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Diggs:

In response to your letter of June 8, 1963, we have told the Corporation Counsel to give us a prompt opinion concerning the power of the Commissioners to enact a Fair Employment Practices ordinance. We expect to have this opinion in a short time.

The Police Department is currently organizing advisory committees at the precinct level, and a number of these are already in operation. I have suggested to the Chief of Police that, when these committees are in being, the next step would be the organization of a central advisory group.

We are always open to suggestions for the improvement of our machinery for guaranteeing equal employment within the District Government. We believe that our present machinery is in fairly sound condition, given the limitations of money and personnel. The departmental equal employment representatives do investigate complaints of discrimination, but complaints may be filed directly with the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, and the staff of the Council does review and, if necessary, re-investigate every case.

As you know, this procedure is also followed by the Federal Government. In at least some cases, this procedure has been of educational value and has given the Council the assistance of men dedicated to equal opportunity in several of the departments. It might be preferable, ideally, for the Council to process all complaints independently as you suggest. This would require a considerably larger staff than is now in sight. We are requesting that the Council staff be expanded to include another intergroup relations specialist and another secretary. This request is being submitted to Congress in our "B" Budget.

- 2 -

I believe that we have made it clear to all department heads that we are serious in our equal employment policy. I agree with you, however, that it might be useful for the Commissioners to convene a meeting of District Government department heads to further emphasize our goals in this area. I shall suggest to my colleagues that we hold such a meeting during the next month.

Your concern and your suggestions, as always, are welcome.

Sincerely yours,

President
Board of Commissioners, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Honorable Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for National Capital Affairs

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

Date June 15, 1963

FROM THE SPECIAL ASSISTANT

Ltr. from: Cong. Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

ACTION:

Comment

Draft reply for undersigned's signature

XXXXXX Direct reply, with information copy to undersigned

Further reply, with information copy to undersigned

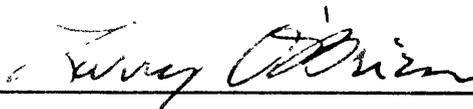
For background briefing on which to base
reply from this office

For appropriate handling

For your information

See below

Remarks:



GPO 634726

By direction of the President:

Lawrence F. O'Brien
Special Assistant
to the President

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICE
8401 WOODWARD AVENUE
875-4430

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON OFFICE.
1015 NEW HOUSE OFFICE
BUILDING

CAPITOL 4-3121
EXTENSION 2261

JUN 10 1963

THE WHITE HOUSE

JUN 10 9 32 AM '63

RECEIVED

JUN 11 1963

June 8, 1963

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose a copy of my letter of June 8, 1963 to the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia urging that full machinery at the local level be reviewed to assure that it is guaranteeing and to check the progress of equal opportunity for citizens without regard to race.

I appeal to you to expand your urgings around the country to include the Nation's Capital which needs your moral force and leadership to accomplish the pattern you hope to attain elsewhere.

Very respectfully yours,



CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICE:
8401 WOODWARD AVENUE
875-4430

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1015 NEW HOUSE OFFICE
BUILDING

CAPITOL 4-3121
EXTENSION 2261

June 3, 1963

Board of Commissioners, D. C.
Fourteenth and E Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The recent report of the D. C. Advisory Committee on Civil Rights has concurred in the opinions sent to you by me May 3 and May 28 that your Board should obtain from the Corporation Council's Office a legal basis to enact a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance with proper enforcement provisions and a regulation which would prohibit racial discrimination by any business licensed by this city. I urge you to direct the D. C. Corporation Council to give top priority to rendering said opinions and drafting the necessary legislation if authority is established.

I also strongly recommend that you review your entire machinery for guaranteeing equal opportunity to make sure it is properly oiled to do the job. From my observations and contacts it is pretty rusty in the following areas: Proper staffing and authority for the Council on Human Relations; the Commissioner's Youth Council which has 14 vacancies and which is largely inoperative outside of the area councils; the appointment of equal employment opportunity officers within District agencies making them investigate themselves thereby frustrating complaint procedures which should be processed independently by the Human Relations Council; the lack of compliance with your edicts to eliminate discrimination by those who hold contracts with the District Government; the lack of an advisory council to the Chief of Police, which would draw him closer to the source of community bitterness about certain activities under his jurisdiction; and the failure to implement your orders concerning the rental and leasing of facilities from real estate agents and landlords, who engage in restrictive occupancy and hiring practices. Additionally, I strongly recommend that you issue a strong policy pronouncement in regard to Civil Rights, appealing for the cooperation of all concerned and especially the local power structure, as represented by the Washington Board of Trade, to exert fullest efforts to eliminate the genesis of racial tensions.

