

DRAFT

White House Conference on Civil Rights - "To Fulfill These Rights"

Objectives of the Conference:

- (1) To explore in greater depth the problems set forth by the President in his Howard University commencement address concerning the remaining barriers to full participation by Negro Americans in our national life;
- (2) To seek the development of programs--both governmental and non-governmental--to remove these barriers; and
- (3) To seek the development of priorities relating to legislative and administrative action by the federal, state, and local governments and by concerned non-governmental groups and individuals.

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

sources of strength to carry on this new phase of civil rights activity, such as the Rotary, PTA, Kiwanis, etc.

Outline of the Conference:

Keynote: to reiterate the major theme of the President's Howard University address, i.e., despite the recent victories eliminating barriers to legal equality, there exists a widening gulf between the majority of Negroes and whites in such areas as housing, education, employment, health standards, etc.

Subject Areas:

- I. Rights To Be Achieved -
 - A. Equal Opportunity in Housing
 - 1. The consequences of community disparities
 - 2. Extending legal guarantees
 - 3. New approaches to equal opportunity in housing
 - B. Equal Opportunity in Education
 - 1. The consequences of racial imbalance
 - 2. Promoting desegregation in North and South
 - 3. Promoting of excellence in education
 - 4. New approaches to education: improving skills
 - C. Equal Opportunity in Employment
 - 1. Entry into trade unions
 - 2. Entry into professions
 - 3. Entry into business
 - 4. New approaches to employment: finding work

D. Equal Opportunity in Other Areas

1. Administration of justice
2. Administration of Title VI
3. Voting, public accommodations, etc.
4. Finance - business and home loans, etc.

II. Rights To Be Fulfilled -

A. The Widening Gulf

1. Income and employment
2. Education
3. Social isolation
4. Crime and delinquency

B. The Problem of the Negro Family

1. Family solidarity and education
2. Family solidarity and welfare
3. Family solidarity and employment
4. Family solidarity and delinquency
5. Family solidarity and housing
6. Family solidarity and health care

Next Steps in Organizing the Conference:

1. Appointment of co-chairman and selection of conference director.
2. Appointment of citizens advisory committee.
3. Consultation with other federal agencies with legitimate interest in conference.

4. Appointment of section chairmen and section task forces.
5. Recruitment of administrative staff.
6. Preparation of invitation list.
7. Assignment and preparation of research materials.
8. Development of promotional devices for the conference material and subsequent to the conference.

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"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS" WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

I. Tentative dates:

--between October 14-21, 1965, in Washington, D.C.

II. Objectives:

--To demonstrate progress already achieved to insure rights for all Americans regardless of race, color or creed;

--To define nature and extent of continuing deprivations;

~~⊗~~ To propose courses of action to remedy these deprivations; and

--To demonstrate contributions of minority citizens in building this nation and potential for greater contributions in fashioning the Great Society.

III. Conference Organization:

A. Planning and Advisory Committee--convene within the next 20 days a Conference Planning and Advisory Committee to determine precise nature of Conference Panels, Panel chairmen and membership, conference participants, and format of presentation.

B. Conference Panel Task Forces--Planning and Advisory Committee would appoint task forces to begin preparation of material for use by panels and to draft recommendations for action. Material would be circulated for comment and revision prior to conference.

C. Conference to be attended by representatives of principal Negro and other minority group organizations, social service and religious organizations, human rights organizations, the professions, business and industry, labor, education, national, state, and local governments, the arts and culture, private citizens.

D. Note as to format--consider possibilities of preparing visual materials and presentations that dramatize nature of task facing country in assisting the Negro to achieve full economic, political and social parity. These materials would then be available for use by other service and community groups, human relations committees, etc. The objective would be to replace standard, unimaginative, dull format of most conferences with one capable of telling the Negro's story to the white majority.

E. Possible members of Planning and Advisory Committee-- Jim Nabrit as chairman; Burke Marshall; Les Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; Stanley Lowell, New York City; Ralph McGill, Atlanta; Matthew Ahmann, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Robert W. Spike, Commission on Religion and Race; John Morsil, NAACP; Sterling Tucker, Urban League; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; John Wheeler, Durham, N.C.; Harold Flemming, Potomac Institute; Kenneth Clark, CCNY.

IV. Conference Panels:

A. To Fulfill Legal Rights--

1. Voting--remaining barriers to full franchise which must be overcome.
2. Education--progress in school desegregation in North and South--special problems, e.g., Negro teachers, impact on Negro students, techniques for meaningful desegregation, etc.
3. Public accommodations and facilities--impact of '64 act, remaining barriers.
4. Government programs and services--implementation of Title VI, similar actions by State and local governments, remaining problems.
5. Administration of Justice--activities of Federal, State and district courts, right to counsel, etc.

B. To Fulfill Economic Rights--

1. Employment--both discrimination and opportunity, the problem of finding the qualified Negro, areas of recent progress and continuing difficulty.
2. Finance--discrimination against Negro borrowers, businessmen seeking loans, home mortgages, etc., examination of steps needed to secure parity in market place.
3. Education--the importance of education in securing meaningful and sustained employment, impact of recent Federal, State and local programs, new proposals.

C. To Fulfill Personal and Family Rights--

1. Equal opportunity in housing (possible time to announce action regarding FDIC, Savings and Loans, etc.), extent of housing shortage, proposals to combat shortage, etc., the integrated neighborhood, problems and prospects.
2. Health care--standards of health care available in Negro homes, status of the Negro physician.

3. Legal services--availability of legal processes for Negro.
4. Social services and family planning--the remedial services necessary to rebuild viability of Negro family life--recent advances in the field--relationship to availability of education, housing, health services, legal services.
5. Participation of Negroes in community organizations, churches, etc.

D. To Fulfill the Promise of Emancipation--Contributions to the Great Society--

1. Negro history in America--the contributions of Negroes to building this Republic, pre-revolutionary to present day. (Perhaps a dramatic presentation on Negro history would be effective.)
2. Negro and the arts and culture--the important contribution of the Negro to cultural and artistic life of America, to include performances of outstanding Negro writers, musicians, artists, poets, etc. in collaboration with white colleagues.
3. The price of prejudice and discrimination--economic and other costs.
4. A look ahead--the potential contribution of a race operating fully within the economic and social mainstream of America.

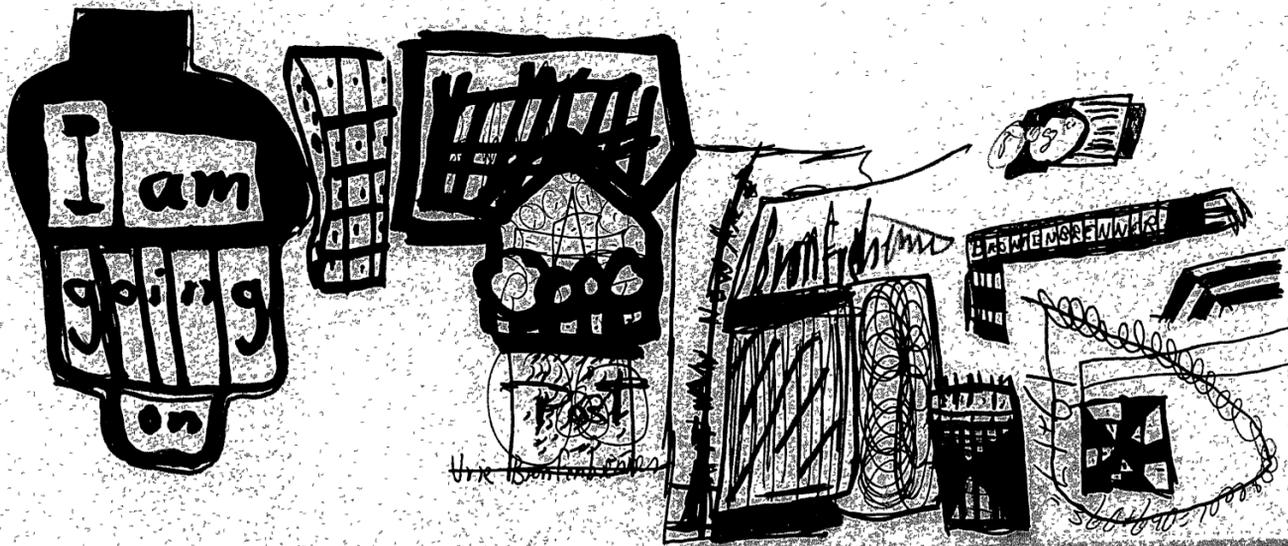
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
President's Council on Equal Opportunity
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 8, 1965

SCHEDULE OF PREPARATORY MEETINGS
FOR THE FALL WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(All meetings listed below will be held in the Conference Room next to Lee White's office on the 2nd floor of the White House. Use the Southwest Gate to enter the White House.)

- ✓ 10 am, Thursday, July 8 -- Professor Robert Coles, Harvard
- ✓ 2 pm, Friday, July 9 -- Professor Kenneth Clark, City College
- ✓ 2:30 pm, Tuesday, July 13 -- Mr. Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights
- 11 am, Wednesday, July 14 -- Professor Erik Erikson, Harvard
- 2:30 pm, Wednesday, July 14 -- Professor Talcott Parsons, Harvard
- 10 am, Thursday, July 15 -- Mr. Mathew Ahmann, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
- 3 pm, Monday, July 19 -- Professor Tom Pettigrew, Harvard
- 2 pm, Thursday, July 22 -- Professor Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell



SPONTANEOUS ASSISTANCE CO-OPERATIVE AND OR INITIATIVE PROGRAM
FOR THE CARE OF THE MENTALLY ILL AND ALIEN FOLKS

This program is designed to rehabilitate and assist recipients of various kinds of funds and also to serve as a procedure to keep their children from falling into the same rut.

It should always be inter-racial.

Instead of subsidizing the recipients of relief funds in their present environment, which breeds the viciousness, which cannot lead to be an education in the first place, will actually contribute to the cause of actually putting their children on relief, we would establish a complete settlement near the larger cities, or apartments and private houses where some of these chronic cases could be in the proper environment and under proper supervision, also, etc. We would build their facilities to a point where they would be able to establish their own homes in their respective communities.

Instead of the relief funds being paid directly to them by City, County, State and Federal Agencies, such funds would pass through the Rehabilitation Project, as reported to their credit and applied to help subsidize the cost of their upkeep, etc.

A portion of these funds would be given to them, to permit them to purchase food and other common necessities, in order to develop a sense of responsibility of household and money management.

A model of such community, under the sponsorship of the Loyal Order Of Moose exists in Spoonheart, Illinois, for orphans and widows of members of the organization. A study of this Community would greatly aid in the setting up of these settlements.

Government aid and supervision is needed to initiate these settlements as Negro organizations do not have the finance, initiative or the desire to develop such projects.

However, a large part of the cost can be obtained from such organizations.

page two

as women's organizations, fraternal organizations, Business and Professional Organizations, Church and religious organizations, private philanthropy, foundations, etc.

These organizations could contribute the cost of a building and have the building placed in the organization. Individuals could contribute buildings to be named for their husbands, wives, children or other relatives as a memorial.

Finally local organizations could likewise contribute funds for the furnishing of certain buildings and other facilities for play grounds, day nurseries, libraries, etc.

The purpose of the Department Project would be eventually to turn them completely over to a non-profit organization broadly based on members representing these various such organizations and governed and supported by private donations.

