

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
Correspondence

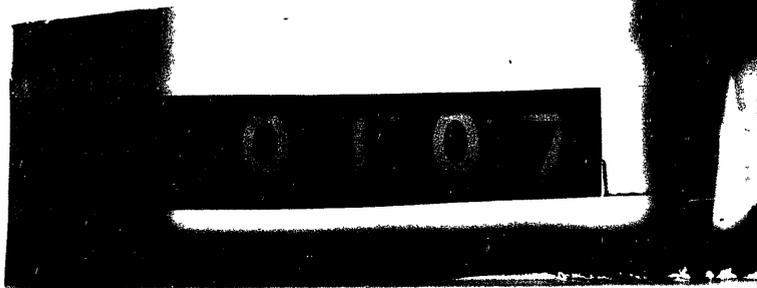
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October 22, 1965

REPORT TO: The President

FROM: Morris B. Abram
William T. Coleman

On October 5, 1965, you appointed us as Co-Chairmen of the White House Conference, serving with Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Honorary Chairman.

We have undertaken your charge to organize the White House Conference on Civil Rights called for in your Howard University address of June 4, 1965. In that address you stated the theme and title of the Conference: "To Fulfill These Rights". You defined the objective of the Conference as enabling the American Negro to "fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement."

You have asked us as a first step to convene on November 17th and 18th a small group of "men and women with long experience in the fields of housing, employment, education, social welfare and the like" to "point the way toward new efforts to include the Negro American more fully in our society."

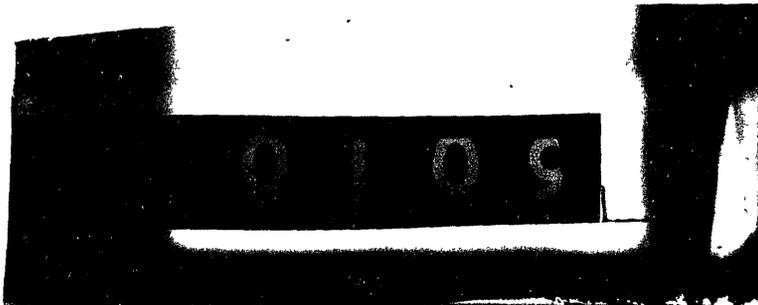
We are pleased, as you are, that Mr. Berl I. Bernhard has accepted the responsibility as Executive Director for the November Planning Session. As former Staff Director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, and as an attorney active in many civic and civil rights efforts, he is well equipped to give this planning meeting informed and able leadership.

We have sought the advice of knowledgeable persons in the fields of civil rights, labor, religion, business, and social welfare, as well as scholars and experts. As a result of these discussions we have developed plans for a November session which will explore in depth and in their inter-relationships issues and proposals in such areas as employment and economic security, education, housing, family stability, administration of justice, and government and private resources for change. We have enlisted the services of experienced individuals capable of drawing upon the best thinking now available in the public and private sectors.

We hope the November meeting will identify the principle obstacles to the achievement of equality and justice, and outline fresh, creative and innovative approaches to solutions. At the conclusion of the Planning Session we will submit to you a report which will include ideas and proposals resulting from the sessions, and our recommendations for additional work to be done in preparation for the Conference in the Spring.

The White House Conference in the Spring, convening a broadly representative group of citizens, will have the capacity to assist you in arriving at and carrying out concrete recommendations for action.

We are mindful that the White House Conference must not only make recommendations for programs, but that it must, as you have said, "light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America".



PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

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215 1-800-6-3000*

October 25, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As I stated to you this morning, a conference was held with the White House Staff at the White House on Friday last.

Unfortunately, I was still "holding" over Dulles Airport when the meeting adjourned. When I finally landed at Baltimore, I hastened to our offices at 1800 G Street, and participated in the drafting of the enclosed report requested by the White House staff.

I am delighted you think well of the ideas in this report for the President has now officially affirmed the direction of our efforts.

The Report represents the melding of considerable thought, many responsible suggestions, and the views of the White House.

No one in the planning sessions has challenged the idea that economic dependence is central to the problems on which the President focused in his Howard University speech. For that reason, we insisted that the panels explore the various issues "in their inter-relationships" rather than as discrete matters. We also believe that specific proposals will be acceptable and will succeed in a degree tied to the elimination of prejudice itself. This is the reason for the last paragraph of the report.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

Mr. A. Philip Randolph

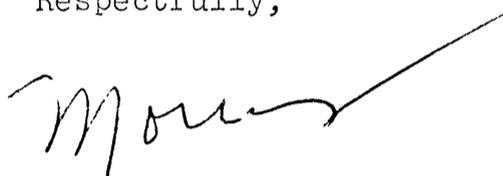
October 25, 1965

- 2 -

Now that the President has given the direction which he wishes the Conference to take, we are able to move more decisively.

I hope that you will encourage all those whose ideas you respect to deal with those responsible for the Conference at all levels.

Respectfully,



Morris B. Abram

MBA:a

CC: William T. Coleman, Jr., Esq.
Berl I. Bernhard, Esq.

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N Y 10022

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November 30, 1965

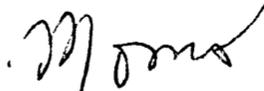
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street, Room 301
New York, New York 00027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have tried to reach you by phone but with no purpose except to say how much I enjoyed our recent association and appreciated your skills, knowledge and dedication in the work in which we have been engaged.

I have already spoken to Bayard but you may convey to him my gratitude for all of his advice and cooperation.

Respectfully,



Morris B. Abram

MBA:rl

December 3, 1965

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Abram:

I want to thank you for your letter of November 30, expressing your pleasure in the work of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I fully share your feeling of appreciation of the work of the Conference. I think it was constructive and creative, and prepared the basis for the big conference in the spring.

You played an important and significant role as one of the architects of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 3, 1965

Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.
2635 Fidelity Philadelphia
Trust Company Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Coleman:

I want to express my great pleasure in working with you in the development of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

In my opinion the Conference was constructive and creative, and prepared the basis for the big conference in the spring which will be concerned with the application of some of the principles developed in the Planning Conference.

Let me congratulate you upon your fine role in serving as one of the architects of this significant effort.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph



December 29, 1965

Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.
Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Kilks
2635 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building
123 South Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Just a word to say that the tentative date you suggested, January 5, 1966, for conference with Morris Abram, Carl Holman and myself, concerning the conference "To Fulfill These Rights," is inconvenient for Mr. Abram and Mr. Holman.

I will get in touch with you later to arrange another date more convenient for all concerned.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

(Temporary address)
609 North Carolina Ave. S.E.
Washington D. C.
November 20 , 1965

Mister A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York , New York

Dear Mr. Randolph :

Just a word of congratulation for your wonderful contribution you have made in the advancement of the American-Negro in his struggle of achieving the full rights of citizenship ; also for your excellent chairmanship at the planning session for The White House Conference " To Fulfill These Rights ". You were indeed an asset to the program.

I trust that in your course of obtaining freedom and justice for the American-Negro, you will not abandon any American; who has also found himself subject to injustices because of his background, how he spells his name or where he came from.

Best wishes in the forthcoming Spring Conference and for a blessed and a happy Thanksgiving Day.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Cuellar

Charles S. Cuellar
President,
San Antonio Council for the
Spanish Speaking
383 Hatcher Ave.
San Antonio, Texas

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NOV 22 1965

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PLANNING SESSION FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
MORRIS B ABRAM
WILLIAM T COLEMAN JR
CO-CHAIRMEN
BERL I BERNHARD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 26, 1965

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D C
TEL 737-9010

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City 22, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I would like to invite you to attend a meeting on Monday, December 6, 1965, at 3:30 p.m. in our offices, 1800 G Street, N.W., Room 1126. The purpose of the meeting will be to review the findings and proposals submitted by the directors of the eight workshop areas which were discussed at the November 17 - 18 Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

A preliminary report based on these tentative findings and proposals will be submitted to the White House during the week of December 6-10. It is not anticipated that we will have received and processed transcripts for all of the panels by that time.

The full and final report on the Planning Session will include suggestions as to the nature and scope of the spring Conference as well as proposed activities for the interim period leading up to that Conference. If time permits we hope to have some preliminary discussion of this latter report during our meeting of December 6th.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman

December 1, 1965

Mr. M. Carl Holman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G. Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Holman:

I want to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of November 26, concerning the meeting planned for December 6 to review the findings and proposals of the workshops of the November 17-18 White House Conference.

I greatly regret that I will be unable to attend the meeting as I will be enroute to California to the AFL-CIO Convention. I hope you will let me know something about the developments of the meeting.

Permit me to congratulate you on the splendid job you have done as one of the architects of the Conference. I consider the Conference a great success since it provides the basis for continuing discussion of proposals designed to meet the purpose of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

PLANNING SESSION
FOR
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

December 10, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Here is a collection of the press coverage through
December 5 of the Planning Session for the White House
Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Best regards,

Sincerely,

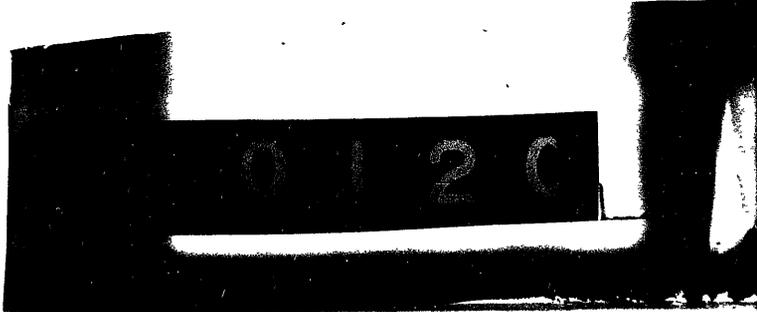
M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1965

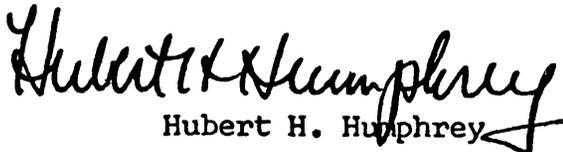
Dear Phil:

You can, and I am sure you do, take great pride and satisfaction from the results of the planning session. This was a unique experiment in the development of national policy in such a critical area, but I think it was an experiment well worth taking. I am sure many useful ideas were brought forth during the deliberations of the various committees.

