

HU 2/FG



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 20, 1963

EXECUTIVE (12)

PE 7

FG 155

FG 295

HU 2/FG 216

"MARCH on Washington"

file

Honorable Timothy J. Reardon, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Ted:

With regard to your inquiry concerning leave for employees of the Department of Commerce on August 28, 1963, our Mr. Sam Myers (number three man in Personnel of the Department) received a telephone call from Mr. Calvin P. Deal, Executive Vice Chairman of the Interagency Group of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, advising that with regard to leave on August 28, 1963, a liberal policy should be followed--while, of course, the usual laws and regulations with regard to attendance should apply.

In order to comply with these telephoned instructions, our Acting Director of Personnel, Mr. John F. Lukens, issued the enclosed memorandum for the guidance of all Personnel Officers within the Department of Commerce.

I believe that this memorandum fully complies with the Civil Service Commission's policy, and in fact, goes one step further by emphasizing that the Department of Commerce will "carry on the public business on August 28."

If there is any further information you desire, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Enc. (2)

Memorandum to all Personnel Officers
Report on Staffing - August 28, 1963

RECEIVED
SEP 3 1963
CENTRAL FILES

EXECUTIVE

(7)

clh/ebf/pa

HU 4

FILE MEMO

HU 2

August 20, 1963

FG 216

LE/HU

HU 2/FG 216

SEE: HU 2/FG 216.....for corres., re
the MARCH ON WASHINGTON a peaceful demonstration for
Civil Rights in connection with equal job opportunity,
housing, etc.,

August 30, 1963 . . .

EXECUTIVE

HUR/F 9212

Good
To: Jean Lewis:

For your files, a discussion was reached that the attached letter and telegram would not be answered.

SEP 5 1963
GENERAL FILES

Lee
Lee C. White

Ltr dated 8/20 and telegram dated 8/23 to the President from Joel T. Broyhill.

AUG 28 1963
RECORDED

The White House
Washington

1963 AUG 23 PM 8 48

TWA053 GOVT PD

BX WASHINGTON DC AUG 23 538P EDT

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE VARIOUS FEDERAL AGENCIES ARE PRESSING THEIR EMPLOYEES TO TAKE ANNUAL LEAVE ON AUGUST 28 SO STRONGLY THAT I FEEL COMPELLED TO AGAIN URGE YOU TO GRANT ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE TO ALL AREA EMPLOYEES.

THE PRESSURE BEING APPLIED TO FORCE EMPLOYEES TO TAKE LEAVE SHOWS THE URGENT NEED TO KEEP FEDERAL EMPLOYEES OUT OF THE CITY ON

THE 28TH. IT IS OBVIOUSLY AN ADVANTAGE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OR THE AGENCIES WOULD NOT BE UNIFORMLY USING SUCH TACTICS. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD BE A MATTER OF ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE RATHER THAN TAKING AWAY A DAY OF HARD-EARNED ANNUAL LEAVE.

ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE IS THE ONLY WAY TO GIVE FAIR TREATMENT IN THIS SITUATION. IT IS ESPECIALLY AGGRAVATING AND MORALE DESTROYING TO THE EMPLOYEES WHEN THEY OBSERVE THE MASSIVE EFFORTS BEING MADE TO EXTEND EVERY RIGHT TO THE 100,000 DEMONSTRATORS.

IN THE SUPPLY AND MAINTENANCE COMMAND IN BUILDING, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, THOSE EMPLOYEES WHO REFUSED TO REQUEST ANNUAL LEAVE

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

1077E
40070

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

ARE CALLED "REBELS" BY THE HIGHER SUPERVISORS AND TOLD THEY MUST SUPPLY A SPECIAL WRITTEN REPORT OF THEIR ACTIVITIES AT WORK ON AUGUST 28.

THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR INFORMED THEIR EMPLOYEES THAT THERE WILL BE NO PUBLIC BUS SERVICE TO OR NEAR THE AGENCY, NO PARKING AVAILABLE, CAFETERIA SERVICE ONLY TO THE EXTENT OF AVAILABLE MANPOWER, NO SNACK BAR, AND COKE AND PEPSI MACHINES WOULD BE MADE INOPERATIVE.

THE VETERANS BENEFITS OFFICE HAS ISSUED A MEMORANDUM "ENCOURAGING" LEAVE REQUESTS. IT TELLS EMPLOYEES WHO DO NOT TAKE LEAVE TO

EXPECT "LONG DELAYS IN GETTING TO WORK AND IN RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES".

I AM TOLD OF MANY OTHER AGENCY VERBAL AND WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS WHICH ALL FOLLOW THIS TREND.

PLEASE GIVE EQUAL CONSIDERATION TO ALL AFFECTED BY THIS DEMONSTRATION. PLEASE KEEP IN MIND THAT ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE WILL PREVENT A 10 HOUR EVENING TRAFFIC JAM AS WELL AS REDUCE THE OTHER SERIOUS HAZARDS FACED IN SUCH A HUGE GATHERING

JOEL T BROYHILL MC.

JOEL T. BROYHILL
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

CITIES
ALEXANDRIA
FAIRFAX CITY
FALLS CHURCH

COUNTIES:
ARLINGTON
FAIRFAX

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

COMMITTEES.
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HOMER LEE KROUT
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

JOHN T. WHITE, II
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT

THE WHITE HOUSE

August 20, 1963

AUG 21 9 20 AM '63

RECEIVED

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This is to respectfully urge that you grant to the Washington area Federal employees Administrative leave on August 28.

Elaborate preparations are being made to take care of the invasion of thousands of demonstrators. I feel it is only right and proper to protect the interests of civil servants with as much care and consideration as that being afforded those whose presence will inevitably disrupt Government function on that day.

Many Federal agencies have issued official memorandums to their employees urging them to stay home on August 28, but state they will be charged with a day of annual leave. We should not penalize Government employees for the actions of outsiders.

It would be tragic if our local people were to suffer harm by being exposed to dangerous conditions which must prevail under the circumstances. Despite the vast preparations, the possibility of violence is constant when the mass of numbers is combined with the emotionally explosive issue of forcing civil rights action by a march on the Nation's Capitol.

Very respectfully,


Joel T. Broyhill, M. C.

JTB/ecm

APR 1/24

EXECUTIVE

HU4/FG 216

FG 216

HU4

*PR 8-1/M**

August 22, 1963

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In response to your request, I am pleased to advise that the President will be able to meet with you and the other members of the Sponsoring Committees of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Mathew Ahmann, Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, James Farmer, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young on August 28th.

The appointment has been fixed on the President's schedule at 5:00 p.m. Obviously, traffic conditions will be very difficult on that day, and my suggestion is that you use the Northwest entrance where you will be expected and met shortly before five o'clock.

Sincerely,

Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
* March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Draft 8/22/63

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In response to your request, I am pleased to advise that the President will be able to meet with you and the other members of the Sponsoring Committees of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Mathew Ahmann, Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, James Farmer, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Rabbi Joachin Prinz, Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young on August 28th. The appointment has been fixed on the President's schedule at 5 P. M. Obviously, traffic conditions will be very difficult on that day, and my suggestion is that you use the Northwest entrance where you will be expected and met shortly before 5 o'Clock.

Sincerely,

Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Philip Randolph writes the President
and asks if the Sponsoring Committee:

- James Farmer
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
John Lewis
- Roy Wilkins
- Whitney Young
Mathew Ahmann
- Rev. Eugene Carson Blake
Rabbi Joachin Prinz
Walter Reuther
and Mr. Randolph

of the Washington March on August 28
can call on him that day at 10:30 AM
to discuss the program for the March
and plans for its implementation by
the Administration and Congress

Wednesday
August 28, 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
FIImore 8-1900

THE WHITE HOUSE
AUG 15 9 13 AM '63
RECEIVED

August 13, 1963

Founding Chairmen

Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Jochain Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee

Cleveland Robinson
Chairman
Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Erwin Suall

Director

A. Philip Randolph

Deputy Director

Bayard Rustin

Coordinators

Norman Hill
L. Joseph Overton

Southern Administrators

Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

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

Dear President Kennedy:

As you know, the largest outpouring of Americans of all races, colors, and creeds ever to assemble in our Nation's Capital will take place on Wednesday, August 28, in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

This action is designed to focus nationwide attention on the plight of millions of Negro Americans 100 years after Emancipation and to press for a redress of their intolerable grievances in the present session of the Congress.

On behalf of the sponsors of the March: James Farmer, Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Mathew Ahmann, Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, Rabbi Jochain Prinz, Walter Reuther, and myself, I have been authorized to request an appointment with you on that date.

It is our hope that the sponsoring committee will be afforded an opportunity at such a conference to discuss the program of the March and plans for its implementation by your Administration and Congress.

In view of the schedule of activities for that date, we would be deeply gratified if such a conference could be arranged for 10:30 A.M. on August 28.

Very respectfully,

A. Philip Randolph

4E
July 26, 1963

EXECUTIVE ①

HUR/FG216

ND9

LE/HUR

Dear Senator:

The President has read with interest your letter of July 17 regarding the demonstrations and has asked me to reply to it.

The President has attempted in his Message to Congress and in other public utterances to draw a clear line between demonstrations which are lawful, peaceful, and controlled on the one hand and those that violate laws, are improperly controlled, and which must inevitably lead to violence and injury. The right to petition for the redress of grievances is basic to our society and yet the means of bringing these grievances to public notice must be done lawfully and with regard for the rights of all other citizens.

Your expressed desire that the Administration's proposals in the civil rights field be considered "in a quiet and sane legislative manner which is in the true tradition" is we believe appropriate, so long as the issues are brought to a vote by the Congress within a reasonable time, thereby permitting the Congress to express its sentiments on these very basic questions.

Sincerely,

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Honorable Olin D. Johnston x
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

j1/az

DRAFT

Dear Senator:

The President has read with interest your letter of July 17 regarding the demonstrations and has asked me to reply to it.

The President has attempted in his Message to Congress and in other public utterances to draw a clear line between demonstrations which are lawful, peaceful, and controlled on the one hand ^{and} those that violate laws, are improperly controlled, and which ~~almost~~ inevitably must lead to violence and injury. The right to petition for the redress of grievances is basic to our society and yet the means of bringing these grievances to public notice must be done lawfully and with regard for the rights of all other citizens.

You expressed a desire that the Administration's proposals in the civil rights field be considered "in a quiet and sane legislative manner which is in the true tradition" is ^{we believe appropriate,} ~~unobjectionable~~ so long as the issues ^{are} ~~will be~~ brought to a vote ^{by} ~~within~~ the Congress ^{within a reasonable time,} ~~permitting~~ the Congress to express its sentiments on these very basic questions. ^{thereby}

Sincerely,

Lawrence F. O'Brien
Special Assistant to
the President

OLIN D. JOHNSTON, S.C., CHAIRMAN
A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, OKLA. FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX. HIRAM L. FONG, HAWAII
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA. J. CALEB BOGGS, DEL.
GALE W. MCGEE, WYO.
DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MD.

WILLIAM P. GULLEDGE,
STAFF DIRECTOR AND COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

July 17, 1963

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

Dear Mr. President:

For your information I have attached a copy of a letter forwarded today to the Secretary of Defense concerning the participation in racial demonstrations by members of our armed services.

I believe the letter and the events of recent days, coupled with your intimate knowledge of our racial problems, forego the necessity of my having to explain in detail the crisis we face at this moment.

What originally started out to be a pacifist type form of demonstration by those who felt the need to press for integration in some areas of our country, has now taken on the foreign aspect of mob rule and hysteria which has led to bodily injury and destruction of property and the loss of many civil rights in areas where the use of troops has been necessary to invoke military rule to quell disorder and restore peace.

My request to you at this point transcends any personal feelings that any member of Congress or our government may have on this particular issue. I am writing to ask that you, as President of the United States, use your office and prestige and personal appeal to deliver a message to the people of the United States to put an end to mob action and demonstrations in order that the civil rights question, now posed before the Congress, can be dealt with in the quiet and sane legislative manner which is in the true American tradition.

It is compelling that the radical elements on both sides of this issue not be given further opportunity to take advantage of public demonstrations to cause disorder, chaos and bloodshed. Only an end to these demonstrations can guarantee the peace, and I feel that you, Mr. President, can have more effect to bring about this peace at this time than any other American.

OLIN D. JOHNSTON, S.C., CHAIRMAN
A. S. MÅKE MONRONEY, OKLA. FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX. HIRAM L. FONG, HAWAII
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA. J. CALEB BOGGS, DEL.
GALE W. MCGEE, WYO.
DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MD.

WILLIAM P. GULLEDGE,
STAFF DIRECTOR AND COUNSEL

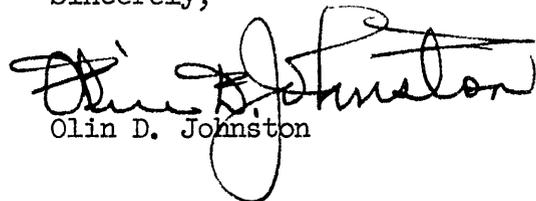
United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Page 2
July 17, 1963

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,


Olin D. Johnston

ODJ:cbg

EXECUTIVE

HU 2 / FS 210
HU 2-2

October 12, 1962

Dear Congressman:

The President has asked me to reply to your letter urging that the District Commissioners adopt regulations relating to racial discrimination in housing in the District of Columbia.