Board of Commissioners, D. C.
Page Two
June 8, 1963

I strongly recommend further that you enlist the personal involvement of each agency head in the District Government, at a special meeting called for that purpose, with appropriate implementation so that progress can be observed.

Community climate underscores the urgency for immediate action.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

8/17 FF

GENERAL

H47/FG-16

JL6

June 26, 1963

Dear Mr. Fowler:

On behalf of the President, please permit me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of June 19th relating to the lack of integration in certain aspects of the Police Department.

This problem has, I know, been of concern for some time and I certainly hope that something constructive can be done about it in the near future.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

Reverend Andrew Fowler^x
Director
Washington Bureau
^x National Fraternal Council Of Churches
1921 13th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON BUREAU
National Fraternal Council Of Churches, U. S. A., Inc.
1921 13th Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

REV. ANDREW FOWLER, *Director*

DUpont 7-1956

June 19, 1963

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 20 2 25 PM '63
RECEIVED

NATIONAL OFFICERS

BISHOP H. T. MEDFORD
President
Washington, D. C.

BISHOP SMALLWOOD E. WILLIAMS
Vice President-at-Large
Washington, D. C.

BISHOP E. P. MURCHISON
Second Vice President
Nashville, Tenn.

REV. J. T. McMILLAN
Executive Secretary
Washington, D. C.

DR. J. H. PETERS
Treasurer
Washington, D. C.

BISHOP S. L. GREENE
Chairman Executive Board
Atlanta, Georgia

COMMISSION WASHINGTON
BUREAU

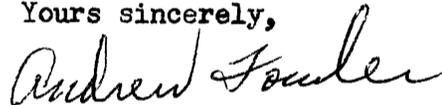
DR C T MURRAY
DR E. L. HARRISON
DR J. H. PETERS
REV. J. F. WHITEFIELD
BISHOP H. T. MEDFORD
BISHOP S. L. GREENE
BISHOP SMALLWOOD WILLIAMS
REV ANDREW FOWLER
REV. LEAMON W. WHITE
REV. D. A. BELL
REV. J. T. McMILLAN
REV. E. FRANKLIN JACKSON
REV. G. DEWEY ROBINSON
BISHOP SAMUEL KELSEY
ATTORNEY CARL A. BANKS

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir:

The Commission of The Washington Bureau of The National Fraternal Council of Churches and the Committee of One Hundred Ministers are disturbed by the lack of integration in Police Scout Cars and The Accident Investigation Squad. We, therefore, hope you will help the District Commissioners to bring this matter into harmony with your program.

Yours sincerely,



Andrew Fowler

GENERAL

HU. 7 / 100

F. B. I.

June 20, 1963

Dear Canon Williams:

Your telegram expressing cooperation and willingness to be of service in the event that there is a "march on Washington" by civil rights supporters is very much appreciated. Obviously, we do not know that there will be such a march but your earnest offer of assistance will certainly be borne in mind.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Canon Richard Williams
Special Assistant to the Bishop
Director of Department of Social Relations
x National Cathedral
Washington, D. C.

Lee White

The White House
Washington

1963 JUN 19 AM 11 53

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WASHINGTON DC JUNE 19 1115A EDT

THE PRESINT, ATTN THEODORE G SORENSON AND LEE C WHITE

THE WHITE HOUSE

IN THE EVENT OF A "MARCH ON WASHINGTON" CAUSED BY A CIVIL RIGHTS
FILIBUSTER IN THE CONGRESS THE MEMBERS AND THE STAFF OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AND ITS COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL
EDUCATION AND ACTION ARE MORE THAN WILLING TO BE OF SERVICE TO
THOSE WHO WILL BEAR THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WELFARE
OF THE MARCHERS

CANON RICHARD WILLIAMS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE BISHOP
DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.

HSK/EF

Central files

The White House
Washington

GENERAL

HSK/FG 716

1963 JUN 12 AM 10 13

CO34 NL PD

WASHINGTON DC JUN 11

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

(This wire referred to
CA Horsky and
"answered" orally.)