Your guidance of the proceedings of the planning session was fair and firm. You have written another chapter in the great story of A. Philip Randolph and his contributions to building a better and more just America for all of us.

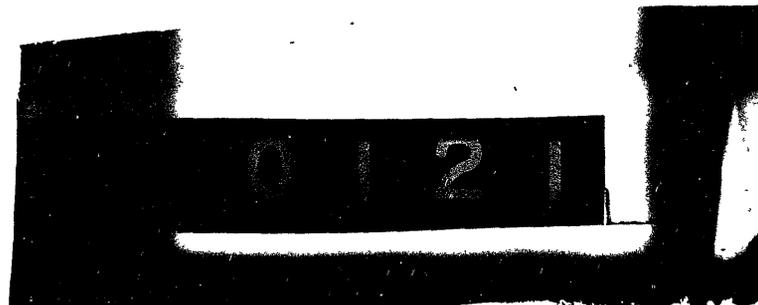
Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman, Planning Session
for The White House Conference "To Fulfill
These Rights"
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

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December 2, 1965

The Honorable
The Vice President of the United States
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Just a word to express great appreciation on the part of The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", and myself personally, for the great address you made at the Conference and the delightful manner and charm with which you fielded the questions presented to you without evading a single issue.

It was a pleasure to have you at the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

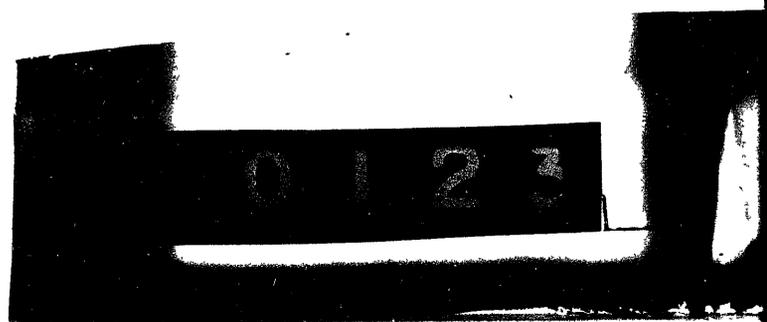
A. Philip Randolph

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

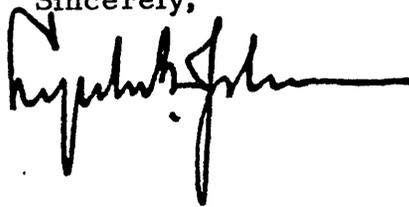
The Planning Session of the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," has, I believe, provided an excellent forum for free and constructive discussion of the important areas of civil rights. The leadership and direction you provided for this meeting has been of inestimable value. You clearly enunciated the principle that this Session was called to enable individuals to speak their minds and work to develop constructive programs. I understand that those who participated with you did just that.

I believe we share a sense of urgency concerning many of the issues that were raised at the Planning Session. As they are presented here for consideration, you can rest assured that they will receive our careful and prompt attention. My personal thanks to you for taking the time from your many duties to help your country.

This is nothing new for you, and the country is much the better over the past forty years because of your many efforts.

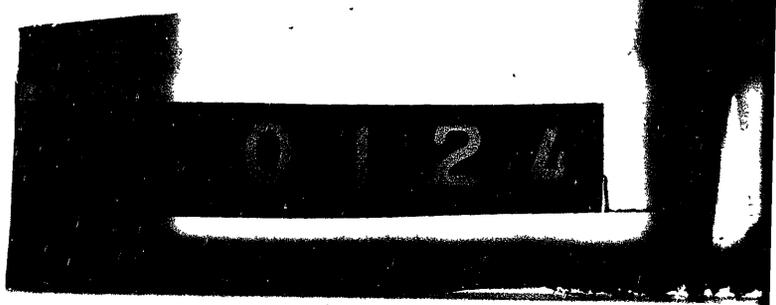
With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

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NOV 29 1965
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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1st International Vice-President
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

BENNIE SMITH
2nd International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan 48226



Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION

Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

MOument 2-5080 - 1



WILLIAM H. BOWE
Acting International Secy.-Treas.

C. L. DELLUMS
3rd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

T. D. McNEAL
4th International Vice-President
2906a North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

B. F. McLAURTN
Eastern Zone Supervisor

December 3, 1965

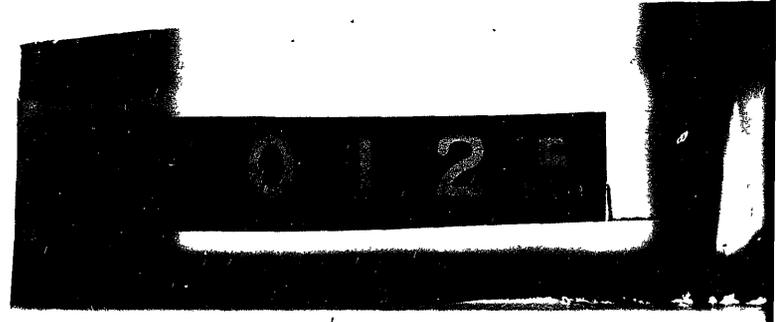
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to express my great appreciation for your letter of November 25, 1965 in which you express your feeling that the Planning Session of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" provided "an excellent forum for free and constructive discussion of the important areas of civil rights." This is an accurate and sound appraisal of the Conference. I am sure that the citizens in attendance at the Conference were conscious of the fact that your wisdom and vision in calling this conference was fully justified.

There were, of course, many varied and varying views expressed on all proposals considered by the Conference. This made for clearer understanding and comprehension of the basic purposes of the Conference. The general discussions, and subsequent summarizations of same for the press, were immensely constructive and creative. They, of course, are submitted to you for your appraisal and judgement.

Now, I am confident that the Planning Conference has provided the basis for the main conference to be held in the spring, where participants may work for the application of the basic ideas set forth in the Planning Conference. May I also point out that it was generally conceded that your statement



at the beginning of the Conference in the white House
set the tone and idealism and philosophy of the Conference
in clear and unmistakable language.

Let me express personally my great pleasure for the
honor you conferred upon me in designating me as the honorary
chairman of the Conference. It was a pleasure to see you and
to have had the pleasure and privilege of presenting you to
the Conference.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

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December 3, 1965

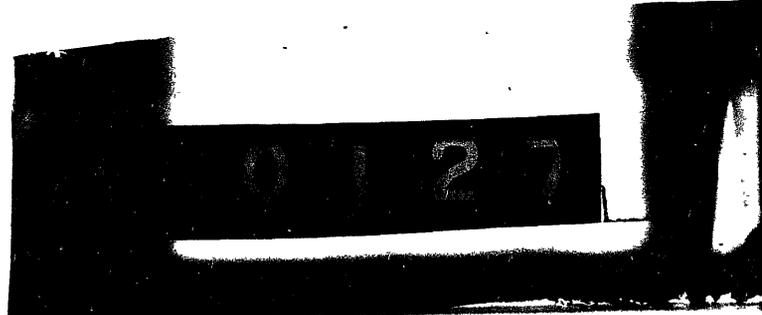
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

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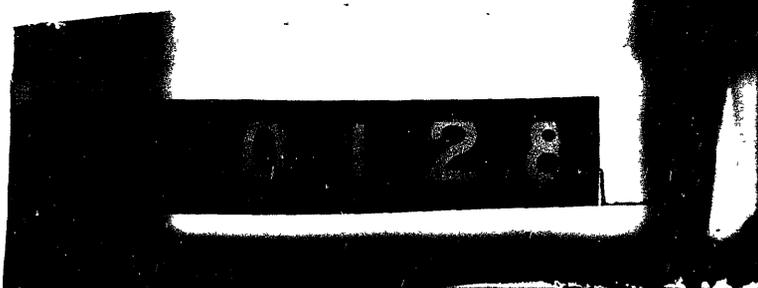


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Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph



December 22, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

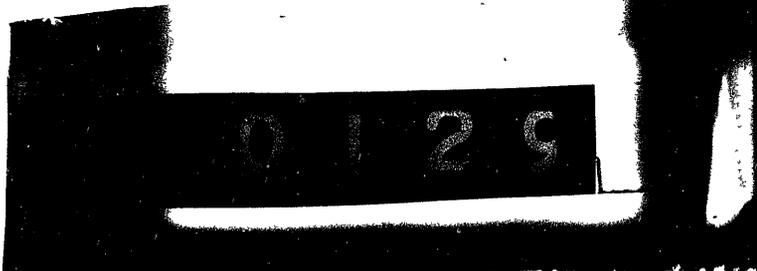
My dear Mr. President:

Let me take this opportunity to assure you of my appreciation of the honor and privilege of having been intrusted by you with the great responsibility of serving as the honorary chairman of the Planning Session for The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," supplemented with a larger conference in the spring.

Your conceptually structuring the conference in the pattern of a spectrum, with luminous and thermal rays to provide the light of direction followed by the motivation of action, was excitingly challenging and profoundly creative.

None can gainsay the fact that there was extensive and provocative debate and discussion on the identification of problems with various and varied proposals for solutions, without any semblance of finalization, realizing that they were for your study, interpretation and evaluation, and utilization as you may deem advisable.

Certainly your wisdom and vision in calling this conference, in terms of the high qualitative standards of discussion by the participants in the conference and the nationwide expression of concern about final policy and program by white and Negro citizens, national and local indigenous leaders, have been fully justified. In fact, your action, stemming as it were from your historic and unforgettable speech at Howard University, June 4, 1965, was an high order of statesmanship on



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perhaps the most important, urgent, and dangerously explosive socio-ethnic problem of this century of our country, the reason for which you have logically pinpointed.