The problem posed by the resolution adopted by the House D. C. Committee will, I am sure, receive the most careful attention by the Commissioners, and we have great confidence in their ability to handle the situation properly and tactfully.

Certainly your own deep interest in civil rights and in equal opportunity for all regardless of race, color or creed in every area of human activity, including housing, is well known and fully appreciated.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

^x
Honorable William L. Dawson
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 10, 1962

Dear Congressman:

Thank you for your letter regarding the action of the House District Committee with respect to proposed regulations prohibiting racial discrimination in housing.

I have had several discussions with the Commissioners about this matter, and I expect to talk with them again.

Sincerely,

Charles A. Horsky
Advisor for
National Capital Affairs

Honorable William L. Dawson
House of Representatives
Washington, L. C.



WILLIAM L. DAWSON
1ST DISTRICT, ILL

OCT 9 1962
CARDED

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D C

8 October 1962

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 9 9 26 AM '62

RECEIVED

The President
The White House
Washington

Dear Mr. President:

As a member of the House District Committee, I strongly endorse the recommendations of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights that the District Commissioners adopt regulations to prohibit racial discrimination in housing in the District of Columbia; and I disavow the recent action of some members of the House District Committee who requested the District Commissioners to defer action on the regulations now proposed to accomplish the recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission.

I have expressed my views on this more fully in a letter I have today written to Hon. Walter N. Trobriner, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. A copy of my letter to him is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Dawson
WILLIAM L. DAWSON, M. C.

WILLIAM L. DAWSON, M. C.
FIRST DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

CHICAGO ADDRESS
319 EAST 35TH STREET
CALUMET 5-7073

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.
8 October 1962

Honorable Walter N. Trobriner
President, Board of Commissioners
for the District of Columbia
District Building
Washington, D. C .

Dear Mr. Trobriner:

As a member of the House District Committee, I want to assure you that I endorse the recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that the District Commissioners adopt regulations to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale, lease rental, financing and conveying of housing in the District of Columbia. The Report and hearings of the Civil Rights Commission thoroughly document the extensive racial discrimination, by segregation and otherwise, which prevents Negroes, and foreign diplomatic personnel, from obtaining decent housing at decent prices in the District of Columbia. It is significant that all of the members of the Civil Rights Commission, including its distinguished Southerners, unani- mously recommend that the District Board of Commissioners adopt such anti-discrimination regulations.

The opinion of the General Counsel of the Civil Rights Commission fully demonstrates that the District Commissioners have ample legal authority to issue such regulations, and I understand that the Corporation Counsel agrees and is preparing his formal opinion supporting the District Commissioners' authority to issue and enforce such regulations.

Such regulations would not be novel or unusual. In 1956, for example, the District Commissioners adopted regulations (Order 56-874, May 3, 1956) prohibiting racial discrimination in theaters, bowling alleys, swimming pools, and other privately operated places of public amusement. There is even greater reason, and greater urgency, for adopting nondiscrimination regulations concerning hous- ing, which is so essential to the life, welfare, health, comfort and well-being of the residents of the District of Columbia.

I also want to say, as a member of the House District Committee, that I do not concur with the request which certain other members of that Committee made at a meeting on October 4 that you defer action on the proposed regulations. I did not attend that

Honorable Walter N. Trobriner

-2-

8 October 1962

meeting because it was hastily called at 3:00 P.M. while the House of Representatives was in session, and the committee is not authorized to meet without permission of the House while the House is in session, Had I been present at that meeting, I would have strongly objected to their "resolution", and I know that at least two of the fifteen members present disagree with it.

I hope you will proceed to adopt the proposed regulations to prevent further racially discriminatory practices in connection with housing in the District of Columbia. I shall support your efforts on this to the very maximum of my ability.

Sincerely yours,
William L. Dawson

WILLIAM L. DAWSON, M. C.

JEFFERY COHELAN
7TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES
ARMED SERVICES
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

EXECUTIVE

HUF/FG 716
FG 716-4

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
PETER V. CLUTE

(3)

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES
MR AND MRS ROY LEMON
LATHAM SQUARE BUILDING
OAKLAND 12, CALIFORNIA

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

October 8, 1962

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCT 9 9 26 AM '62

RECEIVED

Honorable Walter N. ^XTobriner
President
District of Columbia Commissioners
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Tobriner:

I am unalterably opposed to the Resolution adopted by the House District of Columbia Committee recommending that the Commissioners take no action to bar discrimination in housing.

I was not present at this meeting of the Committee, which was held while the House of Representatives was in session. Furthermore, neither I nor any member of my staff was notified that this resolution was to be taken up. If I had been present, however, I would have opposed its adoption, just as I oppose it today and will continue to oppose it in the future.

The recommendations of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights that the District of Columbia Commissioners adopt regulations to prohibit racial discrimination in the sale, lease, rental, financing and conveying of housing in the District of Columbia are based on extensive hearings and investigations. They are consistent with fundamental guarantees of our Constitution -- equal rights and opportunities for all Americans.

I urge you to adopt the proposed regulations, and you will have the fullest measure of my support in this endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

JEFFERY COHELAN, Jeffery

Member of Congress

JC/cst

cc: President John F. Kennedy

OCT 10 1962
GEN.

Handwritten initials

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL

EXECUTIVE

HUZ/FG 216

File

FG-11

March 13, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Ralph Dungan, The White House.
CU - Mr. Coombs
P - Mr. Tubby
AF - Mr. Penfield

I believe you will be interested in the attached letter from
Dr. James D. Ebert of the Carnegie Institution.

This letter says more about the distressing discriminatory
situation in a city very close to the District of Columbia than
any long study or report. It could well be considered a sequel
to our recent report on discrimination and diplomats in Wash-
ington. The international political implications to those concerned --
exceptional scientists and scholars, the only type given grants by
the Carnegie Institution -- are obvious.

Those of us in the Department who come in contact with these
grantees might well heed Dr. Ebert's injunction to warn these
distinguished visitors in advance against the treatment they will
inevitably receive.

Handwritten signature

Angier Biddle Duke

Attachment.

This is a letter from Dr. James D. Ebert, Director of the Department of Embryology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, located in Baltimore, Maryland sent to Dr. Edward A. Ackerman, Executive Officer, Carnegie Institution of Washington in Washington, D.C.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON
DEPARTMENT OF EMBRYOLOGY
WOLFE AND MADISON STREETS
BALTIMORE 5, MARYLAND

COPY

February 28, 1961

In one School of the Johns Hopkins University alone, the School of Hygiene and Public Health, there were in 1959-1960, thirty-six foreign students, including some from Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India and Thailand. Baltimore is renowned as an international center of research and study in the biological and medical sciences. By and large these students enjoy life not only in the School of Medicine and University but in the city as a whole. But there are exceptions: dark-skinned visitors, from this country or abroad, must, if they wish to avoid the risk of being insulted, confine their lives to the hospital or university, or if they venture into the "outside world" they must wear the national habit of their homeland - turban or flowing robe - and even then cannot be certain of their reception.

I recommend that any dark-skinned student be made fully aware that Baltimore remains, to a deplorable degree, a segregated city. I do not discourage such visitors from coming, but I believe they should be informed in advance of the problems they are likely to encounter. In some fields of study - economics, history, politics, students appear to adjust more readily to these problems; they come with some understanding of the rapidly changing world, prepared to do battle, to discuss and to aid in the local campaigns against discrimination. But to the scientist who wishes to study other problems such discussions often are more distracting than helpful.

Recently I failed to inform one visiting fellow; consequently his first few months with us were unhappy ones; he is only now "adjusting" to the situation. I refer to Abraham Kulangara, a native of Madras, India. It did not occur to me that he would have a problem, first because Indians often are accepted, second because he came from Los Angeles where he had conducted several years' research with A. M. Schechtman. But he is dark-skinned. And the contrast between Los Angeles, where such discrimination as exists is directed more toward Mexicans than Negroes, and Baltimore, was a shock to him. I suppose the crowning insult was to be refused service (in a mixed group including Japanese and Chinese) at a restaurant owned and operated entirely by orientals. He has been refused often enough to make him inquire of me whether I had checked a certain restaurant before accepting an invitation from Mrs. Ebert and myself.

Kulangara has

Kulangara has been doing excellent, imaginative research, and in recent months seems happier. He lives more and more with Indian friends and as a group they are often in Washington for social gatherings. At the same time, he has developed some understanding of the problems involved here and of the long struggle ahead. It seems to me that any apology from the State Department would be superfluous, for he has been here long enough to know that we cannot apologize to him for each incident any more than we can apologize to half the population of Baltimore; instead we must "apologize" by our voting records and by public stands on important issues.

Recently I wrote to Dr. Henry W. Kumm, Associate Director for Medical and Natural Sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation, asking him to advise a prospective Fellow, Dr. Wilbert K. Chagula of Uganda, of the local situation before completing arrangements for him to join our Department for six months. My letter was in keeping with my general policy; however, our impending move requires that our visitors be made fully aware of the situation. The Homewood area is a particularly bad one in that the University is an integration island in the center of an area in which segregation is the rule. Probably we could find housing for Chagula, if he had no children with him, in a University building. If not, he might have to live some distance away. He could take his meals on the campus, but nowhere else in the immediate neighborhood; last year there were several serious incidents involving even third-rate restaurants in the area, one of which I will mention later. In the city of Baltimore, apart from University restaurants, department store restaurants (including the Sheraton Inn where we had our luncheon recently), Negroes are not served. The great majority of average restaurants are closed to them.

Last year the Hopkins campus was a center of discussion of the problem; an active campaign was conducted by the school newspaper. During this period, our international relations suffered at least one setback. Dr. T. Adesanya I. Grillo, a native of Africa (Nigeria?), an associate of Professor J. D. Boyd, Anatomy School, Cambridge, England visited Hopkins. He was housed in one of the Hopkins buildings, but unfortunately was not advised not to try to buy even a snack in the neighborhood. After being rebuffed, he packed his bag within an hour or two after he checked in, and returned to Washington. I know personally that this story has been spread throughout medical school circles in England as well as in parts of this country.

It seems to me that the State Department might adopt the policy of informing dark-skinned visitors of problems they may encounter, but that they should be encouraged to come in spite of them. Continued exchange will, I believe, strengthen us in the continuing drive to eliminate discrimination. We need more courageous, forthright and thoughtful people of all races in our midst constantly to remind us all that the world is changing rapidly and that we too must change; hopefully we will lead the way.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

files
EXECUTIVE
HUS 1-31-61

JANUARY 31, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR RALPH A. DUNGAN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Through: Brig. Gen. A. J. Goodpaster *AG*

Subject: Racial and Religious Discrimination
in Washington

The Secretary has asked me to forward to you a copy of his letter of today's date to the Attorney General on the problem of racial and religious discrimination in the Nation's Capital.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. J. Stoessel, Jr.", written in dark ink.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
Director
Executive Secretariat

Enclosure:

Copy of Jan. 31 letter from Secretary Rusk
to Attorney General Kennedy.

January 31, 1961

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

This has to do with our conversation about problems of discrimination in the National Capital encountered by the personnel of foreign embassies. I am attaching a memorandum about some of the steps which have been taken to deal with the specific problem of housing for representatives of the new African States.

I should point out that this is a matter not limited to Africans; representatives of Asian, Near Eastern and, on occasion, Latin American countries have encountered similar difficulties. Further, the problem is not limited to housing and office space; in varying degree it involves the easy and full enjoyment of the entire range of public and personal services such as restaurants, hotels, barber shops and similar facilities.

My own personal view is that this question cannot be solved satisfactorily simply in terms of diplomatic personnel. I do not believe that, in the Nation's Capital, a diplomatic passport should be required for the enjoyment of the normal rights of citizenship without discrimination. In other words, we have the far larger and more complex problem of relationships in a city which has a slight majority of negro citizens and the frictions arising therefrom.

The matter is one which seems to me to require a compassionate regard for the origins of the difficulty and the

deep-rooted

The Honorable
Robert F. Kennedy,
Attorney General.

- 2 -

deep-rooted feelings which surround it. It will require a considerable amount of quiet, patient and persistent effort if we are to achieve enduring results. I would think, for example, that we could work unobtrusively with the leadership of the various civic, trade and business associations and enlist their help in making the National Capital a city in which incidents involving racial or religious discrimination are reduced to the minimum.

It occurs to me that a quiet, factual survey of the existing situation might be valuable. I have in mind such data as the existence of restricted covenants based on race or religion, the actual practice of establishments offering accommodations or services to the general public, and the designation of an office to which incidents can be reported as a contribution to the buildup of the total picture.

The story in this morning's Washington Post did not bother me particularly, but I doubt that we can take significant steps forward in the full glare of publicity. During my years with the Rockefeller boards, we followed the segregation problem in the South very closely because of our long interest in the situation of the negroes and I am quite sure that the most constructive efforts were those which were made without fanfare and in a reasonable atmosphere not inflamed by violent public controversy. It may be that certain hard core problems will appear which will not yield without public pressure, but these are matters of procedure which I would be happy to discuss with you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ DEAN RUSK
Dean Rusk

Enclosure:
Memorandum

cc: Mr. Dungan (White House)

S:DRusk:fr

January 5, 1961

To: O - Mr. Loy W. Henderson
From: AF - J. C. Satterthwaite
Subject: Housing for African Diplomats

Problem

Eighteen countries, sixteen of which are in Africa, plus the Malagasy Republic and Cyprus, attained their independence in 1960. These countries are either in the process of setting up their diplomatic establishments in Washington or plan to do so in the near future. They will require chanceries and ambassadorial residences as well as regular housing for the staff members. We estimate that the new embassies will average three to five families per embassy or a total of 51 to 85 families who will require housing. In addition there is, of course, the normal rotation of personnel of the African countries already established here.