MR PRESIDENT, THE WASHINGTON SITUATION IS MORE CRITICAL THAN
GENERALLY REALIZED. FRIDAYS PLANNED DEMONSTRATIONS CAN EARLY
DEVELOP INTO ANOTHER "BIRMINGHAM". WE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE DC BRANCH NAACP, THE NEGRO COMMUNITY COUNCIL AND THE DC
FEDERATION OF CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS CALL UPON YOU TO TAKE IMMEDIATE
ACTION AND RECOMMEND THE CALLING TOGETHER OF LEADERS FROM ALL

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1963
CENTRAL FILES

SEGMENTS OF THIS COMMUNITY TO FIND IMMEDIATE SOLUTIONS TO THESE
EXPLOSIVE PROBLEMS. THE DEMAND FOR WHICH IS HEARD ON EVERY STREET
CORNER. WE HAVE ADVISED SPECIAL ASSISTANT HORSKY OF THE IMMINENT
DANGER

DR E FRANKLIN JACKSON PRESIDENT NAACP GEORGE FLEMING PRESIDENT
NEGRO COMMUNITY COUNCIL HENRY L DIXON PRESIDENT DC FEDERATION
OF CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS.

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

FORM 805

64
D
GENERAL

HU-2
HU-1, CG, 116

June 7, 1963

Dear Miss Sadler:

Your letter of May 25 to the President has been referred to me for reply.

To my personal knowledge, the Capitol Park Apartments are fully integrated, and presently have something in excess of 10 per cent nonwhite occupancy.

I would be very happy to investigate the circumstances under which you were led to a contrary impression, but I can assure you that the applications of Negro and white prospective tenants have been treated in identical fashion.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

Miss Virginia Sadler ✓
Room 2941D, Life
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

RECEIVED
JUN 8 - 1963
CENTRAL FILES

GENERAL 71

HU 2/FG 216

HUS. - 7

May 8, 1963

Dear Mrs. Trevathan:

The President has requested me to reply to your letter of March 27, 1963. He is, of course, pleased to know of your support of his programs which you mention in your letter.

As Advisor to the President on matters relating to the Nation's Capital, I have been particularly concerned with the problems of its residents and particularly its Negro residents. Indeed, I had considered your suggestion that Dr. ^{summary} Myrdal might be enlisted to help formulate specific suggestions for action in Washington. However, the difficulty does not lie in determining what should be done; there is a vast amount of information available. The difficulty lies in persuading the Congress to provide the necessary financial support for sorely needed programs, and in persuading the Congress to permit the citizens of the District of Columbia the home rule powers which would enable them to launch their own attacks on the problems of the Capital. Hopefully, Congress is more concerned now than it has been for many years. With the full support of President Kennedy, and with the active encouragement to Congress from him and from people such as yourself, there is reason to believe that we can make substantial progress in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

Mrs. Josephine Evans ^XTrevathan
2232 E. 39th Street
Cleveland 6, Ohio

73
TRES

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for National Capital Affairs
Executive Office of the President

DATE: MAY 2 1963

FROM : Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

SJM
SUBJECT: Mrs. Josephine Evans Trevathan of
Cleveland, Ohio

I am referring for your consideration a letter from Mrs. Josephine Trevathan of Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Ralph A. Dungan forwarded this letter to the Civil Rights Division but after a telephone conversation with one of Mr. Dungan's staff it was agreed to that this letter should be brought to your attention.

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12-23

JOSEPHINE EVANS TREVATHAN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
2822 E. 89TH STREET
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO
GA. 1-1951

March 27, 1963

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

My husband and I wish to let you know that, all things considered, you are doing a very good job as President. Among your programs which we support "with vigor", are medicare, the domestic peace corps, the youth conservation corps, the space program (although we feel that there should be greater coordination of efforts for the sake of progress as well as finances), aid to foreign nations, and increased help to and cooperation with southern hemisphere countries.

We feel that aid to foreign nations should be granted upon the basis of accomplishment and need, rather than the cold cost to us. If aid is used well, we should continue it irrespective of the cost. At the same time, we feel strongly that the recommendation of the Clay report to remove abuses should be followed.

Furthermore, other world powers do have a responsibility of contributing more to aid nations in need, but we must not abandon Africa completely to rely on other nations for economic aid. Surely, out of the plethora of recent African nations there are many who have used their aid wisely, or as wisely as some non-African nations have.