Undoubtedly, the country is looking forward to the Spring Conference hopefully with much anticipation and interest.

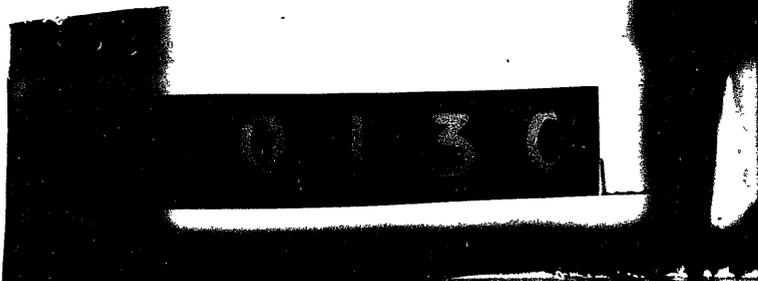
Now, may I report to you upon the fine cooperation the distinguished and able co-chairmen, Morris B. Abram and William T. Coleman, Jr., and myself, received from Mr. Lee White who represented your views impressively and in a distinctively friendly manner.

By the same token, may I say that your professional White House staff, Berl I. Bernhard, M. Carl Holman, Jim Booker, Clifford Alexander, Harold Fleming and Offield Dukes, and the entire White House staff, gave constructive cooperation in developing the conference. They were dedicated and hard-working, obviously because they were aware of the fact that they were carrying out an assignment of promise and prophecy to help build the Great Society, under the leadership of a Great President, for a Great Country.

As you face these troubled times of trial by fire, may God ever sustain and keep you, and give you peace.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph



LEON H. KEYSERLING
CONSULTING ECONOMIST AND ATTORNEY AT LAW
1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
STERLING 3-9191

November 19, 1965

Honorable A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Philip,

I am enclosing two corrected copies of your statement, which I was very happy to have had the opportunity to assist in, issued toward the end of the White House Conference yesterday.

Some of these corrections are minor, but the change from 2.2 billion to 2.2 trillion dollars on pages 6 and 7 are basic to the whole thesis. I thought that you might want to have these corrections in the event that you give the statements or parts of it further distribution. I hope that it may help to lift peoples' sights a bit.

You may want to send one copy of the corrected statement along to Bayard Rustin.

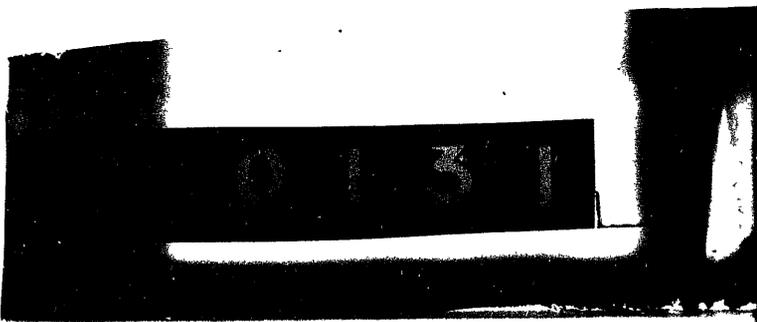
Looking forward to seeing you before too long and with all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Leon
Leon H. Keyserling

LHK:sa
Enclosures

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December 7, 1965

Mr. Leon H. Keyserling
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Leon:

I want to thank you for the corrected copies of the statement which you were kind enough to develop for me so that it would be available for the press. We had these corrections made by the press room before they were sent out.

I want to express my great appreciation and thanks for your interest and fine spirit of cooperation in the economic thinking in connection with the conference.

I am thinking about organizing a committee for the purpose of drafting a rather comprehensive program on the proposals concerning housing and jobs. I hope I may be able to get your cooperation in selecting members of the committee. I will write you further about this.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

October 18, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: John Morsell, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Height, Norman Hill
Whitney Young, Prythia Hall, Walter Fauntroy, James Farmer

FROM: Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

RE: White House Conference

Mr. Randolph's letter reached the White House on Thursday, October 7. On Monday, October 11, the President finally appointed a staff to arrange the Conference. The chief members of that staff are Berl Bernhardt, Harold Fleming and Carl Holman. Clifford Alexander of the White House staff was appointed by the President to represent White House interests.

The first function of the staff was to meet on the afternoon of October 11 with Clarence Mitchell, Jack Conway, Norman Hill, Joe Rauh, Arnold Aronson, Marvin Caplin and Don Slaiman from the Leadership Conference. I understand that a number of questions were clarified, chief of which was that the November 17-18 conference was to be a planning conference for the main conference which is set for sometime in April, 1966.

In the meantime, it is clear that Mr. Randolph is the honorary chairman and Morris Abrams of the American Jewish Committee and a Negro attorney from Philadelphia, William Coleman, are the co-chairmen.

On October 7 I received a call from Mr. Abrams indicating that he was essentially in the dark as to what was happening regarding plans and I informed him of Mr. Randolph's letter with which he expressed agreement.

On October 11 Mr. Holman asked me to meet him in Washington the next day, October 12, and on that afternoon I met with Messrs. Bernhardt, Holman, Alexander and Fleming and also Norman Hill who was representing the AFL-CIO.

Several important decisions emerged from that discussion:

- 1) Although time is short there was general agreement that the planning conference could go in November, and the major conference take place in April.
- 2) That the committee for the planning should include at least one person from each of the major civil rights groups.
- 3) That while no important aspect of the problem should be ignored, the central focus of the conference should center on the achievement of economic stability of the Negro family through work with dignity. Protection of the citizen, particularly in the South, and the proper functioning of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Bills were additional themes given considerable discussion.
- 4) That the staff recommend to the White House that the idea advanced concerning the inclusion of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, etc., be rejected since such a course would make an orderly conference achieving the objective set out by the President difficult, if not clearly impossible.
- 5) It was agreed that a series of major papers would be drawn up and circulated in advance to those who will attend the planning conference. The suggested areas and persons proposed to prepare the documents are

Economics: Nat Goldfinger, Leon Keyserling, Frank Reisman,
James Tobin, Vivian Henderson

Education: Kenneth Clark, James B. Conant, Patricia Sexton

Personal Security and Protection: Anthony Amsterdam

Housing: Charles Abrams, Herbert Gans, Hylan Lewis

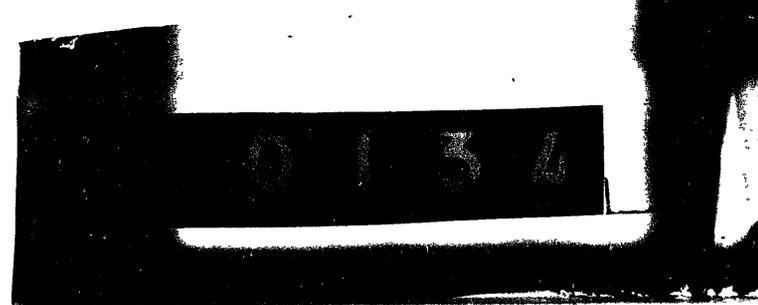
Welfare: James Dumpson

Politics: Daniel Bell, James Wilson

The Negro Woman: Pauli Murray

Business and the Private Sector of the Economy: David Hunter,
J. Irwin Miller, Thomas Watson

The papers on the Negro American, in the Fall, 1965 issue of The Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, will be used. Copies may be obtained from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston, Mass. 02146 - \$1.50 per copy.



The committee will immediately need to give undivided attention to the nature of those papers, and the experienced and skilled persons who will write them, since they ought to be on hand within two weeks.

6) It was felt that the planning conference should be kept as small as politically and practically possible.

7) There was general agreement that persons from the following areas must be invited to the planning conference if it is to lay a realistic basis and plan a practical program that has any chance of success at the April conference:

- (a) Civil rights leaders
- (b) Labor leaders
- (c) Leaders of the three religious groups
- (d) Representatives of the business community
- (e) Key men from various departments of Government
- (f) Individuals with special academic skills and working experience in the field of civil rights

8) That I should spend as much time as possible in Washington where an office has been set up for Mr. Randolph. I presume that both Mr. Coleman and Mr. Abrams will also be provided with office space and will appoint an assistant to work with the committee on an ongoing basis.

From the haphazard manner with which things have occurred to date, and with the various emphasis one already observes at play within the President's staff, I am thoroughly convinced that the success or failure of the April conference will depend on the attention and work expended by the major civil rights organizations. I therefore recommend that each civil rights group appoint a key person from its staff to work on a day to day basis with the committee planning the conference between now and November 17 for, as you can clearly see, much work is to be done.

ROWLAND EVANS - ROBERT NOVAK

Rights Parley A Dismal Flop

WASHINGTON—Nothing in the glittering two-year history of President Johnson's Great Society has failed so dismally as his White House conference on civil rights last week.

Top officials had forebodings of disaster for months. That's one reason the conference was quietly changed to a "planning session" to prepare for a full conference next spring. But few were prepared for what happened Nov. 10 and 11.



RANDOLPH

The main results:

The gap between the civil rights movement and the Johnson administration is wider than ever.

A carefully planned effort to inject a new realism into the discussion of the plight of the Northern Negro was a flat failure.

The reason: shrill cries of Negro militants continued to drown out cautious attempts by more thoughtful Negro leaders to make a hard-headed appraisal of America's agonizing social problem.

THE CONFERENCE evolved last spring when the White House became engrossed in a confidential report on the deterioration of the Negro family prepared by Daniel P. Moynihan. His report was the underpinning of an eloquent commencement address at Howard University by President Johnson, summoning the White House conference.