However, only the Government could immediately initiate and finance the pilot rehabilitation projects:

Public Stations, Drug Stores, Beauty Stores, Beauty Shops, Barber Shops, Snack Bars, etc., and other such business enterprises found in any community could be leased to private operators with the proviso that residents of the Community would be employed to the fullest extent and that such residents would be trained in the conduct and operation of such enterprises to more fully equip them with such skills and knowledge necessary to make a living when they returned to their respective communities.

As many of the residents of the Projects would be employed within the Community and those with employable skills could be aided in obtaining jobs in nearby cities, returning home every night.

Possibly in the early stages day nurseries and elementary school would be set-up in the project, particularly the first three grades, and child-

page three

children would be transported to the nearest school, at their guide.

Each family unit would be a separate and distinct unit, to nearly as, possible normal family life. They would purchase and prepare their own meals, purchase their own clothing, retain their personal insurance etc. Those having adequate furniture, would be permitted and even encouraged to bring it to their home in the project. If they do not have furniture meeting minimum standards they would be permitted to purchase and own their own furniture and take it with them when they left the project, giving them a sense of pride of ownership.

Adult and evening schools would be set-up on the project for the training of adults and young people. Vocational shops would be set-up to teach youngsters a new skill as well as adults. A community church (non-denominational) would be set-up on residents could attend the church of their choice in nearby cities.

Adequate recreational facilities for adults and young people would be built with a well rounded program, to keep all residents occupied in constructive pursuits.

The residential pattern should include both multiple dwellings and private cottages. The residency of the cottages would be awarded on a basis of merit, to help motivate the residents to self-improvement, since a private house among all sociological levels is a status symbol, residents would have to meet certain standards to merit a private house and would have to maintain certain standards to keep a private dwelling. This would help to encourage and maintain certain standards which they would necessarily have to have to become good citizens both in the Project and when they returned to the outside.

It would be properly understood that this Project was not necessarily for the rest of their lives, some would stay for longer periods than others, depending upon their conditions, and upon the ages of their children.

page four

I will not bother with the innumerable details, I am only interested in providing the broad idea of such a project, so that the millions and millions of dollars in various relief funds from different levels of government might be used to effect permanent cures and preventative measures, rather than temporary relief.

It is not possible to give the type of supervision to relief recipients as in the past, in order that any program of rehabilitation can be effective. These rehabilitation projects will be contributing to the 'manufacturing' of constructive citizens who may again take their place in their communities with at least an even chance for survival, such chance they possibly never had before.

Another tremendous advantage of these rehabilitation projects would be that both paid and voluntary Social Workers would do a much more effective job with a minimal time and expense.

This is just one concrete example of projects I have in mind to help make possible the realization of "The Great Society", and at a minimum cost.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

We quote from the book, 'THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE NEGRO', published in 1940 by Wendell Hallier and Company and authored by the late A. S. Stuart, former economist on the American Negro and at the time of his death Vice-President of the Universal Life Insurance Company of Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Stuart was one of the giants and pioneers in the development of the economic structure of the Negro of his era spending his life in fraternal organizations, which laid the groundwork for the Negro economy, banks and insurance companies.

"Today the Negro Insurance Companies and their affiliated financial institutions represent the bulk of the economic resources of the Negro. Quote: "The status of the Negro race in America, since its emancipation in 1865, has been uncertain and queer. The race has been the subject of many theories and is kind of 'guinea pig' for sociologists, politicians and statesmen.

But, strangely, none of these, in their various printed and oral expressions, has emphasized the necessity of preparation and assistance for the Negro's commercial advancement.

Enormous amounts in philanthropy have been expended, numerous volumes have been written and tremendous efforts made to improve other phases of Negro life, but little has been said or done to encourage the development of business enterprises and the cultivation of commercial talents.

Educational institutions for Negroes, both those supported by state governments and by private endowments, have placed least emphasis upon preparation for business. Only in recent years have the colleges and universities for Negroes established commercial departments properly equipped for training in this field.

The limited success which colored people have achieved in commerce has been the result either of native ability or of some lucky combination of circumstances; and the enterprises thus organized and operated receive far less attention even in Negro newspapers and magazine articles, and from Negro authors, than less material though more spectacular accomplishments.

No attempt will here be made to assign the causes for this strange neglect. Suffice it to say that in some way the Negro must be considered in the economic pattern of the nation. His presence on the scene puts him in the picture. Whether he finally contributes to the strength of the fabric or proves merely a weak spot in the structure is not only the Negro's problem, but the problem of every American truly interested in the national welfare." (Unquote)

page two

1. The Church in and of the focal points of Negro influence, properly trained and indoctrinated Ministry can be of great service in helping the Negro to lift himself out of the Economic Morass he finds himself ensnared.
 - a. Subsidize current Negro ministerial students in a Special Course in Group Economics, Organization of Credit Unions, Co-operatives encourage and inform Negroes of the potential and possibilities of Small Business Enterprises, and encourage the youth to major in business courses in college.
 - b. Subsidize Ministers in established Churches to take this Special Course, so they might carry the message of Group Economic Development.
 - c. Subsidize the graduates of this course so that they might work with various Churches in various communities and indoctrinate other Ministers and laymen.
 - d. Hold Seminars on Business, inviting local business men to address both the adult members of the Church and the Youth groups.
 - e. Special emphasis would include the area of Vocational education to encourage the enrollment of Youth in Vocational Courses in High School and College.
2. Other efforts and programs directed toward Negro problems will come to naught unless a very strong emphasis is placed on Programs for the Economic Development of the Negro as a Group, as a Community and as Individuals.
 - a. To this end there should be set up under Government Sponsorship a Council For The Economic Development Of The Negro.
 - b. This Council should be inter-racial in membership consisting principally of those whose interest and experience lie in business and Vocational Occupations.
 - c. This Council would design, initiate, develop and supervise programs leading to the Economic Development of the total Negro Community on all levels.
 - d. This Council should in addition to serving as a broad Advisory Council have paid staff members and organized on national, regional state and local levels, with corresponding voluntary economic Councils on each level.
 - e. It should by all means include Negro Business Men, on all levels

Page three

to give them an equal status in the Negro community, now enjoyed only by the 'white collar professional job holders'.

One vitally important program which should be brought to the attention of all Negro leaders in such a research conference would consist of studies of other ethnic group communities in the U.S. in the various cities to show how they used 'Group Economics' to lift themselves by their bootstraps into the position of a higher class.

How they maintained the strength and solidarity of their communities by remaining together in a tight knit unit, building their communities socially, economically, politically and educationally. How their leaders remained in the physical confines of the communities, in close personal contact with the masses of their people.

Actually, to a large degree, solutions to many of the problems besetting the Negro can be found in the format of any ethnic group community. Before any ethnic group can gain respect from the total community, they must first stick together to build their own complete community complex, not seek to escape from it.

Only the Negro, of all ethnic groups in America, takes what little economic strength he does have and dissipates it in other communities.

Other ethnic groups not only keep their own economic strength within their own community, they also benefit from others coming into their community to spend money for goods and services, but go into other communities to open business establishments and further enrich their own community by bringing back the resources of such endeavors to their own community.

Possibly the most recent and vivid example of an ethnic group literally taking over an established and thriving city is the Cuban Refugees in Miami, who in a short period of five years, largely subsidized by the U.S. Government, completely dominate a large part of the physical and economic

page four

life of the Negro.

The Negro leadership must be told in brutally frank words, that to survive in the 'dog eat dog' world of 'this country', they must face a total evaluation of their program and make drastic changes in and additions to their aims and objectives.

This is hard, this is brutal, but if the current subsidized leadership will be ordered to quit, their precious egos will be injured, but this is very insignificant in comparison to what has already happened in Harlem, Rochester, Brooklyn, Philadelphia and other Negro communities in the long hot summer of 1964, more of which certainly lies ahead.

Only the influence of the Government and the President can bring to bear such a program of enlightenment.

This is the fourth chance for the Negro to get in step with the American concept of a free enterprise economic system, this is the fourth opportunity for the American Negro to 'help himself', few if any other ethnic groups have had, or for that matter, needed that many chances and it is very doubtful if the Negro will have a fifth opportunity.

All programs designed to 'help' the Negro are designed for and focused upon attempts to alleviate the social and educational ills of the Negro. None are directly designed to cure the cause of these ills, which stem from 'economic disorders'.

For every Negro who is temporarily aided in his social and educational ills, a thousand falls into the same sociological and educational pit, because of his economic afflictions..

Even those helped by sociological and educational 'crutches', are rarely able to walk alone, once the 'crutches' are taken away.

Only a strong program of economic development and vocational education can provide a solid base for the Negro to become self-sufficient in a

page five

Produce Economic Oriented Society and help the Negro become a
"justified partner in the nation's economic life".

Quote from 'Economic Detour', by A. J. Stuart, published in 1940:

"The economic crisis is neither fluctuating nor receding. This spending
away from itself; spending "across the river"; this constant economic
drain will surely, and soon, reduce on the decrepitude of this nation a
ravage, self-dependent, disease-spreading, demoralizing, humiliating
unit of the population in a slight time will see the whole picture of
Democracy."

The prophetic wisdom of A. J. Stuart is evident in three of the solutions
he proposed, which have come to a very high degree:

Quote: -- Three solutions, all admittedly fraught with complicated dif-
ficulties, appear, nevertheless, to be feasible. They are:

1. Unconditional government supervision and power over private enterprises
to compel the employment of Negroes by those industries that accept
Negro patronage from Negroes.
2. Give back to Negro business the accumulated assets that Negro patron-
age has produced in white business. This might be done, at first, in the
form of subsidiaries. Certainly the Negro assets in the big life in-
surance companies that have insured Negroes can, in most companies be
identified and turned over to Negro branches under Negro personnel
and white auspices.
3. Legal authority by which the Federal Government could subsidize Negro
business and give to it proper financial support for adequate ex-
pansion and development. (end of quote)

SOCIOLOGICAL IMPACT ON NEGRO HARLEM COMMUNITIES CAUSED BY
MIGRATION OF NEGROES INTO INTEGRATED SUBURBS

Negro Leaders Migrate To Integrated Suburbs -- Negro Masses Remain In
Central City -- Leaving Old Established Leadership Vacuum -- Leadership
Exodus Denies Mass Negro Communities Intellectual, Cultural, and Economic
Fertilizer. ----

Take Harlem For Instance ----

In the 20's the late Carl Van Vechten wrote a best seller, 'Nigger Heaven'
which was about the social, cultural and cafe society life in Harlem.

In the late 20's an all-Negro cast starring Bill 'Bojangles' Robinson
renowned entertainer and 'The Mayor of Harlem' titled "Harlem Is Heaven".

In the 20's and 30's, Harlem was to the Negro in America as the Holy
City of Mecca was to the Moslem. The cream of the creative talent of
Negro America was centered in Harlem, Theatrical, Cultural, Literary, Finan-
cial and Social, this set stayed in Harlem, worked in Harlem, lived in Har-
lem and worshipped in Harlem.

Smaller social gatherings were centered about the well kept and elab-
orately decorated apartments on St. Nicholas, Seventh and upper avenues
and on 'Sugar Hill' and in the most crick private homes in 'Strivers
Row'. Larger social events were centered around the Savoy Ballroom, the
Renaissance Casino, The Rockland Palace, The Golden Gate and other less
popular ballrooms in Harlem.