Through The Washington Post, we are aware of the numerous efforts by you, Mrs. Kennedy, and others of your administration, to cope with the particular problem of crime, unemployment and despair among Negroes in the capitol. As Negroes, we are grateful to you and pray that all citizens will see the wisdom of helping and not merely criticizing. As a concrete step to improve the situation, could you not prevail upon the Carnegie Foundation to bring Dr. Gunnar Myrdal back to America and study the District of Columbia to formulate specific ways of resolving the problem and making our capitol a working model of democracy in action? As an outsider, perhaps he would be listened to more attentively.

Very truly yours,

J. Trevathan
JOSEPHINE EVANS TREVATHAN

CPH /

GENERAL ①
H U 2 / FG 216
H U 2 - 2

CONGRESSIONAL

October 22, 1962

Dear Congressman:

The President has asked me to reply to your letters urging the issuance of an executive order dealing with discriminatory practices in Federally assisted housing and regarding the proposed District of Columbia regulation dealing with racial discrimination in housing in the District.

As the President has indicated frequently, the Federal order will be issued at the appropriate time.

With regard to the regulation that has been urged for the District of Columbia, it is our understanding that the District Commissioners are awaiting word from the Corporation Counsel as to the statutory authority of the Commission to issue such a regulation.

Certainly the point you have made about the members of the Diplomatic Corps serving in Washington is a significant one and undoubtedly will figure heavily in the decision of the Commission.

Your interest in these matters and generally in equality of opportunity for all people regardless of race, religion or creed is, of course, well known and fully appreciated.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Honorable William F. Ryan
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM F. RYAN
20TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

CARDED

OCT 13 1962

COMMITTEE
SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

1517 NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
CAPITOL 4-3121, EXT. 6616

DISTRICT OFFICE
ROOM 308
100 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK 23, N.Y.
TRAFALGAR 7-4192

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 13 9 17 AM '62

RECEIVED

October 12, 1962

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I urge you to support the proposal that the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia issue an ordinance prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in the District of Columbia.

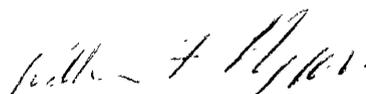
The recently-held Civil Rights Commission hearings on housing in the District of Columbia clearly showed that racial and religious discrimination in the sale and rental of housing in the District is prevalent. The Commission concluded, "To a large extent, the Washington metropolitan area is racially segregated in its housing pattern. While several factors contribute to this pattern of segregation, discrimination is the principal one."

Discrimination in housing has produced slums in the Nation's capital. It creates high incidence of criminality and juvenile delinquency and affects the general welfare of the entire city. In addition, two-thirds of the Diplomatic Corps are non-white, and many diplomats have been subjected to discrimination. The effect of such practices upon the opinions of the diplomats is self-evident.

If such an ordinance were issued, Washington would be added to the growing list of cities such as New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia and Detroit, which have anti-bias-in-housing laws.

The ordinance is desperately needed if Washington is to remain one of the world's great centers of democracy.

Sincerely,



William F. Ryan
Member of Congress

WFR: ssg

WILLIAM F. RYAN
20TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

COMMITTEE
SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

1517 NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
CAPITOL 4-3121, EXT. 6616

DISTRICT OFFICE
ROOM 308
100 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
TRAFALGAR 7-4192

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 12, 1962

THE WHITE HOUSE.
OCT 15 9 22 AM '62
RECEIVED

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you concerning discrimination in federally-assisted housing.

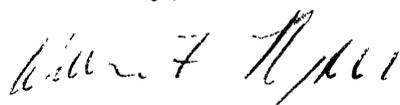
Racial discrimination in all fields casts a shadow upon the heritage of America. Discrimination in housing, in particular, is one of the most heinous forms of inequality as it breeds crime and is generally disruptive to our society.

Although this Administration has done more than any other to establish equality, the battle for civil rights is not yet won. It has been disappointing to me and to others concerned with this problem that an executive order prohibiting discrimination in housing has not been signed.

I urge you to immediately issue an executive order prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in all federally-assisted housing including public housing, urban renewal, FHA and VA-assisted housing. The order should also prohibit discrimination in mortgage-lending policies of saving and loan associations and commercial banks regulated by the Federal government. An executive order of this nature will not only end discrimination in federally-assisted housing, but will set an example for others in the housing field.

An executive order against discrimination in federally-assisted housing will be another significant step toward the day when all citizens will enjoy the full benefits of democracy.

Sincerely,



William F. Ryan
Member of Congress

WFR: ssg