Normally a government does not experience too much difficulty in locating a chancery and ambassadorial residence, although more recently there have been problems relating to zoning regulations and excessive costs. The zoning problems could conceivably become more difficult than they have been in the past, depending upon the outcome of the present trouble which the Camerounians are having with their chancery.

A more general and basic problem, however, involves residential housing for subordinate members of the embassy staffs. In this area discriminatory practices and exorbitant rents can create real hardships for the families concerned. The trouble arises particularly in apartment houses and to a lesser extent for individual houses. Some instances of discrimination are brought to the attention of the Department of State; others, because of the pride and sensitivity of the Africans, are not. While we believe that the problem may be overstated in some reports, it is one which all concerned must be constantly aware of and make every effort to correct and avert.

Discussion

In order to prepare the real estate industry for the influx of African diplomats from the newly independent states Mr. Buchanan wrote Mr. Clarence Dodge, Jr., then President of the Washington Real Estate Board, on August 26, 1960, informing him of the imminent arrival of African diplomats and requesting the cooperation of all members of the Real Estate Board. Subsequently, at the request of the Bureau of African Affairs, Mr. Buchanan notified Mr. Dodge by telephone that officials of the State Department would like to discuss the implications of this problem with him and to request assistance and suggestions which would alleviate the situation.

Shortly

Shortly thereafter representatives of the Bureau of African Affairs met with Mr. Justin Hinders, Executive Vice President of the Washington Real Estate Board, and gave him more detailed information as to the number of new African diplomats which might be expected during the next several months. At the same time they emphasized to Mr. Hinders how important it was, at the very outset of our relations with these new countries, that every effort be made to find adequate housing for their diplomatic and other representatives and to avoid any instances of racial discrimination or other discriminatory practices.

Mr. Hinders replied that the Washington Real Estate Board, which represented almost 1,000 realtors, was prepared to give the Department every assistance. He suggested that the diplomats be referred directly to him at the time they started to look for housing. He would obtain the individual requirements of each diplomat and circularize them among all the member realtors. Individual realtors, in turn, would contact the diplomat or his designated representative, and offer to show properties that most nearly matched their needs. At the suggestion of the Bureau of African Affairs, Mr. Hinders addressed a letter, dated October 25, 1960, to the Chief United Nations Delegate of each new nation in New York, since these countries had no representatives in Washington at the time, officially offering the assistance of the Washington Real Estate Board in locating housing. There have been frequent informal contacts between officers of the Office of West African Affairs and Mr. Hinders on various matters relating to the housing of African diplomats.

From time to time articles on housing for African diplomats have appeared in various Washington newspapers. Most of these articles have been critical of what were described as inadequate efforts to help these diplomats. Probably the most significant article in terms of impact was the one by Milton Viorst captioned "D.C. Is a Hardship Post for Negro Diplomats", which appeared in the August 28 edition of the Washington Post.

As a follow up to this article, Senators Hartke and Prouty of the Senate District Committee requested the District Government to join in an effort to end housing discrimination against Negro diplomats in the District of Columbia, since, among other things, this was a community problem.

Accordingly, following preliminary discussions between representatives of the State Department and the Commissioners' Commission on Human Relations on the desirability of a joint meeting with prominent local realtors, Mr. Robert E. McLaughlin, President of the Board of Commissioners, sent a letter to the Secretary of State on October 25, 1960. In his letter he suggested that a conference be held under the joint auspices of the Department of State and the Board of Commissioners to appeal to Washington real estate men to cooperate fully in finding satisfactory housing for diplomats from African nations.

In reply

In reply the Secretary stated that the Department of State would be pleased to join with the Board of Commissioners in convening and participating in such a conference.

The meeting was held in the State Department on November 1. It was chaired by Commissioner Mark Sullivan, Jr., and attended by 12 of the city's leading realtors, including the President and Executive Vice President of the Washington Real Estate Board, who had been selected by the Board of Commissioners. Mr. Penfield, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, acted as chief spokesman for the Department of State. After citing a few examples of recent unsatisfactory housing experiences of African diplomats, he outlined the extent of the housing requirements during the next few months, emphasizing particularly the greater difficulties generally experienced by lower-ranking personnel in finding suitable housing. He pointed out that any unpleasant incidents could have a most unfortunate effect on our relations not only with the specific countries concerned but with the African nations generally. Finally, Mr. Penfield emphasized that since the realtors had the day-to-day contacts with the diplomatic families in their search for housing, they were the key as to whether or not these families were treated fairly and non-discriminatorily.

While the realtors did not believe that the situation was as serious as had been described in the newspapers, their response was very encouraging. All showed the best of goodwill and expressed willingness to do their part to assure that the African diplomats were adequately housed. Several of them did comment, however, that the principal reason for reluctance on the part of landlords to rent to diplomats, regardless of color or nationality, was not racial discrimination but the difficulty in collecting for damages for destruction or mistreatment of property, because of the diplomats' immunity. Many landlords, according to the realtors, consider diplomats poor risks as tenants.

Largely as a result of the publicity on housing for African diplomats, the African-American Institute in late November hired a full-time staff member, Miss Elizabeth Hitchcock, to help African diplomats find suitable housing accommodations and to facilitate their adjustment to American living. Representatives of the Bureau of African Affairs met with Miss Hitchcock on the day following her appointment to give her background information regarding the problem and to make suggestions as to how she might fulfill her new assignment. Among other things the Bureau representatives recommended that she send a letter to representatives of each new African country as well as to the Embassies of the countries already established here informing them of this new service and offering to assist them. The Bureau supplied the names and addresses of the persons to contact. Since this initial meeting Miss Hitchcock has frequently called on Bureau officers for assistance and advice.

In 1957 the

In 1957 the District Government adopted a regulation that chanceries established subsequent to October 1, 1957 would have to comply with the District's Building Code. Chanceries existing as of that date were exempted from this regulation. The new governments, of course, were not a party to the agreement under which the older embassies consented to District control of certain building matters.

In early December of 1960 the Guinean Chargé gave the Guinean Desk Officer a copy of a report of an inspection made of the Guinean chancery for compliance with the District's Building and Plumbing Code. The majority of the items listed on the report were checked as deficient and the embassy was tersely instructed by a standard form letter to correct these deficiencies. The Chargé reported that the Ambassador was upset that the inspection was made without his knowledge; that so many defects had been found with the building; that the required work would be very costly and that certain of the work, if accomplished, would destroy the beauty of the chancery. For example, he objected to enclosing the large main staircase with fire-protected partitions and self-closing fire doors, claiming that this would detract from the attractiveness and dignity of the setting - one of the reasons, incidentally, for his selecting this particular building as the chancery.

Representatives of the Bureau of African Affairs and the Office of the Chief of Protocol, upon the Department's initiative, were invited to appear at a regular meeting of the District Commissioners on December 20 to discuss the question of the application to new chanceries of the Building Code's requirements for office buildings, with specific reference to the Guinean chancery. The Department's representatives made the following suggestions:

1. Representatives of foreign governments should not be treated in a routine and nonchalant fashion. A more courteous and effective way to prepare the new embassies for this inspection than for an inspector merely to appear unannounced at the door would be for the District Government to send a letter to the Ambassador explaining the inspection requirements and requesting this cooperation and voluntary compliance in correcting these deficiencies which affected the public welfare.

2. Chanceries of foreign governments installed in other than office buildings should not be subjected to the same rigorous requirements of regular office buildings. Perhaps the inspection standards could be modified for these chanceries, so that only the most essential work would have to be done.

3. The new African countries have limited budgets and they are having to bear a heavy financial burden in setting up a diplomatic service around the world. They should not be forced to pay out large sums of money on top of the initial high purchase price of the buildings.

4. These new

4. These new countries feel strongly about their newly acquired independence and could easily resent what appeared to them as an intrusion on their sovereignty. Any unsympathetic attempt to enforce what they might regard as unreasonable requirements could have possible harmful effects in our relations with these countries.

The Commissioners were sympathetic to these suggestions and requested the District Engineer to look into the possibility of establishing special inspection standards and requirements for chanceries located in other than office buildings. In the inspection of these buildings the emphasis would be in correcting deficiencies which affected the public welfare, i.e. the surrounding neighborhood, as opposed to such deficiencies as internal fire protection which affected the occupants only. While these latter deficiencies would be pointed out, the embassy would not be under any compulsion to correct them. The Commissioners said that they would get in touch with the Department when a decision had been made; meanwhile the Guinean Embassy could hold off in taking any action on the inspection report. I believe that as a result of this intervention by the State Department a more satisfactory inspection procedure will be developed for foreign chanceries.

Most recently, the case of the Camerounian chancery has received prominent publicity. The Camerounians, desirous of avoiding any trouble with neighbors, held off signing a lease for their chancery on Bancroft Place until they were completely assured by the District Government that the building could be used as a chancery. In spite of this assurance, a neighbor complained that this action violated the existing zoning regulations and was successful in getting the District Court to issue a temporary restraining order against the issuance of a Certificate of Occupancy required by the Camerounians before they could move into the building. Ten days later, following a court hearing, the judge extended the restraining order for an additional ten days, since he had not been convinced that all the requirements for permitting the use of this building as an office had been met. An officer of the Bureau of African Affairs, at the suggestion of the office of the Chief of Protocol, requested an appointment with the judge to explain the embarrassing situation in which the United States was placed in its relations with Cameroun as a result of the litigation. The judge was understanding and he and the State representative were able to work out an arrangement whereby the judge felt that he would be justified in withdrawing the restraining order and thereby permitting immediate occupancy of the building. The Bureau Officer followed up his visit with the judge by calling on the Camerounian Ambassador to inform him of the agreement and obtain his acceptance of it. Thus it appears that a potentially messy situation has been avoided.

Most of the above discussion relates to specific actions which the Department has taken. Equally as important in my estimation is the continuing assistance which the individual desk officers have given to

their clients

their clients. In innumerable instances these officers have been able to answer specific questions relating to housing and have directed diplomats to organizations and individuals who could and did help them with their housing problems. Other services have ranged from intervening with specific real estate dealers regarding specific properties to assisting the new Africans get settled once they have moved into a house. A few - and only a few - of the types of assistance given have been purchasing special supplies which were difficult to find, arranging for trash and garbage removal, getting children registered in a school and introducing diplomats and their families to restaurants, theaters, museums and the like.

Results

A number of specific results have been noted above under "Discussion". Perhaps a more basic result has been the stimulation of an awareness on the part of the community generally - District Government, real estate dealers, community groups and organizations and individual citizens - of the problem, and their growing desire to do their part in providing a hospitable welcome in Washington for the new Africans.

Most of the diplomatic personnel for the new African embassies have not yet arrived, so a big job remains to be done in the future. The way has been smoothed for their reception, and the Department will continue to work with the Real Estate Board, the African-American Institute and other organizations to assure that all of our African guests are adequately housed in Washington.

LWH:

This memo is addressed, as requested, exclusively to the problem of housing African diplomats. We should however keep in mind that the diplomatic representatives of most Asian and some Western Hemisphere countries face similar difficulties, although perhaps to a lesser degree.

J.C.S.

Concurrences

AF - Mr. Penfield

AFW - Mr. Ferguson

U/FR - Mr. Conger

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

file

February 3, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR RALPH A. DUNGAN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Through: Brig. Gen. A. J. Goodpaster *AG*

Subject: Housing of African Delegations to
the United Nations

On January 31, I forwarded to you a copy of the Secretary's letter to the Attorney General enclosing a memorandum concerning steps which have been taken to deal with the specific problem of housing for representatives of the new African states.

The Secretary has asked me to forward to you another memorandum concerning the same general subject discussing specifically the problem of housing members of African delegations to the United Nations.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.
Director
Executive Secretariat

Enclosure:

Memorandum on Housing African
Delegations in the United Nations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

January 31, 1961

TO: The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S

FROM: IO - Woodruff Wallner *W.W.*

SUBJECT: Housing for Members of African Delegations to the United Nations

In the spring of 1960, in anticipation of housing and other problems affecting representatives of African states newly admitted to the United Nations, the United States Mission to the United Nations (USUN) designated members of the Mission staff to deal with such problems. The designated officers then took the following steps between the spring of 1960 and the present time.

USUN representatives met with real estate owners and managers, hotel operators, state, municipal officials as well as with representatives of the UN Housing Bureau, non-governmental organizations and professional organizations, for the purpose of coordinating the efforts of groups willing and able to assist new African Delegates. (The UN Housing Bureau has been in existence for some years and maintains apartment listings.)

As a result of the foregoing meetings, the Executive Director of the Hotel Association of New York City sent telegrams to the manager of each hotel in New York City. This group was invited to meet with USUN officers to discuss the situation and following a 2-hour meeting it was agreed that the Association's Executive Director would serve as an intermediary between members of the Association and USUN reporting to USUN any difficulties which could not be cleared up on-the-spot between a delegate and a manager. The hotel group was appreciative of the Mission's interest and agreed to give special attention to the needs of new African delegates. Following a meeting between Ambassador Lodge and the Governors of the New York Real Estate Board, a working committee was set up with a Board member designated to assist the United Nations Housing Bureau and USUN in securing cooperative and rental apartment units, houses and offices for new delegates.

The Chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) has pledged the complete support of his staff and resources and has promised that any case brought to the attention of SCAD would be treated on a priority basis even if this meant short cutting the intricate legal machinery established to handle normal cases. In October the SCAD Chairman addressed a letter to all African delegates acquainting them with SCAD and its efforts to alleviate discrimination in housing, restaurants and other public places.

/In

In addition to SCAD, Mayor Wagner has established a Commission on Inter-Group Relations (COIR). The COIR is empowered to entertain complaints and investigate all forms of discrimination not falling within SCAD's jurisdiction. COIR also agreed to treat all complaints on a "crash basis". It is interesting to note that between SCAD and COIR 97% of the housing in New York is covered.

USUN officers discussed the many problems which might arise as a result of the presence in New York of African representatives to the United Nations with Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Kennedy. Both have been cooperative and understanding and have promised to work closely with USUN.

USUN officers have been in touch with the United Nations Hospitality Committee, the Private Entertainment for United Nations Delegates, Inc., as well as other non-profit organizations, to enlist their support and cooperation in this over-all effort.

Since it was impossible for a representative of the UN Housing Bureau to guide individual delegates through rental and cooperative units because of the heavy workload faced by the Secretariat, the Carnegie Endowment granted \$2500 to be matched by an additional \$2500 from the Ottinger Foundation for the purpose of engaging a trilingual specialist to assist delegates in their search for suitable accommodations. A specialist has been retained on a 7-month trial basis and assigned to UN Private Entertainment, Inc. This specialist now not only assists in housing matters but, having become personally acquainted with a majority of the African delegates, advises wives and families on education, medical, shopping and other problems.

Also, \$15,000 has been allocated by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to underwrite a comprehensive study on United Nations housing problems in general and to explore the possibility of establishing a United Nations Diplomatic Club in the midtown Manhattan area. A preliminary report on the United Nations housing situation has been submitted to USUN. One suggestion made in the report is that there be created a high-level citizens committee to assist USUN and the United Nations on particularly difficult cases. This proposal, as well as others, is now being investigated.

Both SCAD and COIR have been most helpful in recent months and have been directly involved in the solution of 8 house or office rental cases. In addition the UN Housing Bureau has assisted in locating suitable residential or office space for 26 African delegates.

Generally speaking, some delegates continue to maintain their residence in hotels. However, this is by way of preference. A majority of delegates have now moved into apartments or houses.

Ambassador Stevenson is aware of the problem posed by representatives of African nations seeking suitable housing and office accommodations and will shortly be considering the recommendations submitted by USUN's Counselor, Mr. Noyes, who performed the study underwritten by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

Mr. Noyes believes that the situation is now under control and that the resumed session of the General Assembly will provide an acid test of the efficacy of the existing machinery. If this machinery proves to be inadequate, the next step will be the establishment of a "Committee of Distinguished Citizens" which was proposed in the Noyes Report. However, Mr. Noyes is reluctant to recommend setting up such a Committee unless and until the signs point more definitely to the inadequacy of the present machinery.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

files

February 17, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Comment Upon Your Diplomatic
Reception of February 8

Mr. Duke compiled certain comments made by members of the Diplomatic Corps during your reception of February 8, which he delivered to Colonel McHugh to be passed to you.

I enclose a supplementary memorandum comprising comment received by other officers of the Department, to which I would only add my own appreciation for a highly successful occasion which has undoubtedly had a profound and satisfying effect upon the diplomatic corps as a whole.

Dean Rusk

Dean Rusk

Enclosure:

Memorandum.

Supplementary Comment Upon the President's
Diplomatic Reception, February 8, 1961

The following comment is intended to supplement that prepared by the Chief of Protocol immediately following the President's Diplomatic Reception of February 8, 1961, which has previously been forwarded to the White House:

The Chief of Protocol concludes that the reaction of the Diplomatic Corps on the whole has been extremely favorable, with the one noted exception of the Portuguese Ambassador, who complained that too much attention was devoted by the President and his aides to the African and Latin American diplomats and not enough to the other members of the Diplomatic Corps. Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, expressed his appreciation personally and on behalf of the entire Corps in separate letters of February 9 to the President.

The Bureau of European Affairs reports the impression that with customary sophistication European Ambassadors were largely too busy "transacting business" at the reception to have indulged in very much comment upon the affair itself. British Ambassador Caccia is said to have remarked that he was delighted to have had the opportunity to meet the President under such pleasant circumstances. With Nordic brevity,

Ambassador

Ambassador Paul Koht of Norway called it "a delightful occasion."

The Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires noted with particular pleasure the time spent by the President in speaking to his guests, and that he had taken the opportunity to inquire about President Quadros of Brazil.

The Thai Ambassador remarked: "I thoroughly enjoyed the occasion. The President and Mrs. Kennedy were most gracious and everything was done beautifully. I was particularly gratified at being able to meet Secretary Rusk under such pleasant auspices - it was a very pleasant experience."

Mr. David Bane, Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, reports:

"I sat between the Ambassadors from Korea and Ghana at dinner on February 14. Ambassador Chang of Korea referred to the reception and stressed how much he had been impressed by the President and the evident air of sincerity and interest he had manifested in talking with him and other Ambassadors. The Ambassador of Ghana heartily endorsed these sentiments. Both Ambassadors expressed their appreciation and approval of the idea of the President's holding such a reception and his doing it so soon after taking office. The Korean Ambassador told me that he had talked to the Japanese Ambassador at the reception, and that Ambassador Asakai had been similarly impressed."

Assistant

Assistant Secretary Lewis Jones of the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs reports that he had the occasion at the reception to talk to all sixteen of the Chiefs of Mission of his area. He adds: "To a man they all applauded the innovation of the afternoon reception and said that they were particularly impressed by the 'friendly tone' set by the host and hostess." Tunisian Ambassador Mongi Slim expressed his delight to Mr. Jones at the knowledge of French displayed by "La Presidente."

Assistant Secretary Jones' further comments on the arrangements may be of interest:

"The White House waiters did a good job. I was standing with the Arabs, who do not take alcohol on official occasions, when one of the waiters came up and suggested that they might like fruit juice. This pleased the Saudi, the Yemeni and the Tunisian.

I appreciated being in the room where the diplomats were marshalled, since this gave those of us from the Department and the diplomats themselves a chance to move from group to group and chat.

I am certain that the difficulty experienced in getting cars to the door is susceptible of being remedied."

FEB 17 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Comment Upon Your Diplomatic
Reception of February 8

Mr. Duke compiled certain comments made by members of the Diplomatic Corps during your reception of February 8, which he delivered to Colonel McHugh to be passed to you.

I enclose a supplementary memorandum comprising comment received by other officers of the Department, to which I would only add my own appreciation for a highly successful occasion which has undoubtedly had a profound and satisfying effect upon the diplomatic corps as a whole.

181 DEAN RUSK

Dean Rusk

Enclosure:

Memorandum.

Supplementary Comment Upon the President's
Diplomatic Reception, February 8, 1961

The following comment is intended to supplement that prepared by the Chief of Protocol immediately following the President's Diplomatic Reception of February 8, 1961, which has previously been forwarded to the White House:

The Chief of Protocol concludes that the reaction of the Diplomatic Corps on the whole has been extremely favorable, with the one noted exception of the Portuguese Ambassador, who complained that too much attention was devoted by the President and his aides to the African and Latin American diplomats and not enough to the other members of the Diplomatic Corps. Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, expressed his appreciation personally and on behalf of the entire Corps in separate letters of February 9 to the President.

The Bureau of European Affairs reports the impression that with customary sophistication European Ambassadors were largely too busy "transacting business" at the reception to have indulged in very much comment upon the affair itself. British Ambassador Caccia is said to have remarked that he was delighted to have had the opportunity to meet the President under such pleasant circumstances. With Nordic brevity,

Ambassador

Ambassador Paul Koht of Norway called it "a delightful occasion."

The Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires noted with particular pleasure the time spent by the President in speaking to his guests, and that he had taken the opportunity to inquire about President Quadros of Brazil.

The Thai Ambassador remarked: "I thoroughly enjoyed the occasion. The President and Mrs. Kennedy were most gracious and everything was done beautifully. I was particularly gratified at being able to meet Secretary Rusk under such pleasant auspices - it was a very pleasant experience."

Mr. David Bane, Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, reports:

"I sat between the Ambassadors from Korea and Ghana at dinner on February 14. Ambassador Chang of Korea referred to the reception and stressed how much he had been impressed by the President and the evident air of sincerity and interest he had manifested in talking with him and other Ambassadors. The Ambassador of Ghana heartily endorsed these sentiments. Both Ambassadors expressed their appreciation and approval of the idea of the President's holding such a reception and his doing it so soon after taking office. The Korean Ambassador told me that he had talked to the Japanese Ambassador at the reception, and that Ambassador Asakai had been similarly impressed."

Assistant

Assistant Secretary Lewis Jones of the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs reports that he had the occasion at the reception to talk to all sixteen of the Chiefs of Mission of his area. He adds: "To a man they all applauded the innovation of the afternoon reception and said that they were particularly impressed by the 'friendly tone' set by the host and hostess." Tunisian Ambassador Mongi Slim expressed his delight to Mr. Jones at the knowledge of French displayed by "La Presidente."

Assistant Secretary Jones' further comments on the arrangements may be of interest:

"The White House waiters did a good job. I was standing with the Arabs, who do not take alcohol on official occasions, when one of the waiters came up and suggested that they might like fruit juice. This pleased the Saudi, the Yemeni and the Tunisian.

I appreciated being in the room where the diplomats were marshalled, since this gave those of us from the Department and the diplomats themselves a chance to move from group to group and chat.

I am certain that the difficulty experienced in getting cars to the door is susceptible of being remedied."

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D C



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Discrimination and Diplomats in
Washington.

I am sending you the enclosed study in answer to your past inquiries about plans developed by the Office of Protocol to handle the problems faced by the diplomatic personnel of new missions in Washington. This study has been submitted to the following State Department officials who have expressed strong interest:

The Secretary
The Under Secretary
The Ambassador at Large
The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration
The Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
The Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

A copy of the covering memorandum to the Secretary of State is also enclosed.

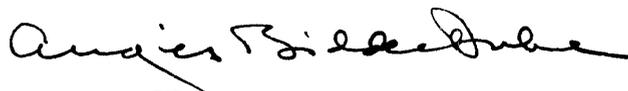
I consider the activities of the proposed new nations section in my office to be of the utmost importance. This section will fill a vital need by orienting the members of accredited missions and visiting dignitaries to the realities of American life, by avoiding the unpleasantness of

discrimination

- 2 -

discrimination whenever possible and by revealing the evolving nature of racial equality in this country.

Particular attention is invited to Section VI (General Observations), which embodies specifics in this field.



Angier Biddle Duke
Chief of Protocol

Enclosures:

1. Study on Discrimination and Foreign Diplomats.
2. Memorandum to the Secretary of State.

M E M O R A N D U M

February 20, 1961

TO: The Secretary of State

FROM: The Chief of Protocol

SUBJECT: Discrimination and Diplomats in Washington

As a result of discussions with the President and the Secretary of State, and a written memorandum from the Under Secretary, the enclosed report has been prepared at my direction. It is largely the work of my Assistant, Pedro A. Sanjuan, and the product of the following types of research:

Careful analysis of the files kept by the Office of Protocol on the difficulties experienced by African diplomats in Washington over the past several years; analysis of some of the files provided by the Bureau of African Affairs; meetings and discussions with the Real Estate Board of Washington, representatives of the African-American Institute, Mr. Harris Wofford, Mr. Louis Martin, Mr. Carl Rowan, the Ambassador and the former Charge d'Affaires of the Nigerian Embassy, the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and Mr. Milton Viorst of the Washington Post. Special mention should be made of the useful contributions to the scope of this paper provided by Miss Winifred Armstrong, Mr. Donald Davis, Mr. Wendell Coote, Mr. Michael Di Legge and Mr. Olcott H. Demming. The subject was also explored in conversations with Ambassador Harriman, Assistant Secretary Williams, Mr. John T. Abernathy and Mrs. Katherine Loucheim.

LIVING CONDITIONS OF NEW DIPLOMATS IN
WASHINGTON AND VICINITY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR
EASING OF TENSIONS BY THE OFFICE OF PROTOCOL

I. General Statement of the Dimensions of the Problem

Considerable attention has been devoted during the preparation of this study to the contention that no special treatment should be accorded by the Office of Protocol to any one particular set of diplomats in Washington. Those who maintain this point of view believe that diplomats who are accorded special treatment may feel pampered and resent a form of discrimination in reverse.

There is some truth to this contention. Nevertheless, it is felt that none of the proposals made in this study constitute pampering of any sort.

The living conditions of African and Asian diplomats in Washington present a special kind of problem. In order to deal with it, special measures have to be taken. It is a fact that African and Asian diplomats in Washington are sometimes treated in a discriminatory manner in spite of their wish to be treated on the basis of equality with the rest of their colleagues.