Cafe Society centered around the many Clubs Bars, and speakeasies as
Small's Paradise, Monroe's Uptown House, The Caravan Club, the Turf Club
Fat Man's, Mike's, Yeah Man, Red Rooster, 4th Hambr. Grill, Big John's etc.

Famous dining places of the era was Baron's, Table, Zelenick's, Little
Grey Shoppe, The World Chinese Restaurant, The Blackbird Cafe to name a
few.

The Cotton Club, Connie's Inn, later the Ubangi Club were strictly for
the ofays from downtown. Harlemites were not concerned about being barred
out of these Clubs - because each and everyone realized that this fresh
ofay money, nightly, kept many a household going and everybody got a piece
of the action.

Cab drivers, Flower Sellers, carwatchers, shine boys, kids dancing in the
streets in front of these Clubs, high class call girls and street walking
prostitutes and their pimps and then the aristocrats of Harlem Night
Life, the Entertainers and Musicians made fabulous salaries and gained
national fame via radio network programs emanating from these spots.

page two

Ordinary people get their share of the largesse brought to Harlem by the patrons of these Clubs as waiters, doorman, washroom attendants, cooks, and even janitors.

Just even then Harlem had its pockets of poverty and crime, its dope addicts and sinos, but then there were only pockets, not the entire community.

The best, the worst and all the shades in between were all available in the confines of Harlem, just like any other city. Just by moving a few blocks one could lift oneself out of the ghetto into Striver's Row, Sugar Hill, St. Michaels Ave. Suburban Apartments and other neighborhoods which were then just as respectable and desirable as Leasedale White Plains, Long Island or anywhere else now.

The point is that the leaders in every field were easily accessible to the masses, every day, kids growing up in Harlem, came in contact with this leadership group who could by their very presence give inspiration to others. Then there were every day and night in Harlem the successful and bold as the failures -- now as fast as one becomes successful they move out of Harlem, leaving only the failures and those who are dreaming of the day when they too can move out. The goal of every Harlemite in these halcyon days was a house on Striver's Row or an apartment on Sugar Hill. There was a pride of Negroes, just to be in Harlem as exemplified by the popular quotation of the day, "I'd Rather Be a Lamppost In Harlem, Than The Mayor Of Any Other City". They meant it too.

The Negro Leadership as well as the white power structure must face these facts:

1. There will ALWAYS be a large solidly packed all-Negro Community in every urban area with an appreciable Negro population.
2. The large masses of the Negro will always seek a common residential no matter where a Negro moves short of \$ 50,000 and up, other Negroes will soon follow to the extent of their financial capability and another smaller Negro Community will be created.
3. In the Community, left behind so to speak, there will naturally arise local leadership from these masses and 'Absentee' leadership will no longer have any influence with the masses - even when they are supported by the white power structure - they can only lead each other - they will have no numerical strength in their followers. They will become Chiefs of Staff without an Army.
4. It creates an unfortunate and potentially dangerous situation to have

page three

all of the potential leadership, the talents, the ambitions, the culture, the knowledge and the wealth of the Negro race geographically separated from the masses - dangerously reacting or cutting off all-together personal and frequent communication.

5. If the potential leadership cut off from the masses, the white power structure will no longer support them, they too will become isolated, without status and fat dispensers of patronage and will become a neglected frustrated group of individuals, providing only a few jobs.
6. In the meantime the leadership which has sprung from the masses will take over, the direction they take will depend directly upon the amount of recognition and support given them by the white power structure -- and how soon.
7. If they are given proper recognition, support and patronage and in time, they will follow a moderate course -- if they have to fight all forces for this recognition, then they will pick their own method, their own course -- of their own terms, which by nature will be harsh. Such fight for recognition of this 'low' group of leadership is going on now, here and there and will continue, resulting in the conditions of the 'low' in summer of 1954'. Absentee Leadership along with Absentee Landlords and Absentee Proprietors contribute to the 'low' direction of Negro Communities.
8. Yet in spite of all these so very obvious signs, the white and Negro power structure are going their merry way, even tightening the noose about the neck of the Negro masses and their leaders with continued and increasing disastrous results.
9. The migration of upper and middle class Negro to previously all-white neighborhoods is playing havoc with the economic structure of the Negro communities. As more are already established business places solidly all-white cater to serve those areas the possibility of the Negro businessman following his customers are practically nil. How can a Cleaner move his business out with them, when there are already established Cleaners and for the most part better equipped, this goes for all small neighborhood business places, Pharmacies, Laundry Stores, Record Shops, Restaurants, Grocers, Bars, and Package Stores, Night Clubs and the whole structure of neighborhood business.
10. Only the Negro Barber, Beautician and Undertaker can successfully follow his customers, because of the 'peculiar' nature of the services

page four

rendered their white counterparts ill pleased, but out as they have no desire to serve Negroes in these fields.

11. The Negro Professional man suffers most, oddly enough it was and is the lawyers of this group, who because of their larger incomes are the first to move. So doctors, dentists and lawyers lose their clients as they must still practice and locate their offices in the same white communities, but their best paying clients and patients, while their neighbors, prefer to seek their professional services close to home and patronize the white professionals in their 'new' neighborhoods.
12. In the meantime younger and still struggling Negro professionals open offices and firms in the main Negro community and attract clients mainly because they live in the neighborhood and the 'absentee' professional finds he has lost many of his clients because of migration, he himself emigrated. If he isn't very wealthy he will soon find himself making the trek in reverse, looking for a cheap apartment with a view of the front room, back where he started, only without the potential view and hope, he will become a bitter disillusioned old man and find the road upward harder if not impossible.
13. This leadership group representing the professions of teaching, school principals, high school and elementary school principal, ministers, social workers, doctors, and lawyers to the exclusion of business men, completely dominate the thinking and programming for the Negro community. Aided and abetted by the white power structure on every level, ~~XXXXXX~~ this entrenched leadership committed 'Economic Genocide' on the Negro masses and the Negro Community.

The large masses of the Negroes residing in Central City are fast becoming 'Internal Colonies', governed by 'absentee' leadership and economically exploited by 'absentee' proprietors and landlords.

Since these 'absentees' do not live in these mass residential areas they contribute nothing to the growth, advancement and development of these areas.

They drain the economic resources from these communities and put nothing back. The Negro leadership, whose economic, social and political standing are based on their alleged leadership of the Negro masses, with whom they have little or no personal contact.

At a distance they bemoan the conditions of these 'Negro Ghettos'

Page 605

and characteristically blame everyone but themselves.

No Community, especially such a Community composed of nearly identical ethnic groups, can afford to lose from itself its intellectual, professional, social and economic leadership and expect to survive above the level of peasantry.

No other ethnic group does this except the Negro. The Italian, the Jew, the French, the Slavic groups, the Japanese, the Chinese, the Cuban and the Hindi-speaking groups all remain in their respective communities engaged in commerce in their communities and further enriching their communities by engaging in commerce outside of their community and further building such business institutions, fine restaurants etc. to bring fresh money daily into the community, providing employment for many members of the community.

Unless drastic and immediate measures are taken into consideration to avert a crisis 'Economic imbalance' of the solid Negro Communities there will develop 'Urban Reservations' and the masses of the Negro will find themselves packed in City, County, State and Government Agencies similar to the American Indian, with notable exceptions.

- a. 50 to 75 million are far too many to hold in out of the way places.
- b. It will take more than the current law enforcing agencies and armed forces to contain them in these 'Urban Reservations'.
- c. These 'Urban Reservations' will fester, erupt and burst and become rioting zones, eventually contaminating the entire social structure of America.

COMMENTS ON A RECENT NEWSPAPER ARTICLE BY MARY MCGRORY

" LBJ CALLS CIVIL RIGHTS BENT SLEEP "

Possible Questions To Be Discussed

1. Whether The Negro has suffered mainly from being poor or being dark-skinned ?

ANSWER : Both, all poor people suffer, regardless of race, but the Negro suffers the added disadvantage of being easily identified because of color. The color identification is by far the greater disadvantage as proven by the many Negroes who were light enough to 'pass', who have improved their lot greatly, economically, socially, educationally and politically and have been absorbed into the mainstream of American life, which is of course denied his identifiable Negro brother and sister.

2. Whether he can be helped by the general raising of the standard of life in America or must be helped in a special way because of the demoralizing effects of Slavery ?

ANSWER : The established practice of "Last to be hired" - First to be fired", will play a great part in American life in spite of legislation to the contrary; so the Negro along with other Americans will suffer any decrease in the standard of living, and of course as in the past the Negro will suffer first and longer. However, certainly because of the social stigma of slavery and its resultant disadvantages, the Negro must by all means must be helped in many special ways in order that he might narrow the gap and at the same time try to keep up with natural progress.

3. "They are looking into the whole question of public welfare as a destructive force in Negro family life. As currently constituted welfare laws favor the household without a man. How can they be changed to help poor families without making them totally dependent on public aid?"

ANSWER: Certainly the Negro family eligible for welfare funds should not be penalized if there is a husband and father in the household. Many welfare families would eventually pull themselves out of the rut, if the husband and father could be helped to get employment with sufficient compensation to take care of his family.

In cases where there is no husband and father, welfare laws would cover as they do now, only greater effort should be made for possible employment of mother and special attention should be given the children to prevent them from falling in the same rut.

page two

4. "How can Negroes be induced to form adoption societies and take orphans into their homes?"

ANSWER: There is a very great increase of higher income group among Negroes adopting such orphans, perhaps this can be increased and probably will since it has now become a 'status factor' to adopt children.

5. "Why are young sociologists if the high illegitimacy and crime rates are comparable to those of immigrants in finding their way in a new and hostile environment."

ANSWER: -- ILLEGITIMACY -- Illegitimacy was a way of life for the Negro for 250 years during Slavery when the Negro was a chattel and had no instrument of protest. From the Aristocracy down to the Field Worker, vented his whims on the Negro woman and millions of illegitimate children were born of these relationships.

Physical emancipation did not stop this practice, for the Southern aristocrats did not desist but merely built his 'colored' family a house in 'colored town' and woe to the Negro male who cast a covetous eye in that direction. The custom though somewhat diminished, is still widely practiced in small southern towns and rural areas and any Negro stranger had best have a local Negro guide before he speaks to Negro women, if he values his life.

During Slavery, with few exceptions, the relationship of the Negro man and woman was of necessity clandestine and since they could not marry by law, such offspring was naturally illegitimate. Even after physical emancipation, such relationships remained clandestine --- if any white man in the community had desires on the women.

So after 250 years of forced illegitimacy, not only condoned by Law but sheltered by custom and tradition of the Southern Aristocracy why should the Negro woman look with alarm on this practice all of a sudden. Since she has borne illegitimate children for white men for 250 years, why not bear illegitimate children for Negro men? Illegitimacy, like other social ills is in direct proportion to the incidence of poverty.

Immigrant groups came to America with already established strong family ties, if they left wives and children abroad, their first goal was to send for them, so the men had little time or inclination to for illicit relationships.

Among the immigrant groups, the male population always exceeded the females, thus creating a demand for wives among the unattached and

page three

diminishing the need for the women to have illicit relationships. The younger among immigrant groups were on great demand as wives.

CRIME

ANSWER: This is the most ambiguous charge, easily manipulated by statistics. No Negroes can hold a candle in crime to immigrant groups or native white groups either.