The President's goal was a bold one: to switch the civil rights dialog from the easily understandable problem of dis-

Walter Lippmann is traveling in South America. His column will be resumed on his return.

mantling Jim Crow in the South to the incomparably more difficult question of the Northern Negro ghetto. Thus, months of preparation went into researching the Negro male's loss of "manhood," the dominance of the Negro female, the breakdown of family life, and the acceleration of illegitimate births.

Sweeping the problems posed by the Moynihan report under the table, Negro leaders at the conference insisted that the federal government and the federal government alone could relieve the torment of the urban Negro.

IN THIS SPIRIT, ailing, aging Negro leader A. Philip Randolph called for a \$100 billion federal "freedom budget" to aid the Negro. The source of this plan: civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, who has never disguised his doctrinaire Socialist view that the root of the Negro's misery is the American economic system.

The implication of Rustin's freedom budget was spelled out at the White House conference by outspoken Floyd McKissick, who insisted that, to alleviate the Negro's plight, "the capitalistic system" must be changed.

And only thinly disguised was an unhealthy dose of Negro racism. Lawrence Landry, a Negro radical leader from Chicago, complained publicly the conference was dominated by "whites and Jews."

ALL THIS was on the surface. Beneath the surface was disillusionment by those who had worked six months to prepare for two dismal days last week. One high policymaker in the administration grumbled bitterly that the Negro leadership knows only how to put its hand out to Uncle Sam. White intellectuals who had come to Washington to discuss Negro social disorganization were stunned by the demagoguery.

The question is why? Some disillusioned liberals hint darkly that radical white elements are at work, prodding Negroes to seek the unattainable (such as the \$100-billion freedom budget), thereby promoting racial discord.

Beyond this, the civil rights leadership simply cannot break the mold of its own doctrine. To examine critically the generations-old habits of the Northern Negro and seek self-improvement would be for them a return to the discredited "Uncle Tom" preachments of Booker T. Washington. Nor can even highly intelligent leaders like Bayard Rustin free themselves from a doctrinal belief in the class struggle.

Thus, what was boldly conceived at the White House as a fresh new look became a tired rehashing of old slogans. What's more it will happen again at the full-dress conference next spring unless the White House comes up with a new cast of characters willing to leave their dogmas at the door.

And That's A Fact . . .

Bobby Kennedy urges South Americans to join in banning conventional weapons—eggs, rocks, clubs and like that.



"Oh, thank you, sir!"

ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Realism On Red C

WASHINGTON—The United States has led its last successful fight to keep Red China out of the United Nations. When the issue next comes up, there is little doubt there will be enough votes to offer Peking a seat.

This means that U.S. opinion and U.S. policy will need to adjust to the inevitable and to decide, well in advance of the next vote, what the U.S. course should be.

What do I mean, adjust? Does this mean that a majority vote for Peking will prove that those who opposed Red China in the UN were wrong and those who supported her were right? Certainly not.

But it does mean realizing calmly that the world isn't going to come to an end if the UN votes to admit Red China.

It means that those who believe the UN should be more universal in its membership will be in the decisive majority and that the United States must be willing to play by the rules. Let us not be the ones to threaten to break up the UN or to withdraw when we don't get our way.

It means that the Johnson administration should re-examine what U.S. policy should be in the face of the new situation.

WE COULD CONTINUE to argue that Peking does not meet the requirements of the UN Charter. It doesn't.

The Charter says its members must give up "armed force" as a means of settling disputes. Mao Tze-tung says: "The seizure of power by armed force . . . is the highest form of revolution."

We could continue to argue that Red China's presence will hamper still further the

ability of the UN king had been on UN would have been the India-Pakistan truce.

But this is now a clear that the majority side instead of outside the UN. Uncompromising on cause and we ought to constructive course the U.Sue.

THERE ARE TWO could usefully pursue.

One is to do every sure that a vote to a vote to expel Nat country of 12,000,0 the present UN st why it should lose the UN wants to ad.

The other line is if Peking really w best way to do the tion before the Peking to appl adopted, the ne China.

Thus far, it is the UN suit Peking itself to th sion vote paper aga to do to Nationali tion cith South K and rem viet Un' etc.), fr

Appa that Pe, doesn't



WASHINGTON



MAO

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Johnson's call was heeded by men and women from all over the nation. Among those present were top executives from many blue-chip corporations.

Help on civil rights starting at the top

More than 400 leaders respond to White House call to use their influence for acceptance of civil rights law.

While all are enthusiastic, next steps are uncertain

More than 400 business and civic leaders from all over the nation gathered in Washington Tuesday in answer to a call from Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson to use their influence in promoting "a spirit of acceptance and observance" for the civil rights law.

In the White House rose garden, the President greeted every member of the group with a handshake or an occasional bear hug. First, though, in an eloquent speech he summed up the day's theme: "We demand—and we are going to have—respect for law and order in this land."

Willing response. The group, which includes top executives of many blue-chip corporations, is the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations. It is sponsored by the Community Relations Service, a body set up under the Civil Rights Act, largely to help achieve compliance with the public accommodations and equal job opportunities provisions through conciliation.

Nearly everyone responded to Johnson's invitation. Members came at their own expense from as far away as Hawaii—and with a wide range of credentials. Among those present were Arthur Shores of Birmingham, Ala., whose home has been bombed, and B. B. Taylor of Baton Rouge, La., who has watched a cross burn on his lawn.

Business leaders in the group, either present or signed up as members, included Frederick R. Kappel, chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., H. M. Packard, president of S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc., Henry Ford, II, chairman of Ford Motor Co., Henry T. Heald, president of the Ford Foundation, David Sarnoff, chairman of Radio Corp. of America, Conrad N. Hilton, chairman of Hilton Hotels Corp., and Kemmons Wilson, chairman of Holiday Inns of America.

High hopes. The response cheered Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy. After the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision in 1954, he noted that

"there was a vacuum of leadership from responsible sources until finally the leadership was provided by demagogues and mobs." This time, he said, "we have a gathering of alert, intelligent, and responsible men and women."

But officials leading the conference were aware that this was only a beginning. Former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins, director of the new Community Relations Service, observed that when the prohibition law was passed, many people felt it should be obeyed. But, he said, "these people did not find support at home, and they turned away from it." He added "We don't want it to happen in this case—but it could."

Clearing the air. Business leaders at the conference were reassured on one "misunderstanding" which has been developing into a point of resistance to the law—the equal opportunity provisions. In no way, said Labor Secy. Willard Wirtz, does this mean the government will set racial "quotas" or "job preference" rules.

He warned that the "worst thing would be to try to take a shortcut across the quicksands of quotas." When you talk about quotas, he said, "you increase the opposition by 50%."

Enthusiasm. Chats with delegates after the day-long session indicated they were fired with enthusiasm. However, they were still unclear as to what would be specifically expected of them.

Private working sessions, with the committee divided into separate discussion groups, tried to narrow the approaches down to a manageable handful. In coming months, Collins' Community Relations Service will try to whip these into specific action programs, which members of the 400-man group can tackle.

While plans are still to be worked out, the separate working groups found agreement in a large number of areas. For example, if community relations groups do not already exist in their towns or states, they will try to get some going.

Leaders of nationwide businesses, particularly in the hotel and restaurant industry, will be asked to get local management to work with members of the National Citizens Committee. And in the South, an effort may be aimed at getting local law enforcement officers to comprehend the law fully.

Those at the White House gathering will try to get such local civic groups at Rotarians and Chambers of Commerce to take up the fight.

As Commerce Secy. Luther Hodges put it: "The stake of the businessman in civil order is great."

AUG 19 1964

JOHNSON DECRIES RACIAL DISORDERS

Also Seeks to Play Down
Their Effect on Election

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18—President Johnson said today that the time had come "to cease telling ourselves and the world that the destiny and fate of this nation will be decided by street rioters and night riders."

Addressing the first meeting of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations, Mr. Johnson said it also was time "to cease this cynical guessing of who will be helped, who will be hurt, by disorders and disobedience and disrespect for the decency of our society."

"All will be hurt," he said. "None will be helped."

The statement on "cynical guessing" was an apparent allusion to speculation on the effect of racial rioting on the voting in the November election.

The President declared:

"The question before our nation is not how whites will vote or how Negroes will vote next November. The question is how we shall work together and succeed for a hundred Novembers to come."

The President spoke to the 450 members of the committee, which was established under the new Civil Rights Act, in the White House Rose Garden.

The real problem, he suggested, is not "the shadow of race itself."

Rather, he said, it is "the darker shadow of indefensible counsel about what our response should be."

In both white and Negro communities, he said, "men are being told that no answer is better than any answer, no progress is better than any progress, no peace is better than any peace."

There are only two courses open to the nation, Mr. Johnson said.

"We can meet the challenge, or we can turn away from it. We can master the problem, or we can leave it to master us."

As for his Administration, he said, "we have chosen to meet it by the answer of law."

In support of that law, "to keep our system secure and our society stable," Mr. Johnson said "we must all begin to work where all of us work best—and that is in the communities where we live today."



Associated Press Wirephoto

DISCUSS CIVIL RIGHTS: Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, left, and LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, at meeting of National Citizens Committee for Community Relations. They both spoke at the meeting in Washington.

Americans need to ask themselves, the President said.

"Are we prepared to give up our prosperity and our peace and let our prejudices make paupers of us all?"

"Are we of this generation to be remembered for allowing America's progress to run aground on the shoals of race?"

The President said the answers were "No."

Mr. Johnson noted that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been passed with the support of both Democrats and Republicans and that "conservatives voted for it as did liberals." He added:

"We demand—and we are going to have—respect for law and order in this land."

"That respect begins with this law which is the law of our land today."

Americans, he asserted, "will not—and must not—permit the destiny and direction of their nation to fall today into the hands of those who seek our division."

Earlier, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy told the citizens committee that the nation was being given a second chance to fill the "vacuum of leadership" that had existed after the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation in 1954.

This was an apparent allusion to the Eisenhower Administration.

The Attorney General said the biggest development was, not violence in some areas but, the fact that "hundreds and thousands of communities are accepting the law."