Twenty-one nations have either recently established embassies in the Nation's Capital, or are in the process of doing so now. Seven new nations will be establishing diplomatic missions here in the coming months. These twenty-eight new missions will have the following common characteristics:

- a. They

- a. They are missions from countries which have relatively few people trained to assume positions of responsibility. Consequently, the so-called "ruling classes" of these new nations are closely knit groups. What affects one or more members of these groups is likely to have a strong influence on the opinions and attitudes of their governments.

If the French Ambassador in Washington feels that he is being mistreated, this is not likely to affect United States-French relations in a radical way. But, if the Nigerian Ambassador in Washington is consistently mistreated, his reactions may influence the nature of United States-Nigerian relations to a considerable degree.

- b. There are very close ties between the diplomatic missions of these new nations in Washington and the United Nations missions of these same nations in New York. In most cases, the embassy in Washington is an offshoot of the mission at the United Nations. The latter is usually established first.

Conceivably the balance of power in the United Nations might one day be in the hands of the so-called Neutralist Bloc. Therefore it is possible that the fortunes of United States policy in the

United

United Nations can be affected indirectly by the opinion which the nations of this Neutralist Bloc may form of the United States through the impressions and reactions their Ambassadors receive in their daily experiences in Washington.

- c. These new nations have relatively few contacts with the United States. In most cases they do not belong to any special defensive alliances tying them to the United States, they do not have common historical bonds with the United States, and there are few commercial treaties binding these countries to the United States. Yet to them the United States represents the leadership of the Western democracies in direct contrast to the USSR, which is the symbol of the Communist order. The ideals of democracy which constitute our ideology in the war against Communist expansion are tested in the United States by the representatives of these new nations rather than in England or France, or anywhere else in Europe.
- d. These new nations are not wealthy. Their diplomatic missions in the United States have limited funds at their disposal. These financial difficulties intensify the nature of any crises which
their

their diplomatic personnel may face.

- e. The new diplomats are as a whole intelligent and alert individuals. They are, however, relatively inexperienced in the diplomatic field. Therefore, their difficulties in Washington, some of which constitute an integral part of the life of any diplomat in any country, will have a tendency to assume unreasonable proportions.

The members of twenty-two other established missions in Washington share some of the above characteristics with the twenty-eight new missions. This second group of missions represents mostly Mideastern and Southeast Asian countries, and not infrequently diplomats and employees from this second group of missions also suffer from discriminatory practices in the Washington area and in other sections of the country.

There are seventeen Latin American missions which have some common bonds with the African and Asian missions. Latin American diplomatic personnel are sometimes exposed to discriminatory attitudes and practices in Washington.

Relationships among these sixty-seven missions are particularly significant when an act of discrimination against a diplomat from one of them becomes a publicized incident. The African and Asian missions interpret such an incident as a slight to all of them, since, as far as discrimination is concerned, they constitute a special

special group. Discrimination against a Togolese diplomat infuriates the Camerounians as much as it does the Togolese. To a lesser, but nonetheless significant degree, the Latin American missions also feel involved when discrimination hits a member of an African or an Asian mission.

II. The Present Social Situation in Washington

Since 1954 great progress has been made in the Nation's Capital in the field of Civil Rights, but the surrounding areas in Virginia and Maryland have not made as much progress.

In recognizing the progress that has been made in race relations in the District, we must bear in mind that we are considering improvements in the life of our Negro American population. On the other hand, Washington has a long way to go before anything like social equality is accepted by all Washingtonians. Desegregation is one thing and social acceptance is another. Negroes are still not socially acceptable in Washington in most circles, and African diplomats, unaccustomed to our peculiar social problems and not too well acquainted with our attempts to solve these problems, find present conditions difficult to bear.

III. Specific Aspects of this Problem which Directly Affect the Office of Protocol

The housing problem is the most embarrassing problem Protocol has to face in connection with the establishment of diplomatic missions by nations recently accredited to the United States. It is perhaps

is perhaps the most urgent problem since it deals with one of the three essentials of human life.

Desirable residential areas for diplomats in Washington and vicinity are still most effectively segregated. The potential seriousness of the housing problem has been reported by Scripps Howard's Don Kurzman. According to Mr. Kurzman about thirty per cent of the property owners in Washington and vicinity refuse to sell or rent to "people of color". Compounded with this is the normal reticence of most landlords in renting or selling to diplomats due to the diplomatic immunity they enjoy -- the fear that contracts with diplomats cannot be made binding.

Kurzman's figure of thirty per cent refers only to the leasing of embassies and chancelleries. It would be more accurate to say that less than ten per cent of the landlords in the white areas in Washington are willing to lease living quarters to Negro diplomatic personnel of lesser rank than Ambassador.

Mr. Justin Hinders of the Real Estate Board, who agrees with the above description of real estate practices in Washington, has added some interesting insights and comments. It has been his experience that in the past six months, very few African diplomats have had occasion to complain about actual discriminatory practices. Mr. Hinders attributes this to the fact that during this period there were relatively few African diplomats looking for apartments or houses, and that those who were looking for housing

got in

got in touch with cooperative real estate agents. Mr. Hinders, nevertheless, agrees that discrimination exists, and that in future months many unfortunate incidents could take place.

Recent efforts by the Department of State to find ways to solve the housing problem in the Washington area have been uncoordinated and not very fruitful.

It should be stated categorically that neither the Department of State as a whole, nor the Office of Protocol in particular, should enter the real estate business. Nevertheless, the Department cannot avoid involvement in the future since it has been unsuccessful in avoiding it in the past. It should be added that as a result of excessive cautiousness, Protocol, and therefore the Department, have received a considerable amount of adverse publicity in the past. After excluding the possibility of any form of competition between the Department of State and the local real estate agencies, the Department can still employ the following very effective, indirect methods of helping diplomatic missions obtain adequate housing:

- a. The first is a negative suggestion. Further exploratory meetings of representatives from the Department of State, the Real Estate Board and any other private agencies, should be avoided in the future. Such meetings have already been held during the course of last year, numerous sets of
suggestions

suggestions and counter suggestions have been offered, and the field has been thoroughly explored. It is now time to translate policy development into continuing action.

- b. Direct working liaison has just been established by Protocol with both the Real Estate Board and the Board of Commissioners of Washington, as well as with certain private agencies. Protocol now is in a position to alert both boards as soon as it detects possible sources of trouble, since Protocol is in constant and direct contact with all embassies. This new procedure has already been tested quite recently in connection with the Nigerian Embassy, and it has worked out quite felicitously.
- c. Once alerted by Protocol, the Real Estate Board will contact the diplomatic mission which has a problem or is about to face a problem. The Board can offer its assistance without involving Protocol in any way. There is no reason to doubt that the officials of the Real Estate Board have the best of good will and the fullest desire to cooperate and minimize any tensions that may develop between the Government of the United States and the representatives of foreign countries.

It should

It should be emphasized again that the Department of State should have no dealings with real estate agents and should never bring together clients and salesmen. The Department of State cannot be held responsible for leaky roofs, faulty plumbing, or damaged garbage disposal units.

- d. Numerous misunderstandings in matters related to tax exemptions and zoning regulations can be easily averted by the intercession of Protocol, which is in a privileged position to explain these regulations to the new Ambassadors and Chiefs of Mission. Some incidents in the past can be attributed to the perfunctory handling of these problems by Protocol without the necessary follow-through. Sterile and stiff communications have been sent by Protocol, notifying Embassies of the receipt of their complaints. Many of these complaints concerned the abrupt implementation of zoning laws and unduly severe tax appraisals. It is of the utmost importance that Protocol display zealous interest in explaining D. C. regulations to the new missions and that it spare them any embarrassment.
- e. A detailed study of the broader aspects of the housing situation in Washington is now being prepared by Miss Winifred Armstrong for use by the

Department

Department of State. More fundamental and long range proposals for the solution of the housing problem can be found in that study.

IV. Specific Problems (Continued)

The problems of discrimination that are not directly related to the housing problem are multiple and elusive in character. However, this does not mean that they are fictitious. The subtlety, frequency, and the complexity of social discrimination in the Washington area make it very difficult to deal with this subject adequately in a few pages. It would be a more appropriate subject for a series of lengthy sociological studies. The following aspects stand out:

- a. Diplomats normally belong to social clubs. In the Washington area white diplomats from non-Soviet Bloc countries are welcome in the best of these clubs. Special dispensations are made available to white diplomats so they do not have to wait several years before they can join. African diplomats are aware of the fact that their white colleagues enjoy facilities which are not available to them.

The fashionable social clubs in Washington are not going to change their policies to suit the best interests of the United States. But there are two solutions which can be found that would help solve

this problem

this problem. A foreign service club has been proposed to Congress for use by members of the Foreign Service, foreign diplomats, top level newspapermen and university professors. The existence of such a club with all its facilities and cosmopolitan atmosphere would reduce present embarrassing situations to the level of insignificance.

If this project is not approved by Congress, there remains the possibility of private sponsorship for an international club of the same type, though perhaps more modest in scope. Such a club could also be sponsored by wealthier diplomatic missions, such as the British and French, and in part by the Government out of special funds. Such a project has been proposed in a recent memorandum to the Chief of Protocol by Assistant Secretary Tubby.

- b. Some of the better restaurants in Washington refuse to admit or serve any Negroes. African diplomats in Washington have been embarrassed several times. Protocol can ascertain which of these restaurants are potential sources of incidents, and the African missions can be briefed candidly on which restaurants do not discriminate.
- c. A clear explanation of the social conditions that prevail in

prevail in Washington should be made available to the members of the African missions. Protocol should undertake this task, pointing out that remarkable changes are taking place in our country and that this Administration is pledged to carry them through with vigor. This briefing should endeavor to explain that the Federal Government cannot change conditions overnight and that it is hoped that Protocol, by pointing out to the mission members the potential sources of annoyance, can save them the discomfort of being exposed to the vestiges of a form of social stupidity which is rapidly disappearing from the scene.

- d. Stores, barber shops, and other public establishments also discriminate against Negroes. Protocol should attempt to minimize such incidents by briefing the members of the new African missions. Many fine stores in Washington and vicinity cater to Negroes as well as to whites. They are neither the most expensive nor the most exclusive stores, but they carry items of high quality at reasonable prices. Protocol can suggest the use of these stores, stressing the economic advantages that can be derived from patronizing them.

Barber

Barber shop incidents may seem ridiculous, but they are far from trivial if we consider that they may occur once every two weeks in the life of each member of an African mission in Washington. There are barber shops which cater to customers of all descriptions. This type of information, which cannot be found in the yellow pages of the telephone directory, should be made available by Protocol to diplomatic personnel of African missions.

- e. Diplomats come in contact with prominent white Americans from varied backgrounds. Because of a traditional lack of experience in dealing with Negroes on a social basis, people who circulate in the so-called "best" circles are apt to treat African or Asian diplomats in a somewhat artificial or strained manner. Fruitful relations are not likely to ensue from such contacts. Without bending over backwards, Protocol can stimulate relations and interesting social contacts in academic or political circles to compensate for the difficulties that African and Asian diplomats are bound to encounter in the atmosphere of other society.
- f. Schooling presents a problem which should not be very difficult to solve.

Many African

Many African and Asian diplomats and diplomatic personnel have children of school age. Most of the public schools in the Washington area have extremely low academic standards. Many private schools do not admit Negroes.

There are, however, three public experimental schools in the District which have rather high academic standards. These schools admit only exceptionally gifted students. Protocol can contact the Board of Education of the District, requesting that the children of members of diplomatic missions be permitted to attend these schools because of the favorable impression foreign diplomats should have of the American educational system. The influx of diplomatic children into these schools would not be too great.

Several private schools would also accept these children. Among these are the Greenacres School in Maryland, the Burgundy Farms School in Virginia, the St. Alban's School for Boys, the National Cathedral School for Girls, the Georgetown School, the Hawthorn School, the Beauvoir School, the Ecole Francaise Internationale, the Maret School, the Sheridan School, the Friends School, and, of course, all of the

all of the parochial schools. It is easy for Protocol to find out how many children of school age will be coming to the Washington area when an African or Asian mission announces its plan to establish an embassy in Washington, or when a new person is coming to an embassy.

Protocol can, first of all, suggest a number of private and public schools which will admit the children of the diplomatic personnel, stressing the high academic standards of the schools. The newly arrived diplomatic personnel, knowing little about the Washington area, will probably accept the suggestions; and if they do not, and incidents do develop, Protocol can again refer the party in question to the excellent schools previously recommended.

V. Specific Recommendations for the Implementation of the Above Suggestions

a. Housing

Direct liaison has been established by Protocol with the Real Estate Board. This involves Mr. Justin Hinders, the Executive Secretary; Mr. Frank Luchs, President of the Real Estate Board and President of Shannon and Luchs (largest real estate brokerage

brokerage firm in Washington); Mr. Tighe Woods, former housing administrator under President Truman, real estate broker in Washington and head of the recently established Subcommittee on Diplomatic Housing of the Real Estate Board. The Real Estate Board is being assisted by Protocol in finding suitable housing in Washington for African and other diplomats.

At the suggestion of Mr. Justin Hinders and Mr. Tighe Woods, it is requested that the Department of State try to revive an old custom once observed by the Washington Zoning Board. The Board of Commissioners, D. C., used to waive all restrictions related to existing zoning laws when embassies were looking for additional real estate in the Washington area. The renewed cooperation of the Commissioners in this matter would eliminate a large number of unpleasant incidents which now develop out of the strict observance of the zoning laws.