No Negro can approach the Arnold Rothsteins, the Dutch Schultzes, the Al Japones, 'Lucky' Luciano, Frank Costello or Albert Anastasia, the Alvin Karpis, the Purple Gang of Detroit, J. Edgar Hoover, Maxey Gordon, 'Baby Face' Nelson, 'Machine Gun' Kelly, Floyd Dillinger, etc. Sure the Negro commits crimes, gambling in the streets, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, "Resisting An Officer", fatal arguments on the spot, usually over women or money, domestic fights, mugging, burglary robbing juke boxes, stealing automobile accessories, rape, murder. Many crimes committed by Negroes are common with the incidence of poverty. Any white criminal of the ilk of Samuel Insull, Albert Fall 'Get rich quick' Ponzi or Billy Sol Estes has stolen more money than all of the Negroes put together for 350 years.

6. "They are probing the question of a people with a tradition that is barely five years old. Negro community self-respect began with the civil rights movement, in which Negro men, for the first time in their tragic history in America, came into their own."

ANSWER: -- The writer erred in stating that the Civil Rights Movement began five years ago. The Civil Rights Movement began from the very inception of the institution of Slavery.

The Civil Rights Movement continued from the time of physical emancipation, right up to today and will continue throughout eternity, if necessary. Has she not heard of the NAACP, which was chartered 55 years ago. Evidently the writer does not equate the Slave Revolts and the Abolitionist Movement with Civil Rights, or Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, John Russman, or even Fredrick Douglass. Actually the writer is in exact reverse, the Negro's pride in his community diminished in recent years with the migration of the Intellectual, Social, Professional and Economic Leadership from the Negro Community to integrated suburbs.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
President's Council on Equal Opportunity
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 17, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Lee White
FROM : Dave Filvaroff
RE: Executive Order Abolishing President's
Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

In preparing the draft of the Presidential statement for use in connection with the Executive Order abolishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, we inadvertently omitted any reference to the Labor Advisory Council to the Committee. This is the union counterpart to Plans for Progress; Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO is concerned that some mention be made of it by the President, although the group has not been terribly active and pales somewhat in comparison to the Plans for Progress operation.

Perhaps the easiest way to handle this would be to add a brief paragraph at the bottom of page 5, after the discussion of Plans for Progress. Something like the following could be used:

"Similarly, the Labor Advisory Council to the President's Committee has been active in securing union cooperation and support in seeking to achieve true equal opportunity in employment. This Council will be continued as an adviser on equal opportunity matters to the Federal Government."

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
President's Council on Equal Opportunity
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 9, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Task Force for Civil Rights Conference

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

I am enclosing a memorandum which I have received from Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in response to my inquiry to him requesting suggestions for the Fall Conference. I thought you would find his remarks to be of interest.

PHIL WHELLER, PRESIDENT
WILEY A. BRANTON, VICE PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WELLS, VICE PRESIDENT
JAMES G. GILBERT, VICE PRESIDENT
STEFEN S. WRIGHT, VICE PRESIDENT
WALTER M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JAMES H. HARRIS, JR., VICE
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Jackson 2-8764

MEMORANDUM

August 5, 1965

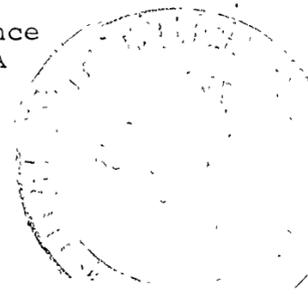
To: Wiley A. Branton
President's Council on Equal Opportunity

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Re: The Planned White House Conference on
Civil Rights.

Obviously, the planners of the conference must first of all decide what they want the conference to accomplish. As one who is skeptical that conferences accomplish much, at least through their formal programs, I am not in a good position to advise on purpose. Some alternatives, however, can be mentioned:

- (1) Is the purpose to draw national attention to civil rights? A conference is hardly needed.
- (2) Is the purpose to manifest high-level concern for civil rights? This has already been made clear, but can be beneficially repeated.
- (3) Is the purpose to educate the country? Not feasible.
- (4) Is the purpose to clarify and advance the thinking of involved people? A



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Mr. Wiley A. Branton - 2.
Memorandum
August 5, 1965

conference can be of some useful help if well planned and organized.

- (5) Is the purpose to provide a platform for great speeches by civil rights leaders and governmental leaders? I hope not.

In short, Purposes 1, 3, and 5 seem to me to have no value or attraction. As I see it, the conference should attempt to achieve Purpose 4, and as a by-product Purpose 2. It remains at this point for me only to emphasize that by "involved persons" I do not mean simply people within the civil rights movement, but all those people who have some responsibility for decisions.

I think it will be important for the planners of the conference to avoid certain pitfalls. The conference should not be devoted to recounting how bad the situation is; the government already has an agency (Commission on Civil Rights) to do this. Nor should the conference be devoted to progress reports.

These two caveats lead to another caution and suggestion. I think the people invited to the conference should be persons who do not need either a report on how bad or how progressive things are, because they should be the kind of people who already know this. In short, my suggestion would be that the invitees be knowledgeable, involved people exclusively. I suspect there may be (there usually is) a feeling among the planners, or some of them, that the conference should be used to bring in some important persons who have avoided involvement as a means of getting them involved. I hope this tendency will be resisted for two reasons:

- (a) it has seldom, if ever, worked;
- (b) having such persons present in any number will require a different kind of program

On the other hand, by having involved people the risk is that you get people who want a platform, and the planners of the conference should guard against allowing anyone to use the conference in

Mr. Wiley A. Branton - 3.
Memorandum
August 5, 1965

this way. But the temptation to do so is proportionately lessened when the other conferees are all involved people themselves.

You asked me to comment on who should do the planning, and who should run the conference. I think government people are the answer to both questions. To farm out the planning of the conference to academicians or to foundation people is, more expectably than not, to get a less disinterested approach than you will if the planning is done by government staff. I would think also that someone such as the Vice President should chair the conference.

I have already said that involved, knowledgeable people should be the invitees. Specifically, I would suggest that the following groups be considered:

- (a) First and second echelon staff of all the federal agencies and offices with direct responsibility for civil rights. These people should be invited as participants, not as ushers, receptionists, etc. For example, you, Bill Taylor, Francis Keppell, John Doar, Calvin Kytte, Franklin Roosevelt, etc. should be there as full time participants in the conference, and not managing it; you have clerks to do that. (Nor do I think you should be making speeches. None of you really have much to say; you can only give position papers. Government speeches, if any, should come from the President and/or Vice President.)
- (b) First and second echelon staff of the leading civil rights groups; for example, I would say that Clarence Mitchell and John Morsell as well as Roy Wilkins should be invited, and perhaps also one of the lay leaders of the NAACP. I would suggest further that the invitations clearly indicate that a person was being invited, and that agencies be forbidden to send representatives other than the specific person.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton - 4.
Memorandum
August 5, 1965

- (c) The state and local FEPC's and human rights commissions should be represented by perhaps one person each.
- (d) The private human relations agencies should be the responsibility of one very knowledgeable person on the planning staff who would make up from them a list of people who could be expected to contribute to the conference. The same might be done for denominations. The point is, that there are an awful lot of good people working for private agencies and denominations, and an awful lot who would simply clutter up your meeting. I know of no formula for discrimination here, except the informed judgment of some one well acquainted person. You might, for example, establish a quota, and then get Fred Routh, or John Feild, or some similar person to fill it.
- (e) I would suggest that a representative group of state and local officials be carefully selected. It should include some school superintendents, law enforcement officers, urban renewal officers, etc., North and South. I would suggest that you give consideration to including among these people some persons who are unpopular in civil rights circles; for example, Mr. Willis of Chicago or the police commissioner of New York City.
- (f) A carefully selected list of the more serious academicians with an interest in the field.
- (g) A similar list of serious writers. Names such as Charles Silberman, Bill Peters, and Ralph Ellison occur to me. I would recommend against, however, inviting as participants the working press; their responsibility is to report on and criticize what the conference does.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton - 5.

Memorandum
August 5, 1965

- (h) Some foundation executives.
- (i) A number of people not included in any of the other categories who are playing important roles. I refer, for example, to civil rights lawyers, certain conspicuous lay people (for example, Bayard Rustin, Terry Sanford, Theodore Kheel, Sylvan Meyer, Sam Williams, Benjamin Mays, etc.).

One of the products of a conference is its report. No one working for the federal government ever writes a good public report; no exception to that rule has occurred in the memory of the living. Could the planners of this conference have the wisdom and imagination to engage a writer -- a Silberman or Peters or a George McMillan or a Ben Bagdikian -- to do the report, to do it with his name on it so that he will make it good? You could, and probably should, outfit him with a small panel of editors, drawn from the participants.

The press reports I have read indicate that the conference will be concerned with "problems." Insofar as I know what this means, I would agree that this is proper concern. My only suggestion would be that the "problems" be taken up within intelligent context. All of the questions of civil rights, when they reach the point where people are disposed to settle them, come to involve in their settlement allied problems, and their solutions are limited by them. If employment, for example, is discussed, I think it should be discussed within the context of our national income and the changing manpower requirements of our economy. If the administration of justice is to be discussed, I think it should be discussed within the context of the whole system and issues such as public defenders, confessions, criminal rehabilitation, etc.

Because you are going to put on a conference this Fall and are still in the process of deciding on plans, there will be little, or probably insufficient, time for the preparation of definitive papers. I would suggest, therefore, that you consider aiming for persons who can do papers that are provocative of good discussion.

Mr. Wiley A. Branton - 6.
Memorandum
August 5, 1965

I would suggest further that you are more likely to get such papers from individuals than from a task force. I would suggest finally that the programs not be crowded, that the conferees be allowed time for corridor and coffee talk, because this is likely both to improve the conference discussions and to increase the permanent value of bringing all these people together.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OCTOBER 5, 1965

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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SENT
DATE

*sent -
copy to
McPherson
White*

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DE WTE 54F

FROM JOE CALIFANO
TO THE PRESIDENT
CITE WH50238

UNCLAS

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

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

1. THAT WE MOVE OUT FAST IN OUR PREPARATIONS FOR A PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER, TO PREPARE FOR A MAJOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE EARLY NEXT YEAR. THIS WILL CONFIRM YOUR STATEMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.
2. THAT LEE WHITE BE GIVEN WHITE HOUSE STAFF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONFERENCE WITH HARRY AND ME ASSISTING HIM. (LEE KNOWS ALL THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL FAR BETTER THAN ANYONE ON THE STAFF AND HARRY AND I, AS WELL AS HELPING LEE, CAN GET TO MEET THESE PEOPLE AND LEARN THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL BETTER.)

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

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White *lee*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Do you approve the general plan? Yes No
Your choice for white co-chairman _____
Your choice for Negro co-chairman _____
Do you want me to contact your choices
to see if we can get them? Yes No

Potential White Co-Chairman

- ✓ 1. Morris Abrams
2. Bronson LaFollette
3. Burke Marshall

Potential Negro Co-Chairman

- ✓ 1. William Coleman
2. Theodore Jones
3. Judge Leon Higgenbottom
4. Dean Clarence Ferguson (Howard Law School)
5. Carl Holman (Civil Rights Commission staff)

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

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

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

1. General Nature of the Assignment -- As we see it, these two men, working under the Honorary Chairmanship of A. Philip Randolph, will play key roles in developing the agenda for the conference, in offering whatever original ideas or approaches that occur to them and in the duties involved in the actual conference itself. We certainly would expect to make available all the work that has already been done and to provide as much staff assistance as possible. It is not contemplated these men will be mere ceremonial participants -- we would like to benefit from their experiences, insight and wisdom.