Thus, he said, "instead of massive resistance today we have massive compliance and cooperation."

Former Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida, director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, told the committee, nevertheless, of "big problems and little problems from every section of the country" that he said were already finding their way to his office.

The committee will work with the Community Relations Service and Governor Collins in seeking voluntary solutions to civil rights problems. Arthur H. Dean of New York is its chairman.

He told the committee that its job was "to contribute to and build up an affirmative national climate of respect for the law, equal treatment for all citizens, and cooperation to that end."

New York Post

AUG 18 1

RFK - Nation Must Take Rights Offensive

Washington, Aug. 18 (AP)—Attorney General Kennedy said today the nation has been given a rare second chance to fill the "vacuum of leadership" which he said followed the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation 10 years ago.

Kennedy said that decision was "received with silence by people in high places," with a resulting disrespect for the high court ruling.

The Attorney General addressed the first meeting of the 400-member Citizens' Committee for Community Relations set up under the 1964 civil rights law. He cited the committee as one example of leadership "instead of a vacuum."

'Massive Compliance'

"Instead of massive resistance today we have massive compliance and cooperation," Kennedy said. Though headlines have emphasized "violent outbreaks" in scattered areas, he said, the "much bigger story is that hundreds and thousands of communities are accepting the law."

The advisory committee will

work with the community relations service, a conciliation agency set up under the new law and headed by LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida.

Collins told the group that the \$1,100,000 request of Congress to operate the service for one year is a "fraction of the cost" of federal operations in Little Rock, Ark., in 1957, or in Oxford, Miss., in 1962 "or that of civil riot and property losses in the East in recent weeks."

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0139

Heineman Vows Action on Rights

BY ROBERT GRUENBERG
[CHICAGO'S AMERICAN
Washington Correspondent]

WASHINGTON—Ben W. Heineman of Chicago promised today that the forthcoming White House-sponsored civil rights conference will be an "action" meeting rather than just a discussion.

Heineman, board chairman of the North Western railroad, was appointed by President Johnson earlier this year as chairman of the conference "To Fulfill These Rights." It will be held here June 1 and 2.

The conference is an outgrowth of a controversial planning session held here last November at which 250 civil rights experts gave their ideas on minority group problems in this country.

Named by L. B. J.

At a press conference today Heineman said a special 29-member council, appointed by the President, will submit recommendations which the conference will be asked to act upon.

These recommendations may form the basis for new legislation, but equally if not more important, Heineman said, they are expected to touch on all areas of American life.

Cites Problems

Expounding his own philosophy on problems facing the American Negro, Heineman said:

"I personally believe there are important gaps in the area of economic security for the Negro.

"It involves, among other things, inadequate participation by business and the labor community."

CHICAGO AMERICAN
THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1966.

Heineman Sets Action Goal For Negro Equality Sessions

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — This year's White House Conference on Negro Equality will be a how-to-do-it session, the time for "mere identification of problems" having passed.

Ben W. Heineman, the chairman, made that pledge Thursday as he discussed plans for the conference here June 1 and 2.

The Chicago railroad executive, who gained national attention by his feat of making commuter service pay on the Chicago and North Western Ry., emphasized that stress will no longer be placed on theories but rather on how to "actually make the Negro an equal part-

ner in this society."

He said the conference will attempt to move beyond government programs and into the area of necessary involvement by every segment of society.

Representation, Heineman promised, will range from the most militant Negro organiza-

tions to big business leaders.

One of his vice chairmen, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, said that the Black Muslims will be among the groups solicited for ideas in preparation for the meeting. The Rev. Mr. Fauntroy is director of the Washington bureau of the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Heineman is serving as chairman of a conference council that will attempt to draft simple proposals for later consideration by all the participants.

Neither these proposals nor

the selection of conference participants will be subject to White House clearance, the chairman asserted.

The goal, he said, is to obtain the broadest possible cross-section of ideas and participants. The results will be submitted to the President in the

form of a report.

Last Nov. 12 and 13 a preliminary session for the conferees was held here. At that time leaders of some of the more aggressive Negro groups complained that they had not

adequately represented

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES
FRIDAY, MARCH 11, 1966.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am happy to invite you to a reception following the March 26th Council meeting, to be held in the White House Mess at 5:30 P.M.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Cliff

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

0142

March 23, 1966

Mr. Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cliff:

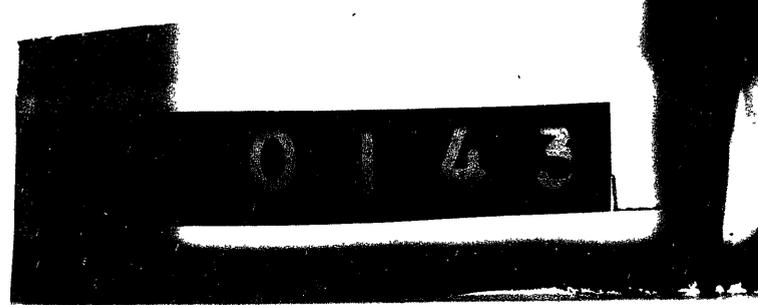
Thanks a lot for your letter of
March 21 inviting me to a reception, following
the March 26 Council meeting, to be held in the
White House Mess at 5:30 p.m.

I greatly regret that conditions will
prevent my attending the meeting of the Council on
March 26.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

It was so kind of you to autograph the photograph for me.

May I again tell you what a distinct privilege it was to work with you during the White House Conference.

With warm good wishes.

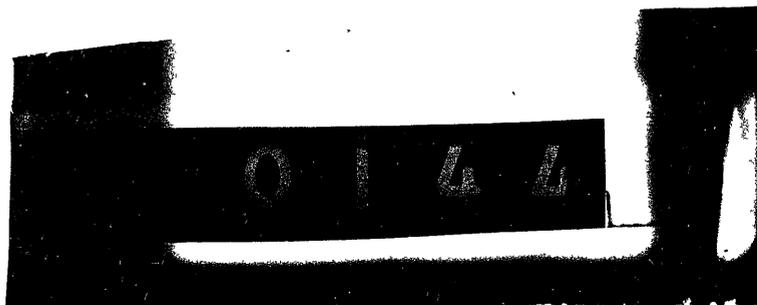
Sincerely,

Cij

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York, 10027

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel. 737-9010

April 19, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

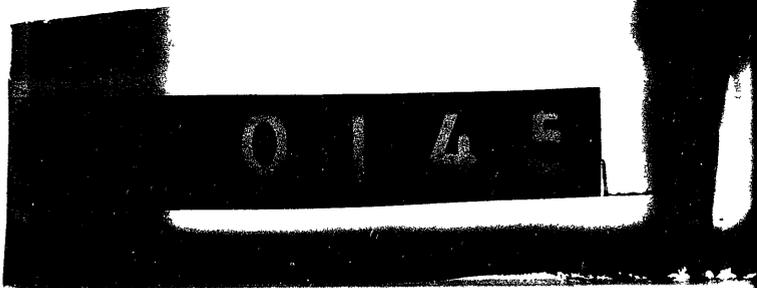
At a prior Council meeting I indicated that the time would come when I would seek your advice about the names of possible invitees. We are now at that point.

It is our intention to maintain the integrity of the basic list of categories of invitees approved by the Council with certain modifications. We are now in the process of gathering and refining names of invitees in such a manner that we can assure all categories will be represented according to a proper geographic distribution.

What I need from you is a carefully evaluated list of individuals who, in your opinion, fall within the categories approved by the Council. It is indispensable that we have not only their names, but their proper current address and your indication of the category or interest of the person recommended.

There were many sighs over the limited number of invitees in the various categories. It is worth sighing once again before you submit the names you have in mind. I know you understand that even at this moment we have more names than could ever be invited. At the same time I am sure we have overlooked many significant individuals.

Will you please submit the names of such individuals to us? There is an urgency in this matter, as we are just short of three weeks to agree upon a final invitation list, and to properly consider your submissions we must have them no later than April 26.

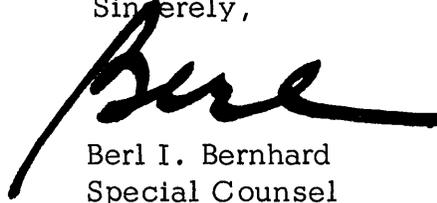


A. Philip Randolph
April 19, 1966
Page 2

I am enclosing a list of categories and allocations as approved by the Council.

All best wishes and I hope to hear from you before April 26.

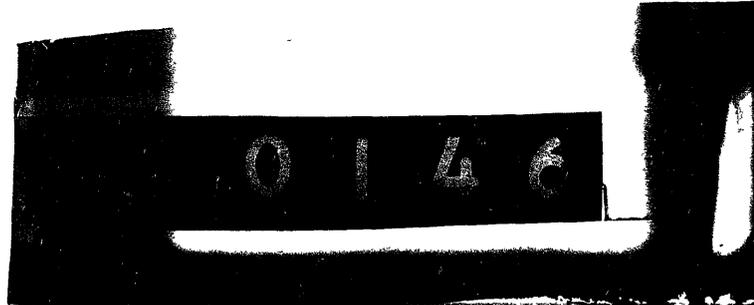
Sincerely,



Berl I. Bernhard
Special Counsel

Enclosure

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APR 20 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



LAW OFFICES
VERNER, LIIPFERT AND BERNHARD
SUITE 1035
UNIVERSAL BUILDING NORTH
1875 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20009

JAMES M VERNER
EUGENE T LIIPFERT
BERNARD I BERNHARD
RONALD B NATALIE
WILLIAM C EVANS

CABLE ADDRESS
VERLIP
TELEPHONE 265-1070

June 8, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

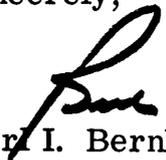
Dear Mr. Randolph:

Just a word of thanks for your remarkable support and for your personal contribution in making the White House Conference the success I believe it was. You not only helped set the right tone for the Conference and the many Council meetings, but assured through your presence and words that you stood ready to see that many of the recommendations would and could be fulfilled.