The Real Estate Board has already agreed to get in touch with the embassies when Protocol notifies the Board of the arrival of new diplomats. State Department desk officers have been consulted on the nature of these new procedures and they have agreed to notify

to notify Protocol of all inquiries or complaints which they may receive from the embassies on matters pertaining to housing.

A list of District regulations affecting embassy housing should be compiled by Protocol, and a constant check of the Real Estate Board and member brokers should be maintained in order to find housing for new diplomats.

Protocol should maintain a confidential list of brokers and real estate owners, both members and non-members of the Real Estate Board, including observations as to the nature of their ethics and price levels. In compiling this list Miss Ann Miller of the Washington Housing Association can be most helpful. The contents of this list would never be revealed directly to diplomats.

A technical information bulletin on housing in Washington might well be prepared by Protocol and distributed among the African embassy personnel. The sheet should include information on the following subjects:

1. How Americans describe the number of rooms in an apartment or house -- many Africans say a "3-room apartment" when they want three bedrooms.

2. Which

2. Which equipment (stove, refrigerator, etc.) is normally included in a house or apartment.
3. The expenses generally covered by the rent.
4. That the brokerage fee in the Washington area is not paid by the customer.
5. What specific information the Real Estate Board will require in order to find a house or an apartment for a diplomat.

The following community groups are trying to assist in solving the housing problem, and the Office of Protocol should work closely with them:

1. The Urban League Housing Group, chaired by Mrs. Marjory Lawson. Mrs. Lawson knows of a number of other organizations and is working to pull all the interests together.
2. The National Capital Clearing House for Neighborhood Democracy, which is chaired by Mr. Albert Popone. This organization is primarily concerned with integrated neighborhoods, but is also interested in the subject of housing for African diplomats.
3. The African-American Institute, which Miss Elizabeth Hitchcock represents. Miss Hitchcock is interested in helping African diplomats and
leaders in

leaders in adjusting within the community. Although Miss Hitchcock can be most useful to the Department of State, her Institute is almost helpless without the full and active backing of the Department of State and the Real Estate Board.

4. Mr. David Sawyer of the District Commission of the Council on Human Relations. Mr. Sawyer has already been very helpful in trying to solve the housing problem, and he seeks the cooperation of the Department of State.

The Office of Protocol is willing to act as the central coordinating point or clearing house for all these agencies, in order to avoid wasteful duplication of work -- and so that embassies can be put in contact with the proper agency, depending on the nature of the problems which the embassies may face.

- b. Visiting African and Asian Leaders and Traveling Diplomats

Difficulties have arisen in connection with visiting African and Asian dignitaries. These difficulties have centered around poor hotels and eating accommodations due to discrimination; the

failure

failure of the Government in the past to establish more informal contacts for these traveling dignitaries, resulting in poor hospitality; and improper briefing of the traveling dignitaries regarding what areas of the United States they should visit.

These difficulties might be resolved in the following manner:

1. Confidential inquiries should be made by Protocol requesting the cooperation of national and state hotel associations. The aim of such inquiries should be to find at least one good hotel in each community where these dignitaries can be received and to compile a list of restaurants and other facilities throughout the United States where African and Asian visitors can be sure of receiving courteous service.
2. Protocol could request the cooperation of certain community groups throughout the country in widening the contacts that can be made for visiting African and Asian dignitaries. These community groups should include the AAUW, B'nai B'rith, the Urban League, and others. Their cooperation would consist of planning programs before the arrival of a visitor.

3. Additional

3. Additional efforts should be made to send these visitors to smaller cities and towns in areas now rarely receiving visitors. In this respect the Mayors' Conference Group (Mr. Gunther, Executive Director in Washington, D. C.) and the Governors' Conference Group can be most helpful.
4. Care should be exercised by Protocol to ascertain in just what area of American life the traveling visitor is most vitally interested. Close liaison with the corresponding desk officers could be most helpful in this matter.

c. Learning the English Language

This is a very delicate subject in the case of French-speaking Africans, since many of them are sensitive about putting themselves in a position of apparent ignorance. However, their poor command of the English language is often a political as well as a social loss for the United States. There are some diplomats who speak less known languages who are in particular need of assistance -- such as the Knauri-speaking wife of the new Nigerian Ambassador to the United Nations. At present, there are no Nigerians in the United States who speak Knauri other than

other than the Ambassador and his wife.

d. Inclusion in Community Activities of the Wives of the African and Asian Diplomats

Efforts are being made both in Washington and in New York to expand these social activities, but these efforts have not progressed very far. The most active group in this field has been the Women's African Committee, which is affiliated with the African-American Institute. The Chairman of the Women's African Committee is Mrs. Zelia Luebhausen, former United Nations representative of the League of Women Voters. This committee has a chapter in Washington, the membership of which includes Mrs. Frances Bolton, Mrs. Esther Peterson, Miss Alice Leopold and others. Also in Washington, Mrs. Olcott Deming, wife of the Officer-in-Charge of the Office of Eastern and Southern African Affairs at the Department of State, has offered to stimulate a number of State Department wives to take an interest and assist in this matter.

Great care should be exercised in activities of this nature, although they might be very helpful. Well-meaning "do goodism" can very well be completely counter-productive. It would probably be better if

better if the State Department wives worked with others in carrying out their activities among the wives of African and Asian diplomats. The knowledge and experience of Mrs. Katherine Loucheim might well be called upon for leadership in this and related activities.

There are also a number of local women's organizations in New York and Washington that are eager to assist in helping the wives of Asian and African diplomats to get better acquainted with the community, and they need to obtain some ideas as to what they are able to do specifically. These groups include the Delta Sigma Phi Fraternity of Negro University Women, the American Association of University Women, B'nai B'rith and the Congressional Wives Association. Such groups should have State Department cooperation and assistance through the Office of Protocol.

c. All New Diplomats Should be Provided with Material on How the United States Government is Organized

African diplomats, even Africans who have been here for some time, know very little about the United States Government -- what sections and departments are concerned with African Affairs and what the role of the legislature is in determining foreign policy.

These

These diplomats wish to know more about such subjects, as well as about other aspects of American life, but they are frequently hesitant to ask officially. Protocol is prepared to cooperate with the Desks in distributing this material.

f. Information about Holiday Excursions and Vacations

Often African and Asian families do not go out of Washington because they do not know where to go and more particularly where they will be accepted. Other families have taken trips only to find that on long stretches of road (800 miles in the case of the previous Ghanaian First Secretary), there were no suitable facilities available which would accept Negroes. Contact should be established by Protocol with reputable travel agents in the United States (preferably smaller ones, who might take special interest in this matter) in order to assist African embassies with information on possible tours for week-ends and vacation trips.

VI. General Observations

Needless to say, Protocol cannot control the movement of African diplomats throughout the United States or even within the Washington area. All foreign diplomats are free to travel throughout the United States, with the exception of those from the Soviet Bloc countries.

Bloc countries. Protocol should be helpful in making the arrangements stated above in order to avoid incidents, particularly when African or Asian diplomats request the aid of the Department of State in planning their trips.

A frank discussion of the social restrictions which exist in the United States is unavoidable if the Office of Protocol wishes to establish its intention of good will among the African and Asian missions.

In performing these most vital and indispensable services for African and Asian diplomats, Protocol obviously needs an increase in its present staff. A special itemization of these additional requirements is forthcoming. It seems imperative to point out here that without the advice of a Negro American staff member, this proposed program will never attain the degree of refinement necessary to deal with such a subtle and intricate situation. Even though this Negro American would be used to give advice in those areas of race relations in Washington where trouble due to discrimination can be anticipated and averted, his assignment to Protocol would be in connection with the routine operation of the office. He would be used only to the same degree as any other Protocol Officer in direct contact with African embassies.

The Chief of Protocol feels that his office will never be able to operate at its peak efficiency without the assignment of at least one Negro American to his staff.

Parenthetically

-26-

Parenthetically it should be stated that Mr. Harris Wofford has recommended to us at least one candidate who completely fulfills all these criteria.

These most vital and necessary services have not been part of the established pattern of activity of Protocol in the past, and to accomplish them properly it is obvious that the Office of Protocol needs an increase of several officers in its present staff.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D. C.

MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT
WITH
BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

"VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION OF COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS"

Tuesday, June 4, 1963
5:00 P.M.

East Room of the White House

NOT FOIC
RELEASE

OFF RECORD

P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: Gentlemen, I want to express a
3 very warm welcome to you.

4 I have a few remarks which I would like to make,
5 but first I would like to present to you Vice President
6 Johnson.

7 VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Gentlemen, I am happy to
8 have the privilege to come here and meet with you today and
9 talk to you about the more serious problems that are con-
10 fronting our country in the hope that your counsel, advice,
11 help and leadership will enable us to find a solution that
12 will unite the nation instead of dividing it.

13 There are many who do not enjoy the freedom which
14 some enjoy, as many of us well realize. We do not want anyone
15 to get the opinion that one can secure more freedom by
16 fighting in the streets than can be gotten by the Congress,
17 the President, and by law and order.

18 Now, how we solve this is a question which we must
19 reason out together. Those of you who own or operate hotels,
20 motels, garages, cafes, drug stores, and so on, understand a
good many of the ramifications which we do not have in Washing-
ton.

My understanding is that the President has asked
you to come here to express your viewpoint and to get your
recommendations and your support in a program that will give

1 freedom to all Americans. The President now has the obligation
2 and duty to send every American boy regardless of his race or
3 color into a fox-hole with the American Flag if it protects
4 the national interest, but the President does not now have
5 the authority to protect him if he goes into a drug store or
6 lunch counter to get a cup of coffee in his own home town. He
7 does not have the implements at hand to see that he is trained
8 in order that he can earn his own livelihood.

9 As a consequence, we have hundreds of thousands
10 of them migrating to Los Angeles, for example, and other
11 places where we tax ourselves to send them welfare checks.
12 So we have a problem with jobs, with education, with employ-
13 ment, equal opportunity -- all of these things.

14 We hope that this Congress will be able to evolve
15 a national program for all areas of the country which will
16 permit the public facilities of this country to treat each
17 person with the same respect without regard for his race or
18 color.

19 We appreciate your coming here. Thank you.

20 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: I want to express appreciation
21 to all of you. I know that a number of you have talked to
22 the Attorney General, and you have been most helpful in your
23 conversations with him and Burke Marshall.

24 Let me say just a word or two for background.

25 It was our thought that the powers which the Executive

1 Branch has, which powers have been enacted over a period of
2 150 years, were sufficient to give the Justice Department
3 the necessary power to move ahead on a variety of fronts,
4 through the courts, to bring about sufficient change in the
5 climate of the country and the opportunities for Negroes so
6 that we could make orderly progress over a period of time.
7 We particularly thought that if we could build upon legis-
8 lation which was passed in the late fifties on voting that
9 this would bring about a significant change.

10 In Oxford, Mississippi, we had to put in almost
11 15,000 troops in order to put one man into a university, and
12 we had to keep hundreds of soldiers there this year to keep
13 one man in school. It was our feeling that if we could
14 move ahead in voting, this would bring its own kind of
15 influence and pressure and particularly with the number of
16 Negroes in the South where they would begin to enjoy greater
17 influence. This would be taken into account and we could
18 then look forward in the next three or four years to sub-
19 stantial progress.

That time schedule was changed somewhat, however,
as a result of the picture in Birmingham. There were strong
feelings among the Negroes there when they were prohibited
from marching in the streets there by local statutes. Local
laws prevented them from having their rights which they con-
sidered theirs to go to movie houses, to sit at lunch counters,

1 and all the rest.

2 This incident in Birmingham really lit a fire in
3 the Negro community, and a good deal of what was happening
4 at a much lower key in the last two years became dramatized
5 by this incident. Since then, there have been incidents in
6 some 50 cities, and these incidents have not been confined
7 to the South. The problem we face in the North is more
8 difficult because it will be possible for us, with the recent
9 Supreme Court decision outlawing local and state laws which
10 make segregation mandatory, to get legal relief in the South.
11 In the North, where they have legal relief, where they have
12 housing, where they have FEPC, and the like, our problem is
13 more complex. This is particularly so with the economic
14 problem where unemployment is concentrated among the unskilled--
15 and the Negroes are unskilled--and, added to the difficulty
16 that color brings, it is one of the difficulties that goes
17 along with inadequate education.

18 We have it here in the District of Columbia where
19 there is no legal discrimination, but we have the situation
20 now where the schools have gone from 30 to 40 per cent Negro
21 to 85 per cent Negro. Nearly 65 per cent of the children
22 who come here from other parts of the country need remedial
23 reading. There are also those who were born right here but
24 inadequately educated. So you have all of these problems
25 in the Nation's Capital. This is neither a southern issue nor

1 a northern issue. There is no part of the country which will
2 be able to poke its finger at any other part of the country.

3 There was a riot recently in Philadelphia, and there
4 was a riot in my own city of Boston involving a hundred people.
5 We have had trouble in Chicago, St. Louis, and we figure we
6 are going to have trouble in these coming months in dozens
7 of cities, and we may have great difficulty.

8 So it is a national problem and it concerns us
9 all as citizens.

10 The problem is what to do about it. There are
11 some things that we can do now. There are other things
12 which are going to take a good many months and years. Take
13 the education, the job retraining, and all of the rest, but
14 there are some things that we can do now, and I think we must
15 do some of these things this summer because we are going to
16 have a lot of students out of school. We are going to have
17 the problem of swimming pools, parks, restaurants, hotels,
18 motels, and we are going to have incidents. Wherever an
19 incident occurs it has an adverse effect on our business life,
20 on the business life of the community, and an adverse effect
on our country.