2. Suggested Format of the November Conference -- The staff believes that a planning conference of up to 400 individuals on November 17-19 should have detailed discussion of the ideas, suggestions and proposals that have flowed from your Howard speech. The conference would be expected to develop specific assignments for in-depth studies, including the preparation of original papers on the entire range of civil rights problems (housing, education, employment, administration of justice, delinquency, family structure, etc.).

3. A Spring Follow-up Conference -- The strong belief of those who have been working with the subject is that a much larger conference should be held in the Spring to receive the materials that result from the November meeting and to provide the broadest possible participation and commitment to these specific programs. It does not seem desirable to expect Messrs Abram and Coleman to commit themselves to participate beyond November. First of all, they are busy men and secondly there may be other reasons for wanting new individuals.

4. Assistance for Abram and Coleman -- We will have standing by for these two men this afternoon the staff people who have worked on

- 2 -

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

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

Encl.

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STAFF DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 15, 1965

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

Dear Lee:

Here, per our discussion, is a memorandum which reflects some preliminary thinking by the Commission staff about the White House Conference on Civil Rights this fall.

The thrust of the memorandum is that the conference provides a great opportunity for examining the role and responsibility of private institutions in our society, e.g., the housing industry, employers, educators, for eliminating racial discrimination and helping Negroes and other minorities to become full participants in American life. By bringing representatives and important decision-makers of these institutions together with their thoughtful critics, the White House Conference would stimulate a dialogue which is not taking place to any significant extent right now. The relationship of civil rights goals to other national goals of full employment and increased abundance should also be discussed, but the focus would be less upon Federal responsibility than upon the responsibility of national institutions and the ways in which the Federal Government can assist these institutions in carrying out their responsibilities. Since a White House conference can only provide a start, we make a few suggestions for follow-through.

I hope the memorandum is helpful, though in preparing it we are hampered by a lack of knowledge of the planning that is already going on. Since this Commission is the agency in the Federal Government whose functions are most closely related to the goals the President stated in announcing the conference, I would hope that we will have a role both in the planning of the conference and in the follow-through.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Taylor
Staff Director-designate

Enclosure

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Lee. I agree with this, but it seems to me there is a serious question about sanctions. Some people have supported Community Relations Service August 24, 1965 exactly because it does not have sanctions other than the application of sweet reason. Hm

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Hon. Bill Moyers, Special Assistant to the President
The Hon. Lee White, Special Counsel to the President
The Hon. Harry C. McPherson

FROM: Berl I. Bernhard *BIB*

SUBJ: A Small Response to Los Angeles - Merger

The Los Angeles crisis points out the volcanic nature of the disoriented. I hate to sound like a sociologist but this is the phenomena with which we are dealing. I know that a White House conference is being planned to deal with this general problem and I presume some others.

My immediate thoughts run to other things, particularly how the Federal Government is organized to respond to certain civil rights problems. We can coordinate and coordinate but what is needed is the fielding of real competence in depth. As you know, I hold myself out as somewhat of an expert on the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, its competence, and its deficiencies. I have also had some opportunity to work with Governor Collins and the Community Relations Service. I have come to the conclusion that a merger of the Community Relations Service and the Civil Rights Commission should be considered. Both of course are statutory creatures. Whether or not a shot-gun marriage can be arranged through executive action I do not know. Nonetheless I would like to point out some personal thoughts which militate in favor of action, if possible prior to appointment of Governor Collins' successor.

1. The Overall Advantage of a Merger

- a. Duplication: Both agencies duplicate each other's work in certain areas. Both have similar responsibilities in dealing with communities. The Civil Rights Commission provides information and advice. The Community Relations Service is responsible to conciliate and mediate. The Civil Rights Commission has established regional offices to carry out its fact finding and clearing house functions. The Community Relations Service has a field staff and I understand is contemplating the establishment of regional offices to carry out conciliation functions. Field staffs of the two agencies deal with the same people for purposes that are essentially similar.

- b. Reinforcement: Both agencies perform complementary functions that can be performed more effectively through a staff merger. The Civil Rights Commission research, fact finding, and collection of data concerning the impact of federal programs on communities is indispensable for Community Relations in its conciliation efforts. While such information is exchanged now it is not on a regular basis and can never be under the present set up. Community Relations does not have, and I do not see how it can acquire, the depth of expertise possessed by the Civil Rights Commission.
- c. Confidence: Meaningful assistance to communities requires confidence of all groups involved. My belief is that the Civil Rights Commission possesses the confidence of civil rights groups, many government officials, and a significant number of employers. The Community Relations may have more contact with the business community but far less with civil rights groups.
- d. Sanctions: The function of conciliation is more effective where there is at least some limited sanction behind it. The Civil Rights Commission has power to hold hearings and subpoena witnesses. This fact finding capability involving ultimate public scrutiny provides a useful alternative where mediation efforts fail, and conversely, public scrutiny or the threat of it may often provide a stimulus to mediate.
- e. Competence: There are a limited number of competent people available to work on civil rights problems. Staff resources should be conserved. My feeling is that Community Relations has fewer people who possess technical competence to aid communities which seek help. Even if this were not true, the urban crises requires the availability of trained personnel in depth.
- f. Economical: Separate agencies are more costly. While the budgets of both agencies do not of themselves raise taxes the same amount of money could be used more effectively on the problem itself rather than on overhead items.

2. Problems and Disadvantages of Merger

- a. Dilution: The Civil Rights Commission might be concerned about losing its independent fact finding function or having that function diluted. At the same time Community Relations might be concerned about losing its effectiveness as a conciliator if it acquired an image which might be called "pro-civil rights".
- b. Administration: Merger of investigation and conciliation functions would have to be managed delicately. It would require some re-evaluation of Community Relations "confidentiality" rule. There might be administrative difficulties in merging the staff since Community Relations appears to have a higher grade structure than the Civil Rights Commission. However, these matters can always be managed where there is a need and a will to do so.

3. A Possible Formula for Merger

- a. Structure: There are a number of possibilities looking toward total merger or unification. The Civil Rights Commission structure could be retained and Governor Collins, as Under-Secretary of Commerce, might be added as a member of the Commission, specifically responsible for conciliation. Integration of Commissioners and Collins would result in an agency with wide-spread support and I believe a combination of the desired images. There is precedent for federal officials holding full-time government jobs, serving part time on federal commissions. For example, J. Ernest Wilkins was both Assistant Secretary of Labor and also a member of the Civil Rights Commission.
- b. Support: It strikes me that we are at a point where it is neither feasible nor desirable to be saddled with historical accident. The Civil Rights Commission grew up to fill a void in factual knowledge. The Community Relations sprang into being at a point where there was a need for something more than fact finding. Due to the Civil Rights Commission reports, it was not felt desirable when the 1964 Civil Rights Act was being considered, to give that function to the Commission. History has proven the validity of the Civil Rights

- 4 -

Commission's work, both fact finding and recommendations. It is no longer a "way out" agency but has become more and more accepted both in the south and the north as a body possessing capacity to comprehend and cut through some of the complexities. It is my belief that the country is prepared to accept such a merger as a step forward and a bold recognition of a broader need.

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September 17, 1965

Mr. Herbert Gans
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Dear Herb:

Thanks for the letter and your very helpful comments. The Conference will reach far beyond the problem of the Negro family -- into the entire structure and pathology of the Negro community. And you can be sure we will not regard the family structure as an isolated deficiency, but as one that must be tackled along with the conditions that give it life.

I have sent your letter along to the Conference planners; and I am sure they will make good use of it.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Goodwin
Special Assistant to the President

Teachers College - Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Institute of Urban Studies

August 27 1965

Richard Goodwin
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Dick,

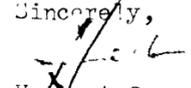
Although I have been out of the country for the last couple of months, I gather from a speech the President made in June, and from the report attributed to Pat Moynihan that the government is going to pay more attention to the role of the family in dealing with the problems of the Negro, and that family difficulties will be a major theme of the forthcoming White House conference.

I think this emphasis is all to the good, if it is not overdone. There is a danger, however, that it may result in a new wave of social work and psychiatric solutions intended to change the Negro female-based family to the middle class type. Such solutions could maintain the already overly paternalistic and manipulative way with which we have been dealing with the problems of the Negro, and more important, they could deflect attention away from the economic causes of the Negro problem. Whatever the ravages of slavery, the female-based Negro family today is a result of current unemployment and under-employment among Negro males, and secondarily, of the pattern of social welfare, especially A.D.C., which as you know, encourages women to reject (or hide) their men, and in both cases, downgrades their familial role and power. These two causal factors ought to be emphasized in the framing of new programs.

Moreover, a number of sociologists who have been studying Negro life have shown that the female-based family has many positive functions, considering the conditions in which Negroes find themselves, and the difficulties they must cope with. This does not justify the family type, but it does suggest that attempts to change the family without attacking the basic causes will not achieve their aim, and may only increase the bitterness and hostility among Negroes. Whoever is planning the White House conference ought to talk with some of these researchers if they have not already done so. Among them, I would recommend especially Dr. Hylan Lewis, of the Health and Welfare Council in Washington, and Dr. Lee Rainwater, of the Dept of Sociology, Washington University, St Louis. I have just read a paper he has written based on his research, entitled "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower Class Family" which I would consider required reading for the conference planners.

I write all this with some hesitancy, since my observations may be old-hat to the conference planners and others concerned with the problem. If so, I can only mention that having been away, I have been out of contact with what is going on in Washington.

Sincerely,


Herbert Gans
Associate Professor of
Sociology and Education

0 0 9 2 3

217 W 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

October 11, 1965

A. Philip Randolph, President
Robert W. Gilmore, Treasurer
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

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

Dear Mr. White:

Since the President has always called in Negro civil rights leaders to the White House for consultation on various civil rights programs, a number of the leaders of our movement feel that as time goes on there is an expressed desire and need for a clearer view as to the size, agenda, leadership, objectives and focus of the conference on the Negro American scheduled for next month.

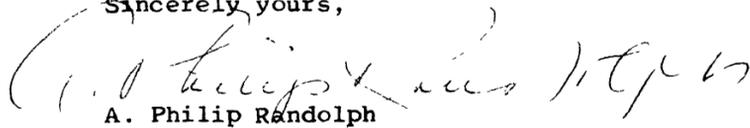
In this connection representatives of most of the major civil rights groups have met and are in agreement that I raise a basic procedural question with you and others planning the conference. We should like to propose that the leaders of the following organizations each select one representative to join the committee planning the conference:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Congress of Racial Equality
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
National Council of Negro Women
National Urban League
A. Philip Randolph Institute

We feel it is essential that the collective thinking of the civil rights movement be understood and evaluated. I sincerely hope that, as soon as possible, such a proposed civil rights group may be able to come to Washington to sit in on the actual planning of the conference.

For convenience, may I ask you to follow through in this matter with Mr. Bayard Rustin who is coordinating my activities concerning the conference.

Sincerely yours,


A. Philip Randolph

0 0 9 2 2

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20006

July 12, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 3-8750

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD GOODWIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 2 -

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

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

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

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

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

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1965

AC Good
Good

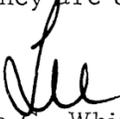
TO: Bill Moyers

Bill Taylor, the Staff Director of the Civil Rights Commission, called the other day to indicate some minor distress at the Commission because they were not consulted on the report issued by the White House on the successes of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. He indicated that their own findings would indicate a more cautious statement at this time.