In the abstract, you have always been one of my heroes, but it was not until this past year that I really came to appreciate your greatness. Working with you has been one of the true satisfactions of my life and I will always stand ready to assist you in any way you deem appropriate.

With warmest regards and great respect,

Sincerely,


Bern I. Bernhard

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

0147

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : Staff Directors
FROM : James E. Booker *jel*
Director of Information
SUBJECT: Lead Story in the April 21st Edition of Jet

The lead story in the April 21, 1966, edition of Jet Magazine is as follows:

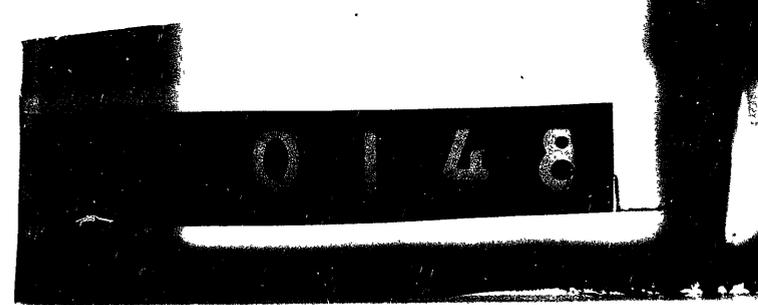
"HEADLINE: MILITANTS MAY PICKET WHITE HOUSE RIGHTS CONFERENCE

Representatives of organizations of militants and residents of ghettos threatened to form a 1,000 person picket line outside of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights in Washington.

Washington Chairman of ACT, Julius Hobson said, a national committee which included Mississippi Leader, Mrs. Fanny Hamer; New York City Rent Strike Leader, Jesse Gray; and Deacons for Defense and Justice Chairman, Ernest Thomas planned a "Black March on Washington," to coincide with the Conference.

Hobson accused the Conference of failing to recognize leaders of militant and ghetto organizations on Planning Sessions. He warned, that all of the meetings would be picketed and some 2,000 participants from around the country would be urged not to attend the Sessions."

file



July 25, 1966

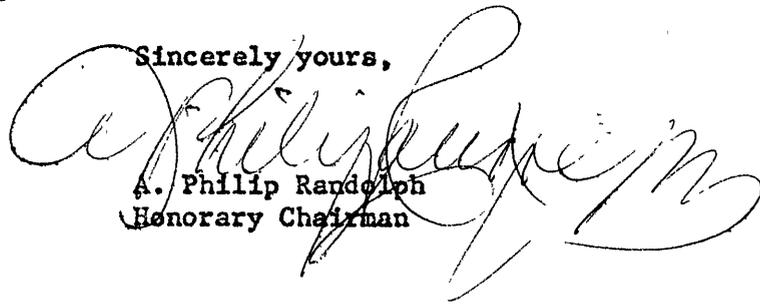
Dear Mr. Butler:

I want to express my personal congratulations and appreciation to you for the dedicated, competent, and impressive job you did in helping to mold the epoch-making and tremendously significant White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," called by our great President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let me assure you that it was a great pleasure and honor to have been associated with you in this enriching and rewarding experience, the effect of which was to achieve for the dignity of the personality of colored Americans in particular and all Americans in general.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A large, flowing handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "A. Philip Randolph".

A. Philip Randolph
Honorary Chairman

Mr. Hollis Butler
Central YMCA
Room 504
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

ColMcKenzie/mb - same letter sent to each individual on attached list

Mr. Lerl I. Bernhard
5405 Blackistone Road
Bethesda, Maryland

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
4105 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Mr. Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
769 Delaware Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. James E. Booker
10 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10037

Lt. Col. Norman J. McKenzie
3854 Columbia Pike
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. David Apter
1429 Iris Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Miss Julia T. Cellini
8144 Eastern Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John M. Christman
100 12th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Evelyn Idelson
1610 45th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Mr. Ronald B. Natalie
12135 Long Ridge Lane
Bowie, Maryland 20715

Mrs. Joan T. Thornell
124 12th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth Reeves
7760 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ray E. Tucker
7521 Cornith Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22306

Mr. Hal Tufty
3812 Livingston Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ofield Dukes
800 Fourth Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Earl Hunigan
702 Denmead Avenue
Oxon Hill, Maryland

Mr. Arthur B. McCaw
101 G Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Azie T. Morton
1250 Fourth Street, S.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Edith M. Allen
Glebe House, Apt. A7
25 West Glebe Road
Alexandria, Virginia

Miss Winnie Balmer *Apartment C-307*
1600 South Joyce Street
Arlington, Virginia

Mrs. Mary Beebe
510 21st Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Joyce Bierman
4128 Wadsworth Court
Apartment 203
Annandale, Virginia

Mrs. Marilyn Blackburne
1830 Columbia Pike
Apartment 40
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. Hollis Butler
Central YMCA, Room 504
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Mary Crampton
1830 K Street, N.W.
Apartment 506
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mrs. Carrie E. Craven ✓
710 Emerson Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Miss Deanna Dettmann ✓
Apartment 201
6280 Marlboro Pike
Silver Hill, Maryland

Miss Shirley Foster ✓
5602 Chillum Place, N.E.
Apartment G1
Washington, D. C.

Miss Hazel Fry ✓
1845 Harvard Street, N. W.
Apartment 704
Washington, D. C.

Miss Marilyn C. Galvin ✓
5505 Glenallen Street
Springfield, Virginia 22151

Mrs. Helen M. Gearin ✓
13010 Valleywood Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland 20906

Mr. Morris Harris ✓
225 L. Carrollton Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Miss Charlene Heidler ✓
1223 34th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Miss Joan Holliday ✓
5201 Eighth Road, South
Apartment 531B
Arlington, Virginia

Mr. David Kastner ✓
602 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Miss Donna Jean Kelly ✓
1733 N Street, N.W.
Apartment 905
Washington, D. C.

Miss Christine Kushner ✓
9902 Dallas Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland

Miss Janet Mays ✓
598 Quincy Street
Brooklyn, New York

Mrs. Jean Oliver ✓
3604 Tyrol Drive
Landover, Maryland

Miss Sharon M. Roddy ✓
4231 Blaine Street, N.E.
Apartment 2
Washington, D. C.

Miss Estella L. Sachs ✓
1330 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Celeste Smallwood ✓
117 56th Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth Spencer ✓
3611 Tyrol Drive
Landover, Maryland 20785

Miss Grace V. Teti ✓
2700 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20008

Miss Constance Thomas ✓
1860 Wyoming Avenue, N.W.
Apartment 7
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Cleveland M. Thompson ✓
Central YMCA
1736 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. George H. Upshaw ✓
801 Gallatin Street, N.E.
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Effie L. Watters ✓
3435 Holmead Place, N.W.
Apartment 312
Washington, D. C.

Marshall Bragdon ✓
1384 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUDSON 6-8397

March 9, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

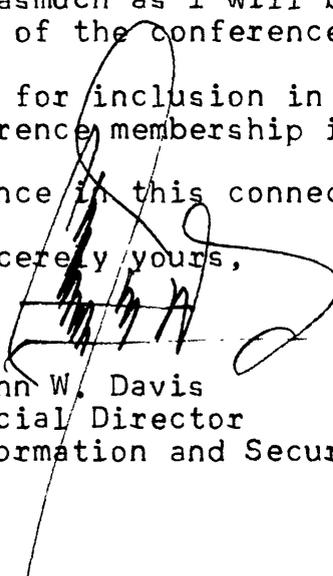
Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am respectfully asking you to see that my name will be added to the list of persons to be invited to attend the White House Conference on Civil Rights which will be called by President Johnson during the coming Spring. I am anxious to be included in the conference inasmuch as I will be called upon to help implement the findings of the conference.

I am submitting my name to you for inclusion in the conference before the roster for conference membership is closed.

I will appreciate your assistance in this connection.

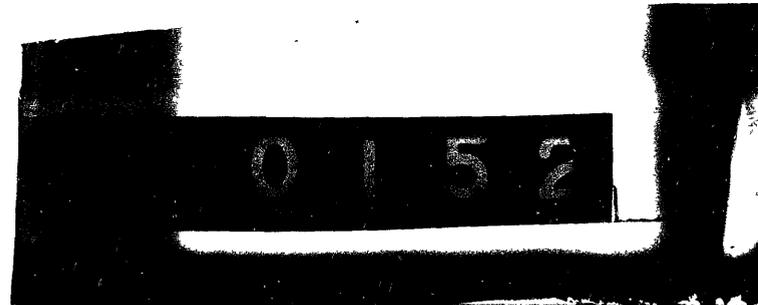
Sincerely yours,


John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD:dl

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Eugene Carson Blake
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Carl Murphy
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George L. Paine
Palfrey Perkins
Irving Pfaum
Bishop James A. Pike
A. Philip Randolph
Miss Ira De Reid
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Carl T. Rowan
John L. Saltonstall, Jr.
William H. Scheide
Guy Emery Shipley
George N. Shuster
Mrs. Harper Sibley
Lillian Smith
Arthur B. Spingarn
Telford Taylor
Norman Thomas
Charles J. Turck
Harold C. Urey
William H. Vanderbilt
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The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

March 16, 1966

Mr. John W. Davis, Special Director
Teacher Information and Security
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Davis:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 9 requesting me to list you as one of the invited participants in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I will be glad to submit your name to receive an invitation.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

0154

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUDSON 6-8397

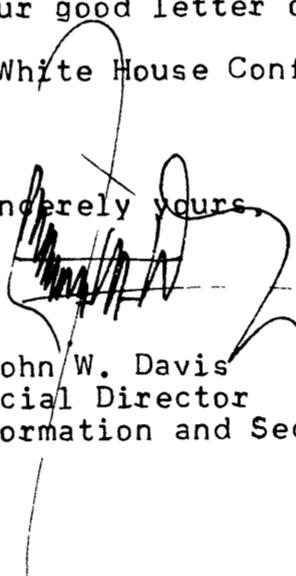
March 22, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am indebted to you for your good letter of
March 16. I hope to attend the White House Conference
on -- "To Fulfill These Rights."