All of the money we spent for USIA might well have
been saved after the picture of the Negro and the dog at
Birmingham. So, this phase concerned all of us, naturally,
particularly here in Washington. Since much of the world is

1 colored, and since the United States and the free world
2 have not been doing particularly well in recent months, this
3 obviously adds to our concern. The major problem is here in
4 the United States.

5 If we have riots in our streets, if one-tenth of
6 our population becomes increasingly embittered, and if well-
7 educated people lose their rights, then once they lose con-
8 fidence in this country and in the government, once they
9 lose confidence in the ability of an injury to be remedied,
10 once they lose confidence in any number of other things,
11 we lose them and I don't think we are going to get them back.
12 So, quite obviously, we have to do something about it. This
13 is not something which can be done by only the President,
14 the Vice President, the Attorney General or the Congress;
15 this affects every citizen. This problem affects you people
16 in business in the South as well as in the North.

17 For those of you who may have a chain which extends
18 into the North and the South, where you take action of deseg-
19 regation against the wishes of a majority of the people in
20 the community, against the action perhaps of your competitors
who may be local and not national, it is quite obviously quite
a difficult challenge for all. It is quite difficult for
all of us here, too.

In Washington, a good many of the Negroes feel we
move too slowly while others feel we move too fast. Many talk

1 about their moving into the suburbs or into other parts of
2 the country, yet they do not welcome the Negro into their
3 neighborhood or school.

4 I might point out that one of our most distinguished
5 clubs here in Washington, out of which come some of our most
6 vehement editors and world-wide columnists, prevented a Negro
7 ambassador from going there as a guest. So no one here in
8 Washington or anywhere else can point a finger at anyone else.
9 This is a national problem, and the question is what can we
10 do about it.

11 We would like to ask for your help. We are going
12 to be meeting also with church groups, with political leaders,
13 with mayors and governors, and others, to see what we can do
14 in a voluntary way, which is the best way.

15 There are particular problems which come up
16 affecting the Federal Government's responsibility. Next
17 week in Alabama we are going to meet those matters which
18 require legal action, where we have legal weapons, but there
19 are a good many things that cannot be done by laws and must
20 be done by our citizens. I think I can assure you it is a
matter of great national importance that we take some action.

The Attorney General has had an opportunity to meet
with you or some of your representatives. I believe some of
you met with him on May 22nd, and I think an extraordinary
amount has been accomplished, so we are indebted to all of you

1 and those who may be associated with you.

2 Since the May 22nd meeting, important progress has
3 been made in over 40 cities. The desegregation of variety
4 store lunch counters has taken place. In three cities it is
5 imminent. The desegregation of drug store lunch counters
6 is imminent in 12 places. The desegregation of movie theaters
7 is imminent in three cities. The desegregation of hotels in
8 at least four cities is imminent, and at least two more; and
9 desegregation of restaurants in at least two cities.

10 Significant announcements of bi-racial committees
11 and bi-racial work being done has come from 19 cities, notably
12 a very outstanding statement made by the Chamber of Commerce
13 at Atlanta, Georgia, in which they committed themselves to
14 equality of treatment for all of the citizens of Atlanta.

15 There I would like to ask you to see what you
16 can do. We would like to have those of you who have hotels,
17 variety stores, restaurants, etc., in those cities where you
18 think action should be taken, take action within the next
19 seven days. There are some other cities where action cannot
20 be taken. In those cities, we would like to have the local
21 managers, or those of you who are located in those cities,
22 join with other businessmen, church leaders, newspapers and
23 all the rest to see if we can develop bi-racial committees
24 which can build an atmosphere where, over a period of time,
25 progress can be made. A good many things happened in

1 Birmingham due to the work of the senior citizens of Birmingham
2 and due to the work of the newspapers there.

3 I think we have to develop the work of the senior
4 citizens. Unfortunately, this did not come to fruition be-
5 cause of the test election and, therefore, we had a delay of
6 some of these things in Birmingham. This took place over a
7 period of months because I think they realized it was the
8 right thing to do, and also they realized Birmingham was
9 suffering. Business was not coming there.

10 All the statistical information we have shows that
11 in the three-year period prior to the events in Birmingham,
12 Birmingham had taken a licking in comparison to other cities,
13 such as Memphis, and so on. So there is significance to
14 this matter. No community can afford to have prolonged
15 street fighting. Once fighting moves into an area, it is
16 bound to cause the citizens to want to go to another community.

17 So we would ask you, in those cities where you
18 think it possible in your judgment, to see if in the next
19 seven days we can make progress in variety stores, lunch
20 counters, drug store lunch counters, movie theaters, hotels
21 and restaurants.

In those communities where you feel it is impossible,
see what you or your local managers can do, working with other
business leaders, to create an atmosphere which will make it
possible for you to take this action.

1 For those of you who have that difficulty, we will
2 have to consider what action will have to be taken by law.
3 We believe this is the best way to do it. We feel there are
4 a lot of places where we can make significant breakthroughs,
5 and by doing it voluntarily without the hands of the Federal
6 Government, we will make much more satisfactory progress.

7 When we use force and send troops, such as into
8 Mississippi or Alabama, it is a defeat; it is a failure. We
9 want to see if we can do it voluntarily. I know all of you
10 feel your competitors do not do it and you do. But I think
11 if we can get the major chains to do it, take the risk, then
12 in the long-run they will find the loss of business is very
13 slight.

14 All the statistics we have been able to collect
15 show where it has been done the fears have not been realized.
16 They have been able to carry on business satisfactorily and,
17 in some cases, the tension in the community has eased. The
18 community has gone ahead and everyone has benefitted.

19 I would be glad, the Vice President would be glad,
20 as would the Attorney General and Burke Marshall, to hear
21 from any of you if you have any advice or counsel. This is
22 not a meeting where we just want to talk to you. This is a
23 matter that concerns all of us, and we would be delighted to
24 have any advice or suggestions that any of you might have.

25 Our concern is that we do not have a battle in the

1 streets of America in the coming months.

2 I would now like to throw open the meeting and
3 perhaps we could have a few minutes of discussion. I would
4 also like to have a word or two from the Attorney General.
5 We would welcome any comments.

6 FROM THE FLOOR: I think there are some of the
7 representatives from the theaters in the South here who
8 might want to make a statement here.

9 MR. JOHN ADAMS [President, Interstate Circuit
10 Theatres, Dallas, Texas]: Mr. President, there is nothing
11 like having your own publicity agent come along with you.

12 My name is John Adams, from Dallas, Texas.

13 We desegregated our theaters in Corpus Christi
14 about nine months ago, and there was only one incident.
15 Seriously, we have had no incidents. We agreed with the
16 mayor and the Negro leaders to desegregate on September 15th.
17 Our manager met with his house managers and they said, "Well,
18 Chief, why don't we just go ahead and let them in today and
19 get a little practice. We want to do it quietly, without
20 any fanfare." They agreed to do so. On the 14th we were
going to desegregate and the Negro leaders knew this, and
they were surprised when they were passed in. Some of them
didn't even have the money to go in.

There are problems that go along with this, but
the only thing we have learned is that with fanfare, without

1 cooperation from your newspapers--any publicity whatsoever--
2 makes it tougher to get this thing done in the South.

3 As has already been stated, it is a problem in
4 some of these communities because of the atmosphere that
5 has been going on for many, many years. Fortunately, we
6 operated in many towns in West Texas where they do not have
7 too many Negroes.

8 After the meeting with the Attorney General last
9 week, we desegregated in either other towns without any
10 incident. I don't want to mention them because I don't
11 want any publicity. We want to do it quietly and it will
12 be for the best interests of everybody concerned.

13 We are working on several of the rest of them;
14 and as we get a little further into Arkansas, we may take
15 a little longer. We have had our problems in Little Rock.
16 We don't want anymore.

17 When this school incident came along, our business
18 went to pot and stayed bad for some 18 months, and industry
19 did not only not move in but industry moved out. We are
20 rocking along much smoother now and some industry is moving
in, and we certainly will move again--please, no publicity--
and, in Little Rock, as soon as possible. But it can be
done, and some of you fellows who are over in the deep South
have more of a problem than we do, but it is surprising how
easily it does go if you take the bull by the horns and stick

1 your neck out.

2 MR. TED DAVIS [Atlanta, Georgia]: I am Ted Davis
3 from Atlanta, Georgia.

4 We in Atlanta have been working very diligently
5 for the last six months. I believe we are making good progress.
6 I believe we will have something to report.

7 We realize the social and economic problem and
8 the race problem as it is. We are working on it religiously,
9 and I want to assure you, Mr. President, we will continue to
10 do so.

11 We feel it is up to the private sector of all of
12 the nation, and we would not like to see any additional laws
13 or legislation in order to enforce this thing. We believe
14 it is a matter of indoctrination and education on the part
15 of the people.

16 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: I must say Atlanta has done
17 an outstanding job, and it really shows what can be done.

18 FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to address this
19 question to the Attorney General. We met the other day.

20 I wonder what is happening about setting up a
21 master list of all of the states and cities shown and the
22 facilities that are being desegregated or have been desegre-
23 gated. We think it would be helpful indeed.

24 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: We have the names of the
25 committees doing that, and we have a list of the cities where

1 progress has been made -- 90 cities -- from the material and
2 information you have furnished us, cities in which material
3 changes for service to Negroes occurred or presently imminent
4 would require only a slight effort of 90 based on the informa-
5 tion supplied us. We have a list of those cities which, as
6 was mentioned earlier, we did not want to make public.

7 Also we have a list of 49 hotels, and a third list
8 where progress is most difficult -- 24.

9 We are hopeful that as far as the 90 cities are
10 concerned, where progress is relatively easy, that you
11 would furnish that information to us in the next week or
12 so in order that we could move along by desegregating those
13 90 cities. That would be of tremendous help.

14 FROM THE FLOOR: I am sure it would help me and
15 everyone else if that were done to show what has been done.

16 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Also, we have gotten the
17 names of cities where we think difficulty might be experienced:
18 ALABAMA: Gadsden, Huntsville, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa;
19 ARKANSAS: Pine Bluff; FLORIDA: Miami, Pensacola; GEORGIA:
20 Albany, Savannah; LOUISIANA: Shreveport; MARYLAND: Baltimore;
MISSISSIPPI: Clarksdale, Greenwood; NORTH CAROLINA: Ashville,
Charlotte, Fayetteville, High Point, Shelby, Wilmington;
SOUTH CAROLINA: Charleston; TENNESSEE: Kingsport, Knoxville;
TEXAS: Dallas.

The following is a list of southern cities where

1 Negro demonstrations are in progress:

2 FLORIDA: Tallahassee; GEORGIA: Athens; MARYLAND:
3 Cambridge; MISSISSIPPI: Jackson; NORTH CAROLINA: Durham,
4 Greensboro, Winston-Salem--within the last day or so.

5 FROM THE FLOOR: What was the first list?

6 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Southern cities where we
7 expect, or it is possible, or we have information that
8 some Negro demonstrations are likely, and the second list
9 is a list of southern cities where demonstrations are taking
10 place now, or are expected to take place very shortly.

11 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: On the question of legislation,
12 the reason we are considering legislation, the arguments
13 that have been put forward to us most -- and no final
14 decision has been reached yet on it -- it is very difficult
15 for one motel or restaurant or drug store to do it if all
16 of the competitors are not doing it.

17 We felt we would see what progress we made this
18 way. Then, if it were insurmountable for those who want
19 to do something but felt it would be ruinous in these communi-
20 ties, we considered whether we would make it a Federal law
that all restaurants or lunch counters above a certain size
could not discriminate because of race or color. Maybe we
could do the job voluntarily and not let week after week go
by with these kinds of situation without giving some oppor-
tunity for relief.

1 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: This is a release which
2 we put out which may be of some help.

3 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: This is a statement concerning
4 the Attorney General meeting with variety store, drug store,
5 department store, theater, hotel and restaurant executives.

6 "Through them, and through the United States
7 Attorneys, we have received some specific reports about
8 racial practices and progress in about 180 cities, out of
9 the 389 cities with more than 10,000 population in the
10 11 states of the old confederacy plus Kentucky and Maryland."

11 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: We have a list here
12 where progress has been made or is imminent or can be made.

13 ALABAMA: Birmingham, Huntsville, Mobile.

14 ARKANSAS: Forth Smith.

15 FLORIDA: Bradenton, Carroll City, Coral Gables, Daytona,
16 Fort Lauderdale, Fort Walton, Jacksonville, Key West, Lake
17 Land, Miami, Miami Beach, Ocala, Orlando, Pensacola,
18 Sarasota, Tallahassee, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Winter Park.

19 GEORGIA: Athens, Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Savannah.

20 KENTUCKY: Ashland, Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Paducah.

21 LOUISIANA: New Orleans.

MARYLAND: Baltimore, Langley Park.

NORTH CAROLINA: Asheville, Burlington, Chapel Hill, Charlotte,
Concord, Durham, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Gastonia,
Greensboro, Henderson, High Point, Kingston, Newburg, Newport,

1 Raleigh, Rockingham, Rocky Mount, Wilmington, Winston-Salem.

2 SOUTH CAROLINA: Charleston, Columbia, Greenville, Orange-
3 burg.

4 TENNESSEE: Chattanooga, Clarksville, Elizabethtown, Johnson
5 City, Kingsport, Knoxville, Madison, Memphis, Nashville,
6 Oak Ridge.