He also expressed some concern over the fact that the Commission has not been asked to participate in the development of the plans for the fall conference.

I tried to reassure him that the Commission was still very much a part of the Administration and asked him to suggest some specifics for the conference which he has done. I also indicated to him that we are relying heavily upon the Vice President and his staff and that the Commission should continue in close touch with them.

I only bring this to your attention so that we would occasionally keep them advised and feeling like they are of some importance.


Lee C. White

0 0 9 2 5



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1965

Dear Mr. Staats:

Enclosed is a breakdown of suggested agency contributions for the White House Conference on Civil Rights. The task force discussing plans for the Conference has determined that it would be most appropriate if these funds could be secured by agency contributions. Such contributions could be established in a special account under the President's Council on Equal Opportunity of which I am Chairman, and made available to those persons appointed by the President to organize the Conference.

I would appreciate it if the Bureau of the Budget could request such amounts from the appropriate agencies.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Elmer B. Staats
Deputy Director
Bureau of the Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

SUGGESTED AGENCY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Department of Defense	\$ 9,000
Department of Justice	5,500
Department of Agriculture	8,500
Department of Commerce	8,500
Department of Labor	8,500
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	13,000
Civil Service Commission	4,500
Housing and Home Finance Agency	5,500
Office of Economic Opportunity	18,500
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	6,000
General Services Administration	5,500
	<hr/>
	\$ 93,000



STAFF DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE LEE C. WHITE, SPECIAL COUNSEL
TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William L. Taylor, Staff Director-designate
M. Carl Holman, Special Assistant

SUBJECT: White House Civil Rights Conference

I. Purposes and Rationale of Conference

If the Conference is to provide a historic forum for examining the crucial question raised in the President's Howard University speech and providing useful answers, it should:

(1) Bring together in productive dialogue the most thoughtful critics of our major social institutions and those whose responsibility it is to determine the form and direction of these institutions.

(2) Focus national attention on the unfinished tasks that lie beyond legal equality and on the changes these will require both in our institutions and in some of our most deeply rooted attitudes and practices.

(3) Reaffirm the responsibility of Negro and white private and public groups and individuals for assuming leadership in attacking at the state and local levels the social-cultural problems which cannot and should not be left to the Federal Government alone.

(4) Enlist the aid of Negro and white leaders, scholars, experts and government officials in surveying the current economic and social status of the Negro; assessing the useful programs and techniques now in being; projecting new solutions commensurate with the complexity and depth of the problems which still prevent most Negroes from entering the mainstream of American economic, social, cultural and political life.

(5) Engage the initiative, energies, skills, aspirations and commitment which created the first phase of the "Negro Revolution" in the even more demanding effort which the next phase will require. This should result in quickening a sense of responsibility among Negroes as well as whites for sharing in solving problems which might otherwise be left exclusively to the Federal Government.

(6) Re-educate white Americans (as well as Negroes) to the potentials, not merely the problems, which Negro Americans represent.

(7) Establish clearly the vital link between the winning of equal status for American Negroes and the achievement of other desirable national goals (e.g., full employment) which will benefit all Americans.

(8) Provide effective machinery for capitalizing on the insights and implementing the proposals which the conference should produce.

It is of the greatest importance that decision-makers in the business community, education, unions, and the communications industry be adequately represented in planning and implementation before, during and after the conference. It is equally important that the conference assemble and project into the public consciousness a cross-section of Negro achievement which will include the "new breed" as well as the pioneers and the relatively well known Negro leaders.

II. Pre-Planning

It would seem important that it be clearly known from the outset that Negroes as well as whites are involved at the staff and leadership levels in planning the conference; that continuity be provided for by establishing a leadership-staff nucleus whose activities will extend through the planning stage, the conference itself and the follow-up phases; that both theorists and activists participate in the planning activities and those conference sessions for which they are best fitted by training, achievement and experience; that major proposals be discussed and settled on and key papers be in hand at least 30 days prior to the conference.

A. Chairmen, Contributors, Discussants, Participants

The question of conference leadership is, of course, very important. It might be well to consider pairing Dr. Ralph Bunche and Gunnar Myrdal,

or Dr. Bunche and Vice President Humphrey, with the Cabinet and the "Big Six" of Civil Rights Leadership also given sponsorship status, and with selected business, labor religious and Congressional, state and local governmental leaders and foundation officials having sponsorship and participation roles at another level. People of the caliber of Judge Thurgood Marshall, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young or Ralph McGill would have primary roles in plenary sessions. (Or Dr. Kenneth Clark might present an over-view paper, combining participation in a plenary session with chairing a panel). In addition to Secretaries Celebreeze and Wirtz and Mr. Shriver, other cabinet members might also take more active roles in the pre-conference period. Among persons in the Washington area who might be helpful at the pre-planning stage, either in firming up programs or suggesting personnel are Dr. Robert Weaver, Dr. Lenny Duel of NIH, Dr. Hylan G. Lewis, Dr. G. Franklin Edwards and President James Nabritt of Howard University and Dr. Eunice Grier.

We assume that the various Federal task forces already in existence whose activities are relevant to the Conference are being tapped for information and proposals. Hopefully, too, the Federal agencies whose programs touch thousands of American Negroes (or should) are being asked to examine the degree and quality of participation by Negroes in these programs; to report on the actual impact of these programs on segregation and discrimination at the local level; and to suggest new programs or changes in the administration of existing programs which would serve to hasten the upgrading of the Negro's status in our society. Such material prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers, HEW, HHFA, Labor and O.E.O. should be especially valuable.

It is probable, too, that proposals are being solicited from the universities, the foundations, private industry and civil rights leaders (especially such men as Bayard Rustin, John Morsell, Herbert Hill and George Wiley), as well as from groups as NEA and the Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

In the section which follows, some of the persons whose names will be suggested might be asked to present full scale proposals or to prepare papers for presentation or background use, others might be invited as participants in pre-planning sessions or the Conference itself. We anticipate that leaders in business, communications, civil rights, religion and community life will be involved in both the planning sessions and the various Conference sessions so as to provide for maximum cross-fertilization.

III. Issues and Program Areas

What follows are some possible approaches to issues which must be confronted if the Negro is to achieve full equality. It is assumed that in each instance, whatever the focus of the discussion, consideration of ethics, of logistics (how and with what do we act to get the job done?) of semantics (how or in what terms do we communicate?) and the question of how the Negro sees himself and is seen by others will be taken into account. It is also assumed that account will be taken of the ways in which certain Federal programs and remedies--the Poverty Program, the Education and Medicare bills, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 voting law--are operating and can operate to supplement activity by state and local governments and by private groups and individuals seeking to improve the Negro's lot. And finally that some attention will be given to any significant regional differences in the nature of problems or workable solutions.

A. American Institutions, Prejudice and Change

It would seem helpful to examine the basic structures of our society, assessing the nature of the changes that have already occurred (in the roles of the school and the family, for instance). The newest findings on racial conflict, prejudice and the processes by which behavior and attitudes change should be applied to the problem of so re-shaping and re-directing these institutions that a vigorous integrated society can emerge with a minimum of divisive friction.

Here it would be helpful to enlist the aid of people like Dr. Robin Williams of Cornell, Robert Merton of Columbia, Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard, Dr. Ira de A. Reid of Haverford, Robert Penn Warren, Dr. Gordon Allport of Harvard, Leonard Cottrell of the Russell Sage Foundation, Lewis Killian and Charles Grigg of Florida State University, Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard, Saunders Redding of Hampton Institute, Howard Zinn of Boston University, Nathan Glazer of the University of California, John Hope Franklin and C. Vann Woodward.

B. Employment

The growth of unemployment among Negroes as the rest of the nation becomes more affluent is already a prime concern of the national government. An attempt should be made to determine if governmental policy (and practice) at every level is actually addressing itself adequately

to the complexity and intransigence of this problem. Perhaps even more important is the question of whether the business community can be sufficiently awakened to the need to revise its view of its social responsibilities so that it can deal with the problems of poverty and employment, for Negroes as well as whites, on the scale that is required. There should also be some creative exploration of the relationship between our yet unrealized economic potential and the work which needs to be done in every section of the country to meet our unfilled social and cultural needs.

Myrdal, Eli, Ginzberg, Daniel Moynihan, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Charles Silberman, Dr. Daniel Bell of Columbia, Bayard Rustin, Herbert Hill, Dr. Andrew Brimmer, Michael Harrington, Walter Reuther, A. Philip Randolph, John Wheeler of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank in Durham, and M. T. Puryear and Edwin Berry of the Urban League could make substantial contributions.

C. Housing

Housing, the most neglected of all the key civil rights problems, should be a priority subject for the Conference. There should be a thoughtful critique of the role of the housing industry in determining the availability of housing and in influencing the assumptions and attitudes which impede housing integration. Equally important, there should be an examination of the racial implications of present modes of urban and suburban planning--of the ways in which key decisions about redevelopment, site selection and relocation affect free housing choice for Negroes and of the effect upon housing integration of newer kinds of planning such as the proposal for government subsidies for "new towns." Such an examination should involve representatives of the housing industry, state and local public officials concerned with housing and urban planners. Since a part of the problem is the lack of private resources being devoted to civil rights and housing, representatives of the important private foundations should also be involved.

Here, in addition to Dr. Robert Weaver, those designing the conference might call on Dr. Philip Hauser of the University of Chicago, Konrad Tauber, George Nesbitt and Victor Fischer of HHFA, Loren Miller, Ed Rutledge and Jack Wood of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, Dr. Eunice Grier, George Schirmer, Charlotte Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee, and Robert Carter of NAACP.

D. Education

The White House Education Conference July 20-21 may make a session on Education in the fall seem redundant. But most of the participants in the November Conference are likely to be very much concerned about the kind and quality of schooling, counseling and guidance available to Negro youngsters.

These questions, among others, might be relevant: (1) What changes, if any, have occurred in the nation's estimate of the intrinsic worth of education, quite aside from considerations of race, and how does this relate to what must be accomplished in improving education for our youth in general and for Negroes in particular? (2) What are the values inherent in integrated education for a society such as ours and how much dislocation and renovation of our present educational system should we embark upon in order to achieve these values? (3) To what degree are those groups and individuals who govern education in the states and localities capable of restructuring educational systems at the rate and in the directions that the current socio-economic (particularly, racial) situation requires? (4) How can suburban governmental units be induced or compelled to assume a greater share of the financial responsibility for educating the disadvantaged and the discriminated against?

In addition to the chairmen and panelists of the July conferences, (John Fischer of Columbia, Kenneth Clark, James Allen, Commissioner of Education of New York, Dan Dodson of New York University) some of the following might be asked to submit advice and proposals: Dr. Allison Davis, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, June Shagaloff of NAACP, Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee, Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, David Hunter of the Stern Family Foundation, and Paul Ylvisaker and Henry Salzman of the Ford Foundation.

E. Welfare and Health

The welfare establishment should be examined with a view to determining whether it tends to correct or to reinforce patterns of dependency and family disintegration. The root causes of the persistent gap between Negroes and whites as reflected in morbidity and other health data should be explored, and the role of private and public policy in this area should be carefully examined.