Sincerely yours,


John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

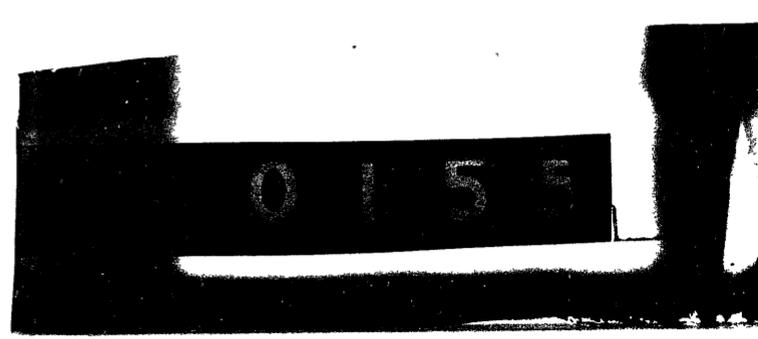
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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Tel. 757-9010

April 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO ALL STAFF MEMBERS

FROM: The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy
Vice Chairman

Mr. David Apter is now serving as my first assistant and as such will function as my back up man on all matters relating to liaison with groups.

Any telephone calls, correspondence, inquiries or responses to our liaison work should be channeled through Mr. Apter to me. It is particularly important that this be done since I shall be traveling throughout the country during much of the remaining time until the Conference date.

Our telephone intercom number is 51.

0158

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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Council Members
Staff Directors
Task Force Chairmen

FROM: The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy
Vice Chairman *W.E.F.*

SUBJECT: Field Trips

I plan to step up our liaison activity next week and will be in the field almost full time from now until the Conference.

A. The purpose of these trips is:

1. To inform a wide range of people across the country about the Conference.
2. To determine the reaction of community leaders to some of the proposals to the Conference and to elicit new ideas.
3. To identify individuals who could make a contribution by being invited to participate.
4. To lay the groundwork for community follow-up.

B. In each city visited, we will want to do the following:

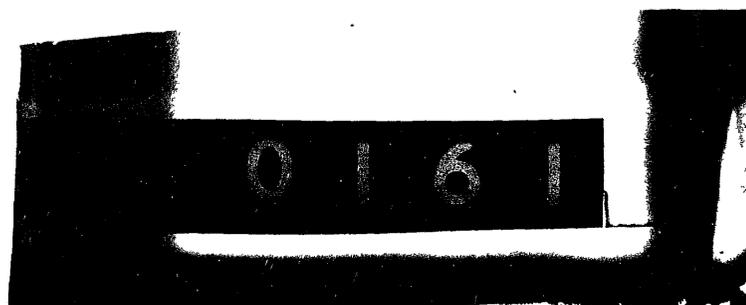
1. Involve Council members.
2. Meet with local civil rights and religious leaders.
3. Meet with the Mayor and members of his official family.
4. Meet with business leaders.

0160

5. Meet with labor leaders.
 6. Meet with the Governor or his representative.
 7. Hold individual conferences with people who should be seen separately.
- C. Traveling with me will be several of our consultants knowledgeable in the fields of business, labor, state and local government and community relations. After I have completed the visits scheduled for April, I may want some of these experts to go for me to other cities which are not now on my schedule.

D. My tentative itinerary is as follows:

April 21 - 22	-----	Mississippi
April 26 - 26	-----	New Orleans
April 27 - 28	-----	Houston
April 29 - 30	-----	St. Louis
May 2 - 3	-----	Chicago
May 4 - 5	-----	New York
May 11 - 12	-----	Cleveland
May 13 - 14	-----	Detroit
May 16 - 17	-----	Los Angeles
May 18 - 19	-----	Miami
May 20 - 21	-----	Atlanta
May 23	-----	Newark
May 24 - 25	-----	Philadelphia
May 26	-----	Baltimore
May 27	-----	Washington, D. C.



WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

TGA WUF
OPR PLEASE PUNCTUATE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE EXACTLY AS
SHOWN. THABK YOU

HBP
/

HBPO01 D L BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MARCH 3 66
BEN W HEINEMAN CHAIRMAN
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
1800 G STREET N W
WASHINGTON D C

GREATLY REGRET UNFORSEEN DEVELOPMENTS PREVENT MY ATTENDING FIRST
MEETING OF COUNCIL ON CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS."
CONCERNING SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF CONFERENCE, I THINK 1,000 OR
1,500 PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE ADEQUATE, BUT IF JUDGEMENT OF
COUNCIL CALL FOR SEVERAL THOUSANDS, EFFECTIVE CONTROL, IN INTEREST
OF ACHIEVEMENT OF RESULTS AS INDICATED IN GREAT SPEECH OF THE
PRESIDENT AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL MANAGERIAL
PLANNING. AS TO COMPOSITION, I WOULD STRESS IMPORTANCE OF
PRESENCE OF A NUMBER OF INDIGENOUS LEADERS FROM AREAS SUCH AS
MIGRANT FARM LABORERS, LONGSHOREMEN, SHARECROPPERS, SOME
TEENAGERS, REPRESENTATIVES FROM APPALACHIA OR WHITE WORKING POOR,
SKILLED AND UNSKILLED WORKERS, TOGETHER WITH VARIED PROFESSIONAL
AND BUSINESS GROUPS. WOULD RECOMMEND THAT GOALS BE KEPT DOWN
TO THREE OR FOUR, INCLUDING JOBS, EDUCATION, HOUSING, AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION, WITH NEW LEGISLATION
FOR PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN THE SOUTH AND SERVICE OF
NEGROES ON JURIES. I PRESUME WE WILL EMPLOY THE PANEL SYSTEM FOR
DISCUSSION, WITH ONE SESSION FOR SUMMARIZATION OF DISCUSSION IN
PANELS BY CHAIRMAN. THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BEGIN, OF COURSE, WITH
THE BLESSING OF THE PRESIDENT.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

0162

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 9, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I regret that you were unable to attend the Council meeting of March 5, 1966. I hope that Bayard Rustin, who contributed substantially to our discussion, briefed you on our meeting. You will see from the enclosed summary that we achieved a great deal. Also enclosed are additional items of information which were furnished the Council members at this meeting.

Please note that Council meetings are planned for 10:30 A.M., Saturday, March 19 and 26, April 2 and 30, and possibly May 14. "Housing and Urban Affairs" will be the main agenda item for the next meeting. The Council will also meet on Friday, April 1 at 7:00 P.M.

Council members are requested to enter the White House grounds through the Southwest Gate and proceed to the Indian Treaty Room in the Executive Office Building. The enclosed identification badge is furnished for your convenience.

I look forward to seeing you at the March 19 Council meeting. The agenda and related information for the meeting will be furnished you at a later date.

If I can be of any assistance to you please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Ben W. Heineman
Ben W. Heineman
Chairman

Enclosures

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0163

March 15, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference "To Fulfill
These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Thank you for your letter of March 9
with material bearing upon The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights." I also note the schedule
for meetings.

I shall plan to be present at the meeting
on Saturday, March 19.

Congratulations upon the splendid job you
are doing on this important conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

0164

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 17, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You should have received by now an invitation from the President to participate in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", to be held Wednesday and Thursday, June 1 and 2, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

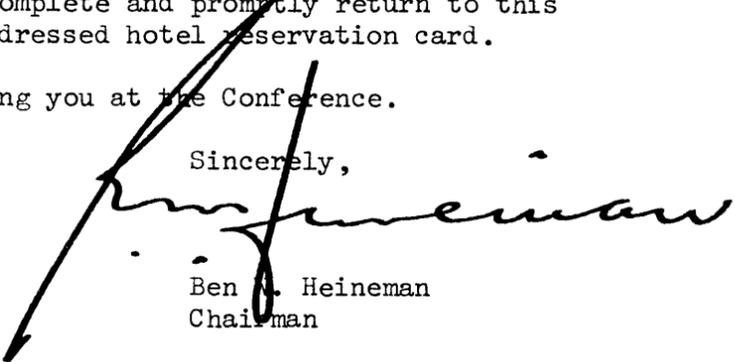
The President first proposed the Conference in June 1965 in his speech at Howard University. He announced that he would call the Conference "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure." The President closed his speech with the prediction that "Together...we can light the candle of understanding in the heart of all America. And, once lit, it will never again go out."

The Conference will bring together a cross section of our society to consider action proposals.

Enclosed, for your convenience, is information regarding the location of the headquarters of the Conference, hotel accommodations, meals and registration. All hotel reservations for participants in the Conference will be arranged by the Conference staff. Please complete and promptly return to this office the enclosed self-addressed hotel reservation card.

I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

Sincerely,


Ben L. Heineman
Chairman

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

0165

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

May 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR CONFEREES
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

After thoughtful consideration the Council concluded that the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" be conducted so that all participants will have ample opportunity to take part in the discussions of all agenda subjects. Listed below are the procedures set up to ensure maximum participation without losing time or moving around.

Each conferee will be assigned to a committee and should remain with that committee throughout the Conference. Each committee will discuss the full agenda and have a chance to bring up other matters. You are urged to attend all committee sessions.