7 TEXAS: Amarillo, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort
8 Worth, Galveston, Houston, Laredo, Longview, San Angelo,
9 San Antonio, Texarkana.

10 VIRGINIA: Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Petersburg,
11 Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke.

12 FROM THE FLOOR: Did I understand the Attorney
13 General to read Charlotte, North Carolina in the list
14 where it was difficult?

15 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: This is where it is easy.

16 FROM THE FLOOR: The Chamber of Commerce passed
17 a resolution and it was ratified by our City Council ten
18 days before Atlanta passed theirs. For three years, your
19 downtown department stores and restaurants and variety
20 stores have had Negro patrons.

21 I know the major stores in Charlotte have colored
sales people. I was quite surprised to hear in the earlier
list Charlotte being difficult, because the hotels have
already agreed to accept that.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Charlotte is on two lists.

1 This is the wonderful part about it. They are on the list
2 where it is easy, and we think there will be Negro demon-
3 strations. There must be some problems still left there.

4 FROM THE FLOOR: I am sure there are some problems,
5 and we will probably continue to have these problems, but
6 we think we made a very forward step. We are very far ahead
7 of some of the other southern cities that were named.

8 FROM THE FLOOR: As most of the gentlemen in this
9 country know, the Woolworth Company along with other variety
10 stores has been the target of this movement for the past three
11 years. At the time this movement began, we were 84 per cent
12 integrated in our company, and I think we operate probably
13 the largest restaurant chain of any company in America. We
14 have worked very diligently with the committees at the local
15 level, and since 1960 we have integrated in 150 more communities.

16 In approximately 115 out of the entire list read
17 by the Attorney General, we are integrated, in all but six
18 of those communities. So we have paved the way for some of
19 you gentlemen, and we could tell you that where this thing
20 has been done properly, we have had not one single bit of
trouble. In fact, we have had trouble in one one store
out of all of our stores and, to this date, we have not
arrested a single person. So, where the variety stores and
the department stores have already integrated, I am sure the
rest of you will have no difficulty if you want to integrate

1 in the same communities where we have integrated.

2 FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. President, is it your intention
3 to have meetings comparable to this with leaders of the Negro
4 organizations? I will tell you why I ask. Apparently they
5 have the same problem of communication within their race as
6 we have among the races. Very often in areas where you are
7 successful or you are attempting to be successful, you will
8 find on one hand you are being commended and helped while
9 on the other hand you are being slapped in the face. I think
10 it would behoove you or someone within your organization to
11 have these leaders together and to try to make them work
12 within themselves as well as with us.

13 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: I agree. We are going to meet,
14 I hope, next week with some of the Negro leadership. It is
15 difficult because of the geographical aspects as well as
16 the social aspects. There isn't any power structure in the
17 Negro community.

18 The Attorney General met a week or ten days ago
19 in New York with them. He was not very successful. A state-
20 ment was issued that it was unfortunate that these particular
21 riots take place just at a time when the new mayor was to
22 take over and no one could bring equity to the situation.
23 So we don't have the influence over a good many of the groups,
24 but we are bringing them in next week. I think they feel that
25 if there is a remedy, it is going to make it much easier for us

1 to deal with them and it will be much easier for you to
2 negotiate with them.

3 However, we do have to recognize the CORE, the
4 NAACP, Martin Luther King -- there are some extremes that
5 will be satisfied with nothing we can conceivably do. They
6 say it was done last year and, therefore, you find a good
7 deal of conflict within the Negro community and the Negroes
8 with the white community, but we are meeting with them for
9 the purpose you have suggested.

10 MR. HARRY AIKEN [Austin, Texas]: My name is
11 Harry Aiken, from Austin Texas.

12 I operate restaurants in Austin and San Antonio.
13 I would like to say I have been very gratified to hear
14 the list read by the Attorney General and the large number
15 of Texas cities in which progress has been made in this regard.

16 I would like to say further as a result of the
17 meeting with the Attorney General and the rest of the group
18 last week that I was very much encouraged to hear him say and
19 to advocate voluntary action, and that this should be pursued
20 community by community.

 In reaction to this advice, I proceeded to call a
meeting in one of our restaurants back in Austin last Sunday
morning at 8:30. I invited in a number of the leadership
of restaurants and we had a very stimulating discussion.
The result of that was that I circulated a resolution which

1 I had offered a few moments before to the effect that we would
2 voluntarily and **immediately** desegregate our restaurants. The
3 result was, out of 23 restaurants represented, 17 signed the
4 resolution and further acted to call a meeting of the local
5 organization -- the Austin Chapter of the Texas Restaurant
6 Association -- this coming Friday afternoon at which we will
7 give the remaining number of restaurants in Austin an oppor-
8 tunity to add their names to this resolution. This is only by
9 way of a progress report.

10 I am very encouraged and I hope and think we will
11 be able to report considerable progress as a result of our
12 forthcoming meeting.

13 FROM THE FLOOR: I represent a large series of
14 variety chains. I share with Mr. Kirkwood the sentiments
15 of having made significant progress.

16 I would like to address myself to several points.
17 One is I think we very definitely need legislation; we require
18 it, and we urge it for some of the reasons you have indicated.

19 But I would like to stress another point which
20 stems from the moral question. The Supreme Court of the United
21 States made a decision ten days ago. It indicated that we no
22 longer could say that our action in discriminating was based
23 upon local customs or local law. We suddenly found ourselves
24 standing alone with our conscience because the indication was,
25 as Mr. Justice Harlan indicated in his dissent, we, private

1 industry, have the untrammelled choice if we so elect, he
2 believes, to discriminate in service, if we so elect.

3 I would like to suggest that we have to question this
4 moral point that it is our belief that our nation is not based,
5 and our businessmen included do not have a decision, based on
6 choice. I think that in this country the foundations of the
7 land were built around a positive philosophy. When the Con-
8 stitution was set up and we delivered to the Government the
9 peoples' rights, we reserved such rights. These were positive
10 rights. We are neutralists in this country. A positive
11 philosophy is found in the Declaration of Independence, and
12 it is on that that I feel we must make a decision. It is
13 found in the words that we hold to be true to be self-held
14 that all men are created equal, endowed with certain in-
15 alienable rights and the pursuit of happiness.

16 It seems to me we don't have a choice. I think
17 the time has come to recognize that the business community
18 has to make the only decision, which is the moral decision,
19 the positive decision.

20 Before coming here, Mr. President, it took a good
deal of soul-searching on my part, on the part of the
Corporation to consider this problem.

We know that you did not convene us to tell us
about your responsibility. Every editorial in the United
States is commenting on this problem. We did our own soul-

1 searching, and we feel in this country if we are to enjoy the
2 bounty of the land, and if you are part of the citizenship
3 of this country, you owe the moral responsibility of recog-
4 nizing that discrimination as to race, color or creed is just
5 not something that you have a choice about.

6 We have no choice, and I feel very strongly that
7 we must highly resolve to do this. The fact that it may
8 help us economically, too, as has been cited by others, is
9 fine, but the fact that it may not should not deter us from
10 action.

11 I certainly support your call for voluntary action
12 and I feel strongly that when this is brought back to our
13 company, we will address ourselves as we have in the past
14 with the other variety chains who have suffered in the target
15 or the bull's-eye to bring this reality to pass but also on
16 a moral ground.

17 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: Gentlemen, I want to say I
18 appreciate your coming here. We want to keep track of
19 the progress we are making. Do you have any suggestions?
20

21 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: I want to read the list
22 of the other cities. I read the list of cities where
23 progress has been made, where it is imminent, and we hope
24 in the next seven days, plus whatever other ones you can add.

25 Let me now read quickly the other cities which are
more difficult but where we hope action can be taken either

1 by formation of a bi-racial committee within those communities
 2 or where you can work with other businessmen and get them de-
 3 segregated.

4 Abilene, Texas

Jackson, Tennessee

5 Anderson, North Carolina

Lake City, Florida

6 Anderson, South Carolina

Little Rock, Arkansas

7 Anniston, Alabama

Lubbock, Texas

8 Auburn, Alabama

McAllen, Texas

9 Austin, Texas

Midland, Texas

10 Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Montgomery, Alabama

11 Beaumont, Texas

Paris, Texas

12 Biloxi, Mississippi

Pine Bluff, Arkansas

13 Brownsville, Texas

Plymouth, North Carolina

14 Brunswick, Georgia

Port Arthur, Texas

15 Cambridge, Maryland

Prichard, Alabama

16 Clearwater, Florida

Ripley, Tennessee

17 Columbus, Mississippi

Rock Hill, South Carolina

18 Decatur, Alabama

Spartansburg, South Carolina

19 Dothan, Alabama

St. Augustine, Florida

20 Edentown, North Carolina

St. Petersburg, Florida

21 Enfield, North Carolina

Sherman, Texas

22 Florence, South Carolina

Temple, Texas

23 Fort Myers, Florida

Tuscaloosa, Alabama

24 Gainesville, Georgia

Waco, Texas

25 Gallatin, Tennessee

Valdosta, Georgia

1 **Greenville, Mississippi**

Wichita Falls, Texas

2 **Hammond, Louisiana**

Wilson, North Carolina

3 **Hot Springs, Arkansas**

4 **Then, the cities where progress is unlikely at**
 5 **the present time:**

6 **Albany, Georgia**

Lumberton, Georgia

7 **Alexandria, Louisiana**

Meridian, Mississippi

8 **Brookhaven, Mississippi**

Monroe, Louisiana

9 **Clarksdale, Mississippi**

Moultrie, Georgia

10 **Florence, Alabama**

Natchez, Mississippi

11 **Forety City, Arkansas**

Newman, Georgia

12 **Gadsden, Alabama**

Opelika, Alabama

13 **Gainesville, Texas**

Rome, Georgia

14 **Greenwood, Mississippi**

Shreveport, Louisiana

15 **Griffin, Georgia**

Shelby, North Carolina

16 **Helena, Arkansas**

Statesville, North Carolina

17 **Jackson, Mississippi**

Sumpter, South Carolina

18 **Jonesboro, Arkansas**

Sylacanga, Alabama

19 **Lake Charles, Louisiana**

Talladega, Alabama

20 **Laurel, Mississippi**

Tyler, Texas

21 **Lumberton, North Carolina**

Waycross, Georgia

West Memphis, Arkansas

22 **I hope you will excuse some of my pronunciations--I**
 23 **am from Boston.**

1 Mr. President, if we could keep getting reports
2 from these first group of cities, and if you will let us
3 know in that first group that I read the action that has
4 been taken in the next seven days, it would be extremely
5 helpful. With the second and third group, it would also
6 be helpful if you could let us know within the next seven
7 days what you think can be done in those cities, with spe-
8 cific suggestions as to what action could be taken, who could
9 work with you in order to accomplish this, and whether you
10 think we could play any role.

11 The other point which is also extremely important
12 is the question of employment as well as desegregating these
13 facilities. We have to take some steps to bring along Negroes
14 as far as employment is concerned, whether it is the employ-
15 ment as far as clerks are concerned, or whether upgrading
16 some of the jobs that we hold at the present time. That is
17 also going to be a struggle and certainly some first steps
18 need to be taken in that area.

19 PRESIDENT KENNEDY: I was just going to say on the
20 employment that it is a real problem. For a number of
21 reasons, the Negro problem as a group exists because they
22 do not have comparable skills with the Whites--education and
23 all the rest have contributed to putting them in a position
24 where it is hard to compete. Out of 1500 Negroes who took
25 our basic Civil Service examination several months ago in the

1 South, only 80 passed; and, of the 80 that passed, 40 immedi-
2 ately applied to come up to Washington, D. C. That means
3 that they can't compete, and if they can't compete they are
4 not going to get jobs and there is not the need for those
5 people as there is now. We have to give some allowances for
6 the fact that they are not going to be quite as good, but at
7 least if we can get them working in these shops and in areas
8 of increasing responsibility, it is an effort.

9 The fact is we have not done our job here.

10 In Birmingham, Alabama, the Veterans' Administra-
11 tion and the Post Office have both done well, but the Post
12 Office had five Negro college graduates as letter carriers.
13 Many of the other governmental departments in many parts
14 of the country haven't given the Negroes the fair opportunities
15 that they deserve.

16 So I want to emphasize from the beginning that we
17 are not talking to anybody about what you ought to do. It
18 is a common problem that faces all of us regardless of the
19 sphere of our responsibility, and I think if we can open up
20 opportunities to them and put them to work, and put somebody
21 in charge to see what percentage of people are working on
22 these problems, to advance them even though they perhaps
23 might not in the beginning be able to compete as successfully
24 as some of the others, we can make a dent. There are three
25 times as many Negroes out of work as Whites. When you combine

1 all of the circumstances I have described, we could have a
2 very rough day.

3 I want to thank all of you. I think the fact that
4 you came here today is real evidence of your citizenship re-
5 sponsibility. We are asking you to do this on a voluntary
6 basis because this is a matter that hangs over all of us
7 whether we sit in the White House or whether we run a company.
8 The fact that you came from all parts of the country--North,
9 East, South and West--I think, makes us all very much indebted
10 to you.

11 ...Applause...

12
13 # # # # # # # #
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24