On Welfare, Whitney Young, Dr. Richard Cloward of the Columbia University School of Social Work, Dr. Lloyd Streater of Los Angeles, Dr. John Turner of Western Reserve and Alvin Shores of the Office of Economic Opportunity would be very helpful. On health and medical services contributors should include Dr. Montague Cobb and Paul Cornelly of Howard University, Dr. Asa Yancey of Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta and Dr. Kenneth Clement of Cleveland.

F. The Negro Family

It might be well to consider the Negro family quite apart from welfare and health if only to emphasize the fact that there is more than one kind of Negro family. (That, for example, there are a good many middle class families in modern America, sharing certain kinds of gains and losses with white middle class families, just as they share certain stresses with families less fortunate in their income and education but like them in skin color. In the same way there should be some attempt to understand the "good" poor--those Negro families which do manage somehow to resist and sometimes conquer their crippling slum environment. But a hard new look should be taken, too, at the disorganized or disintegrating families who drift through descending cycles of poverty, apathy, delinquency and crime.)

It might also be useful to consider whether stability and success can be achieved by family structures which do not conform to the traditional middle class model. In addition to the question of how Negro families can escape the ghetto, there should be some attempt to understand how some slum children can and do manage to avoid the psychological and social damage which is so prevalent in their environment. The role of the Negro male should be examined realistically against a background which would include not only the operation of historic factors, but shifts in the role of the white American male.

On the Negro family Dr. Hylan G. Lewis and Dr. G. Franklin Edwards of Howard University, Dr. Lee Rainwater of Washington University (St. Louis), Kenneth Clark and Whitney Young could make valuable contributions.

G. The Negro Citizen in the Community: The Use of the Franchise and Other Levers of Change

What is contemplated here is a group of reports and proposals--and perhaps one major paper--exploring the extent of participation by

Negroes in the general life of their communities beyond the limits of the ghetto--both in communities where some form of such participation is welcomed or tolerated and in communities where any attempt to participate beyond traditional limits is blocked or met with open hostility. Some account should be taken of the various forms of power assumed in our society and of the ways by which power is shared or is transferred from one group to another. The social and psychological bases of current views concerning the 'place' of the Negro in various community structures and functions--especially those not clearly tagged with racial implications--should also be examined.

It might be helpful to take a close look at specific situations in which Negroes have shown, or failed to show, an understanding of the uses of political and economic power. Atlanta, Memphis, Tuskegee, Alabama, should be instructive here, as should the privately and publicly-sponsored community action programs in New Haven, Chicago and elsewhere.

Here contributors should include scholars and experts like Dr. Seymour Miller of Syracuse University, Cyril Tyson (formerly of HARYOU), Martin Rhein of Bryn Mawr, Leslie Dunbar of the Field Foundation, Dr. Robert Martin of Howard University, Dr. Robert Spike of the Commission of Race and Religion, NCCC, Dr. August Meier of Roosevelt College and Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council. Also included should be such activists or practitioners as Bayard Rustin, Saul Alinsky, Andrew Young (SCLC), Aaron Henry (NAACP), Dr. Charles Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute, Robert Parris Moses (SNCC) and Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia.

H. The Negro Professional

The Negro professional class, as the President indicated in his speech at Howard, has more than doubled in the past ten years. But in view of the need and when compared proportionately with the white professional class, Negro professionals are seen to be still in short supply. Furthermore, though they are somewhat less heavily concentrated in the fields of education, medicine and the ministry than they once were, there appears to be, even among the generation now entering college, a kind of "hangover" reluctance to venture into professional occupations which have not traditionally welcomed Negroes.

Since most of today's Negro leaders are products of the professional class, the study group dealing with this subject should be able to develop proposals based on insights into the dynamics of Negro leadership; the struggle for dominance between new-style and old-style leaders; differences in the way the white and Negro communities perceive Negro leadership and the legitimacy of strategies, tactics and goals; and the still unresolved problems facing Negro leaders who must adjust to the challenge of a new order of obstacles as the law eliminates some of the old ones.

Among the persons who might make useful contributions are David Danzig, Daniel C. Thompson, August Meier, Robert Weaver, Robert Penn Warren, C. Essien-Udom, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins, C. Eric Lincoln, G. Franklin Edwards, and Saunders Redding.

IV. Post-Conference Implementation

One outcome of the conference should be the forming of augmented task forces around the nucleus of the pre-conference study groups. Hopefully, these task forces will be largely directed by private groups, with Negro leaders and Negro or interracial organizations assuming much of the initiative. The significant papers, findings and proposals of the conference should be widely disseminated. Regional conferences and statewide or community-wide conferences (similar to those the Commission sponsored on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Title VI) should be held for the purpose of stimulating action on the goals projected at the White House Conference.

As the Federal agency with specific responsibility for reviewing developments in the various civil rights areas, and with experience in preparing and conducting 'cross-section' state and regional conferences, the Commission might well perform this follow-up clearing-house function. It might also be useful to have an ad hoc group including representatives of private groups, scholars and Federal, state and local governments meet once or twice a year to determine whether progress is being made toward Conference goals.

William L. Taylor

M. Carl Holman

On the face of it
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

I. RIGHTS TO BE ACHIEVED

1. Equal Opportunity In Housing
 - a. The Consequences of Community Disparities
 - b. Extending legal guarantees
2. Equal Opportunity In Education
 - a. The Consequences of Racial Imbalance
 - b. Promoting Integration (North and South)
3. Equal Opportunity in Employment
 - a. Entry into trade unions
 - b. Entry into professions
 - c. Entry into business
4. Equal Opportunity In Voting

II. RIGHTS TO BE FULFILLED

1. The Widening Gulf
 - a. Income and employment
 - b. Education
 - c. Social Isolation
 - d. Crime and delinquency
2. The Problem of the Negro Family
 - a. Family Solidarity and Education
 - b. Family Solidarity and Employment
 - c. Family Solidarity and Delinquency

III. NEW PATHS FOR THE NEGRO

1. Strengthening the Family: New Approaches to Welfare
2. Improving Skills: New Approaches to Education
3. Finding Work: New Approaches to Employment

XEROX FROM QUICK COPY

1965

WHITE HOUSE CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE

Purpose: To focus national attention and effort on (1) unachieved civil rights and (2) the "widening gap" described in President Johnson's Howard University speech of June, 1965.

Results to be sought: (1) The formation of a national commission to analyze the entire range of welfare programs in terms of their contribution to the improvement of family life, especially among poor Negroes; (2) the creation of a working group to prepare further legislation and executive orders curtailing discrimination in the sale or rental of federally-assisted housing (primarily, FHA-insured housing); (3) the creation of a working group to explore ways of increasing the realistic opportunities for Negro entry into jobs, especially those jobs controlled by trade-union apprenticeship programs or professional licensing requirements; (4) the creation of a working group to prepare a comprehensive report on the relationship between educational quality on the one hand and racial imbalance and educational expenditures on the other, including a summary of alternative strategies for dealing with the imbalance problem.

The major innovation will, of course, be the National Commission on Welfare and Family Life. Its ultimate purpose will be to formulate a "National Family Policy" that:

- (1) States as a national purpose the creation and maintenance of a strong family structure.
- (2) Recommends a comprehensive set of co-ordinated public policies designed to improve family life. These may include:
 - (a) A re-organization of existing welfare programs
 - (b) Beginning new programs, such as a family allowance plan, to replace in some degree the ADC program (perhaps by taking over and expanding the HHFA rent supplementation program)
- (3) Recommends that the 1946 commitment to a full employment policy be reaffirmed and steps taken to carry it out through (a) increasing aggregate demand, (b) appropriate public works programs, and (c) expanded vocational training programs.

The timeliness of such a Commission is increased by the fact that an evaluation and reorganization of the Antipoverty program will undoubtedly prove necessary in the near future. This Commission may be able to play a positive role in salvaging the better elements of the OEO program in the process of developing a co-ordinated strategy for family welfare.

OPERATING BUDGET

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

Consolidation

I. Personnel Compensation	\$93,755
Personnel Benefits	0
II Travel.....	\$46,000
III Rents, Communications & Utilities	\$ 7,000
IV Reimbursable Services, Other Agencies	\$ 4,000
V Printing	\$26,000
VI Supplies, Materials and Equipment	\$ 3,000
VII Other Services	\$15,000
VIII Contingencies, petty cash & Miscellaneous	\$ 1,000
BUDGET TOTAL	\$ 195,755

Justification

I. Personnel Compensation \$93,755

The assumption is made that the administrative and clerical staff required to operate will be obtainable on a non reimbursable basis from other federal agencies. The number of personnel required will vary according to the stages of planning.

For ;the professional planning staff, the budgeted figure is arrived at as follows: A total of 25 consulting professionals will be needed for a total of approximately 50 days each. They would be paid on a When Actually Employed Basis, at the rate of \$75 per day. Thus, a total of 1,250 man days is involved.

No Personnel Benefits are involved, if government employees are non-reimbursable to the Conference Staff.

II Travel \$46,000

The base figure of \$200 round trip for transportation cost is used. 130 round trips are involved -- 75 trips for 25 professional planning staff and 55 round trips for 20 conference speakers and 35 panel participants. The cost is thus, \$26,000 for fares. The additional \$20,000 is per diem. At \$40 per day, a total of 500 man days of per diem is budgeted for. This is ample to cover professional planning staff, speakers and panelists for the full 3 days convention (240 man days) plus an additional 260 man days involved in trips to Washington prior to the Conference.

III Rents, Communications & Utilities \$7,000

The entire figure is for communications -- long distance telephone, telegrams and cables. Included is \$1,000 for closed circuit television, if needed. Experience factors used to compute the figure.

IV Reimbursable Services, Other Agencies \$4,000

To reimburse the Department of State for on station messenger service, use of hospital facilities, janitorial service, standby electrician and mechanic, mileage and chauffeur charges for standby official vehicles, etc, including security.

V Printing \$26,000

For graphics, artwork, posters, leaflets, signs and 2.5 million printing impressions.

VI Supplies, Materials & Equipment \$ 3,000

For stationery, name tags, certain equipment rentals and special items.

VII Other Services \$15,000

Banquet for 1500 guests @ \$8.50 per plate, flowers, decorations, photography and cocktails.

VIII Contingencies, petty cash & Miscellaneous 1,000

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Rec'd
Tues 8/17/65
11:45

[Handwritten initials and scribbles]

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Tuesday, August 17, 1965
10 a.m.

MEMORANDUM TO: The President
FROM : The Vice President

Attached is a memorandum which discusses certain details of the White House Conference on Civil Rights. This memo reflects the suggestions of a working group composed of members of your staff and my own. This group proposes the following:

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

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

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

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Date of follow-up conference:

Mid-December _____

Late January _____

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

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

Approve Coleman _____

Approve Higginbotham _____

Other _____

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

Approve Hesburgh _____

Approve LaFollette _____

Approve Abram _____

Other _____

4. Appointment of a citizens' advisory committee.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

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

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Enclosure

GRAM...

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Tuesday, August 17, 1965
10 a.m.

MEMORANDUM TO: The President
FROM : The Vice President

A small working group, composed of members of your staff and mine, has been engaged in preliminary consultations and planning in connection with the White House Civil Rights Conference. If the conference is to meet the promise of your speech, it is essential that certain planning decisions be made promptly so that hard staff work may begin and outside contacts may be made. It would be most helpful to have your views with regard to the following matters.

Proposed Schedule

It is proposed that the conference be divided into (1) a smaller working session of 2 days duration, composed of involved and knowledgeable persons, (about 500-700) which would have the major task of producing the substantive results of the conference, tentatively scheduled to begin November 17, and (2) a larger follow-up conference of one day duration, composed of persons with some interest in the general subject (about 2,000 - 5,000), which would have principally ceremonial functions; e.g., to receive the edited conference report and recommendations, to publicize the results of the smaller working conference, to secure involvement of broader spectrum of persons and groups, and to meet numbers obligations which, if honored in the first conference, would make it unmanageable in terms of working sessions. We have considered holding the follow-up conference in mid-December, prior to submission of your legislative program, or in late January, immediately after your State-of-the-Union and Budget messages have been sent to Congress.

The time period between the first and second conference would be used to prepare a carefully documented and edited report of findings and recommendations in each area of concern. We have felt that the importance of the subject matter did not lend itself to a hurried attempt to draw together quickly a final report that could be presented to you on the final day of the

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first conference. There could, however, be some presentation of general conclusions, etc., at that time, prior to preparation and release of the more detailed final report.

Chairman and Personnel

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

For the Negro, either William Coleman or Leon Higginbotham are suggested.

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

Higginbotham, formerly of the FTC and now a Federal District judge, is bright, articulate, and also well respected.

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

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

Citizens' Advisory Committee

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

Financing

Because of its size and of the extensive preliminary work which must be done, the conference will not come cheap. The

most preliminary estimates range at about \$200,000. Obviously, this could be adjusted in either direction as appropriate. We have asked the Bureau of the Budget to arrange appropriate financing, most likely by requesting contributions from interested and affected Federal agencies.

Preparation of Materials

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

The working group has already held a number of preliminary discussion sessions with preeminent psychiatrists, sociologists and others who have thought or written about the issues raised in your Howard speech. It is already apparent that productive and useful treatment of these issues will touch extremely sensitive nerves within society and among Negro groups and will require the most careful handling, though controversy will be unavoidable if anything meaningful is to be accomplished.

Nature of Conference

The conference must deal candidly, carefully, and in depth with the questions raised in your Howard speech; if it does not do this, it will be viewed as a failure and it would be better not to have held it at all.

The conference should be structured in a way which will educate the American public, particularly the white middle class, to the nature of the difficulties which face Negroes in this country. The problems, however, will not be presented as Negro problems, but rather, American problems which must be faced by the nation collectively. It is hoped the conference will help produce a national awareness and generate a consensus to support implementation of various solutions. The conference will be expected to produce specific recommendations for action by the Federal Government, as well as by state and local government and private groups of all types, including business, labor, religious, professional and service organizations.

The working group has formulated the following draft of (1) objectives of the conference and (2) outline of the conference.

Objectives of the Conference:

1. To explore in greater depth the problems set forth by the President in his Howard University commencement address concerning the remaining barriers to full participation by Negro Americans in our national life;
2. To seek the development of programs--both governmental and non-governmental--to remove these barriers; and
3. To seek the development of priorities relating to legislative and administrative action by the federal, state, and local governments and by concerned non-governmental groups and individuals.

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

Outline of the Conference:

Keynote: to reiterate the major theme of the President's Howard University address; i.e., despite the recent victories eliminating barriers to legal equality, there exists a widening gulf between the majority of Negroes and whites in such areas as housing, education, employment, health standards, etc.

I. First Day -- Areas of Fulfillment

- A. Equal Opportunity in Housing
 1. The consequences of community disparities
 2. Extending legal guarantees
 3. New approaches to equal opportunity in housing
- B. Equal Opportunity in Education
 1. The consequences of racial imbalance

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2. Promoting desegregation in North and South
3. Promoting of excellence in education
4. New approaches to education: improving skills

C. Equal Opportunity in Employment

1. Entry into trade unions
2. Entry into professions
3. Entry into business
4. New approaches to employment: finding work

D. Equal Opportunity in Other Areas

1. Administration of justice
2. Administration of Title VI
3. Voting, public accommodations, etc.
4. Finance - business and home loans, etc.

II. Second Day -- The Challenge of Fulfillment

A. The Widening Gulf

1. Income and employment
2. Education
3. Social isolation
4. Crime and delinquency

B. The Problem of the Negro Family

1. Family solidarity and education
2. Family solidarity and welfare
3. Family solidarity and employment
4. Family solidarity and delinquency

5. Family solidarity and housing
6. Family solidarity and health care

Next Steps in Organizing the Conference:

1. Appointment of co-chairman and selection of conference director.
2. Appointment of citizens advisory committee.
3. Consultation with other federal agencies with legitimate interest in conference.
4. Appointment of section chairmen and section task forces.
5. Recruitment of administrative staff.
6. Preparation of invitation list.
7. Assignment and preparation of research materials.
8. Development of promotional devices for the conference material and subsequent to the conference.

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OUTLINE

of

White House Conference on Civil Rights

"To Fulfill These Rights"

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

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2. To seek the development of programs--both governmental and non-governmental--to remove these barriers; and

3. To seek the development of priorities relating to legislative and administrative action by the federal, state, and local governments and by concerned non-governmental groups and individuals.

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

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to carry on this new phase of civil rights activity, such as the Rotary, PTA, Kiwanis, etc.

OUTLINE OF THE CONFERENCE

I. First Day - Morning.

Introduction and Welcome

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

Keynote of the Conference: The Widening Gulf

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

The Co-Chairmen might be assisted by substantive experts in this presentation and a film might be shown to illustrate more graphically the widening gulf. (Consider requesting a television network to prepare such a presentation for use at the Conference and on national television the evening of the first day of the Conference.)

II. First Day - Afternoon.

The Search for
Areas of Fulfillment

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

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- A. Equal Opportunity in Housing
 - 1. The consequences of community disparities
 - 2. Extending legal guarantees
 - 3. New approaches to equal opportunity in housing
 - B. Equal Opportunity in Education
 - 1. The consequences of racial imbalance
 - 2. Promoting desegregation in North and South
 - 3. Promoting of excellence in education
 - 4. New approaches to education: improving skills
 - C. Equal Opportunity in Employment
 - 1. Entry into trade unions
 - 2. Entry into professions
 - 3. Entry into business
 - 4. New approaches to employment: finding work
 - D. Equal Opportunity in Other Areas
 - 1. Administration of justice
 - 2. Administration of Title VI
 - 3. Legal guarantees: voting, public accommodations, etc.
 - 4. Finance: business and home loans, etc.
- III. First Day - Evening.

Continuation of Panel Presentations

There also would be opportunity for a dinner or other function if deemed appropriate during the first day.

The Conference participants could also view the special television program simultaneously with the presentation on national network.

IV. Second Day - Morning.The Dynamics of the Ghetto

There would be an initial presentation to the Conference meeting in general session to last about one hour. This presentation would seek to dramatize effectively the nature of life for an individual Negro residing in the ghetto. The possibility of another half-hour special film should be considered for this opening presentation.

Contributing Factors:The Family and the Environment

The Conference participants would gather in panels to examine various factors contributing to the dynamics of the ghetto. These groups would include:

- A. Welfare
- B. Education
- C. Health care
- D. Housing
- E. Employment
- F. Delinquency
- G. Social isolation

V. Second Day - Afternoon.

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

VI. Third Day - Morning.

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

Concluding General Session: An American Problem

The concluding session would seek to emphasize the breadth of responsibility in resolving the problems raised during the Conference. This presentation would also lay the groundwork for the more specific conclusions which would be presented at the one-day session a month or so later and also set forth generally the steps which will be taken to translate the ideas and thoughts of these sessions to the later sessions and the final report and recommendations. (A method should be devised to assure participants who will not be directly involved in the intervening preparation an opportunity to feed in further ideas and suggestions.)

FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

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

Since the subject matter of this White House Conference is so important, it was deemed inappropriate to attempt the usual consensus report that is presented to the President at the conclusion of the initial 2 1/2-day meeting. This procedure would also permit the task force group preparing the final report to take into account views and opinions raised by participants who might not have been involved in the preplanning activity.

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

This follow-up conference would also help:

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

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

--initiate the implementation of the Conference results. It is essential that follow-up include more than editing and distribution of the Conference report. It should, at the least, include plans for regional and follow-up conferences, the preparation of materials that could be used by national organizations in study and research work, and the full use of national media.

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

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TASK FORCES OF THE CONFERENCE

To prepare materials for the Conference sessions set forth in the attached memorandum, various task force groups should be organized. The task forces would be responsible for organizing the panel sessions in their respective areas and also providing materials for the presentations to be made in general session; that is, The Widening Gulf, Dynamics of the Ghetto, and An American Problem.

The names listed in each area are, in most instances, those provided by William Taylor, Staff Director of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, in his memorandum to Lee White.

I. The Dynamics of the Ghetto: This task force would be concerned primarily with the various problems surrounding the growth of the ghetto and the disintegration of the Negro-American family. For psychological and emotional reasons, it was deemed wiser not to stress the problem of the Negro family as such but to approach it in the broader context of ghetto existence.

Members: Kenneth Clark; James Wilson; Daniel P. Moynihan; Whitney Young; Hylan G. Lewis; G. Frank Edwards.

II. Administration of Justice: This panel would examine the problem of the administration of justice, particularly as it exists in Southern states. Since this topic is high on the priority lists of all civil rights groups, it was deemed appropriate to provide some vehicle for examining various proposals.

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Members: Jack Greenberg; Charles Morgan; John Doar; Burke Marshall.

III. Legal Guarantees: This task force would produce a status report on the degree of implementation of recent civil rights acts, with special emphasis on public accommodations, voting, and administration of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Members: Joe Rauh; Clarence Mitchell; Robert Carter; Jack Greenberg; and appropriate governmental officials.

IV. Housing:

Members: Robert Weaver; Philip Hauser; Konrad Tauber; George Nesbitt and Victor Fischer of HHFA; Loren Miller; Ed Rutledge and Jack Wood of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; Eunice Grier; George Schirmer; Charlotte Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee; and Robert Carter of NAACP.

V. Employment:

Members: Gunnar Myrdal; Eli Ginzberg; Daniel Moynihan; Vivian Henderson; Charles Silberman; Daniel Bell; Bayard Rustin; Herbert Hill; Andrew Brimmer; Michael Harrington; Walter Reuther; A. Philip Randolph; John Wheeler; M. T. Puryear and Edwin Berry.

VI. Education:

Members: John Fischer; Kenneth Clark; James Allen, Commissioner of Education of New York; Dan Dodson of New York

University; Dr. Allison Davis; Dr. Horace Mann Bond; June Shagaloff of NAACP; Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee; Jack Greenberg; David Hunter of the Stern Family Foundation; and Paul Ylvisaker and Henry Salzman of the Ford Foundation.

VIII. Welfare and Health:

Members: Whitney Young; Dr. Richard Cloward of the Columbia University School of Social Work; Dr. Lloyd Streeter of Los Angeles; Dr. John Turner of Western Reserve and Alvin Shores of the Office of Economic Opportunity on welfare. Dr. Montague Cobb and Paul Cornelly of Howard University; Dr. Asa Yancey of Grady Memorial Hospital in Atlanta and Dr. Kenneth Clement of Cleveland on health and medical services.

Additional notes: It might be effective to request Gunnar Myrdal to make the presentation on An American Problem which would conclude this section of the Conference on the morning of the third day. We should also organize a task force on implementation of Conference results and one on publicity and public relations.