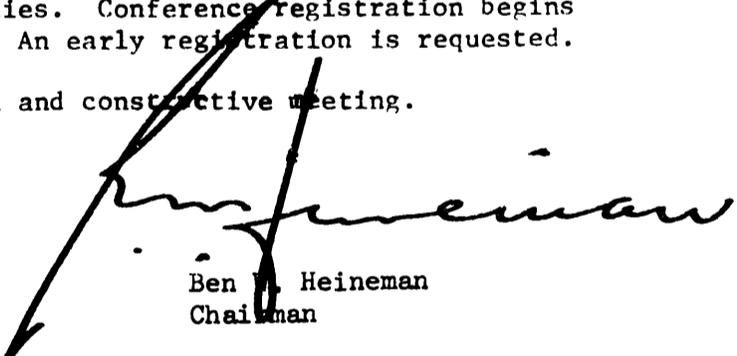
In order to permit a full and free discussion, resolutions or votes will not be recorded. However, complete word-for-word records will be made of each discussion session.

There will be no formal events during the Conference and regular clothes will be suitable.

The enclosed Report and Recommendations of the Council to the Conference will be discussed.

You are reminded that only those actually invited will be able to attend the Conference activities. Conference registration begins at 10:00 a.m., May 31, 1966. An early registration is requested.

We look forward to a fruitful and constructive meeting.


Ben J. Heineman
Chairman

Enclosure

0166

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS

P R O G R A M

Tuesday, May 31

6:30 p.m. RECEPTION
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Wednesday, June 1

9:00 a.m. OPENING MEETING
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

10:45 a.m. FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - First Half

12:15 p.m. LUNCHEON

1:45 p.m. FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING - Second Half

3:30 p.m. SECOND COMMITTEE MEETING

8:00 p.m. DINNER MEETING
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

Thursday, June 2

9:00 a.m. THIRD COMMITTEE MEETING

12:00 Noon LUNCHEON

2:00 p.m. FOURTH COMMITTEE MEETING

7:30 p.m. FINAL DINNER MEETING
Sheraton Hall, Sheraton-Park Hotel

0167

March 23, 1966

Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Heineman:

Just a word to say that because of
Organizational problems I will not be able to
attend the March 26 Council meeting on The White
House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

I shall plan to attend the following
meeting.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

0168

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

HBP 002 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MAR 30 66

BEN HEINEMAN, CHAIRMAN
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
1800 G STREET N W
WASHINGTON D C

I PLAN TO ATTEND MEETINGS FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 1 AND 2.

- A PHILIP RANDOLPH

0169

713

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 28, 1966

To : Members
Council to the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights"

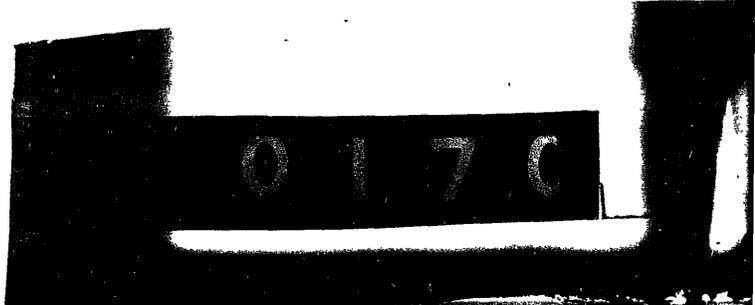
From: Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare *Vivian W. Henderson/jme*

Enclosed is a working draft of some of the recommendations the Task Force on Economic Security and Welfare expects to place before the Council at its meeting on April 2. This is the draft in its original form. It is under revision. The essential elements of the document will be retained. There will be some additions as well.

The main purpose in sending this is to familiarize you with the format we shall use in presenting our recommendations and to give you as much advance information as possible regarding the work of the Task Force.

cc:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. Philip Randolph ✓ | Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin |
| Ben W. Heineman | Floyd McKissick |
| Morris B. Abram | Dr. James G. Maddox |
| Honorable Edward T. Breathitt, Jr. | Joseph P. Molony |
| Dr. Jerome Bruner | Burke Marshall |
| William T. Coleman, Jr. | George Meany |
| Stephen Currier | J. Irwin Miller |
| Dr. Allison Davis | G. William Miller |
| John S. Gleason, Jr. | Dr. Robert Spike |
| Eli Goldston | Roy Wilkins |
| Courtlandt S. Gross | Whitney Young, Jr. |
| Miss Dorothy I. Height | Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy |
| Father Theodore M. Hesburgh | Edward C. Sylvester, Jr. |
| Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. | Berl I. Bernhard |
| Rafer Johnson | James E. Booker |
| Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. | Craig W. Christensen |
| Dr. Martin Luther King | Lt. Col. Norman J. McKenzie |
| John Lewis | |
| James A. Linen, III | |



THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 23, 1966

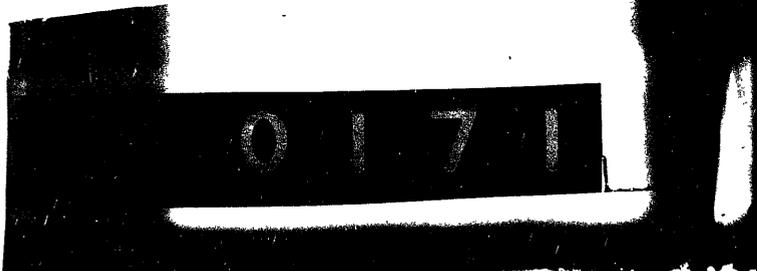
TO: Members of the Task Force on Employment, Training, and Welfare

Dr. Vivian Henderson asked me to forward this rough list of action possibilities in advance of the Task Force meeting of March 25, to stimulate your consideration of possible Task Force recommendations. The list was hastily compiled by the staff and is for preliminary discussion purposes only.

Sincerely,

Albert L. Shostack
ALBERT L. SHOSTACK
Staff Assistant

Enclosure



For discussion purposes only.

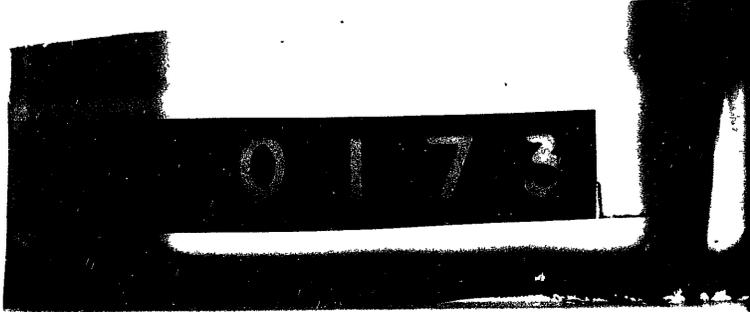
PRELIMINARY LIST OF ACTION POSSIBILITIES

For Consideration by the Task Force
on Employment, Training, and Welfare

March 23, 1966

0172

NOTE: Items marked (c) were tentatively suggested by the November Planning Conference.



Recommendation

Action Needed

A. Attack Discrimination in Employment

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Improve administration of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by: (c) | Legislative |
| a. More adequate budget and personnel; | |
| b. Shift of orientation from individual complaints to attacking patterns of racial discrimination; | |
| c. Strengthening of sanctions; and | |
| d. Authorizing cease and desist orders and other affirmative action by the Commission | |
| 2. Attack discrimination in State and local employment. (c) | Administrative |
| 3. Establish performance criteria to strengthen compliance under Executive Order 11246 (Nondiscrimination on government contracts) (c) | Administrative |
| 4. Intensify efforts to insure the employment of Negroes at higher skill and professional levels in privately operated organizations subsidized by Federal funds: e.g., Negro physicians in hospitals. (c) | Administrative |
| 5. Amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination by employers and unions regardless of their number of employees or members. | Legislative |

B. Create New Job Opportunities for Minority Groups

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Improve local transportation facilities to give minority groups easier access to jobs. (c) | Local and National
Administrative and
Legislative |
| 2. Encourage Negro-owned business enterprises by increasing the availability of Federal loans, grants, and technical assistance. (c) | Legislative and
Administrative |

0174

Recommendation

Action Needed

3. Establish a Federally financed work program to provide jobs for and to improve the employability of hard-core unemployed workers.
4. Experiment with semi-public corporations providing useful last-resort employment to unskilled workers who are not capable of meeting regular job requirements or of profiting from occupational training. For example, the workers might assist in conservation or beautification programs such as removal or screening of automobile junkyards.
5. Institute a program of Federal wage supplements as incentives to employers to hire marginal or relatively unproductive workers.

Legislative

Legislative

Legislative

0175

Recommendation

Action Needed

C. Improve Federally Subsidized Programs for Equipping Unemployed and Underemployed Workers with Work Skills

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Conduct special programs to help graduates of smaller Negro colleges to qualify for job opportunities available in the health or other growing technical fields. (c) | Legislative and Administrative |
| 2. Provide tax credits to stimulate in-plant education and training. (c) | Legislative |
| 3. Use Federal Government contracting authority to arrange and encourage new training opportunities in connection with work on government contracts. (c) | Administrative |
| 4. Increase the effectiveness of the MDTA program, including: | |
| a. Positive efforts to include more Negro trainees; (c) | Administrative |
| b. Additional stress on on-the-job training; (c) | Administrative |
| c. Reducing paper work and time lags; | Administrative |
| d. Maintaining closer contact with employers regarding job requirements and encouraging direct contact between prospective employers and trainees throughout the instruction process; | Administrative |
| e. Expanding MDTA training in fields other than specific occupations to enhance the employability or trainability of disadvantaged workers; e.g., training in communication skills, work habits, attitudes, personal appearance and hygiene, etc. | Legislative and Administrative |

0176

Recommendation	Action Needed
f. Expanding training to upgrade employed workers by defraying the unusual costs incurred by employers in the course of preparing disadvantaged workers for better jobs;	Administrative and Legislative
g. Permitting additional training for a worker who has completed a previous course within the year but has not been able to find a job;	Legislative
5. Build-in greater flexibility in the provision of MDTA training allowances, including:	
a. Increase allowances to the level of public assistance payments where needed to induce public assistance recipients to accept occupational training;	Legislative
b. Reduce the requirement of two years of work experience to one year, thus allowing more youths and adult women to qualify for allowances;	Legislative
c. Pay partial allowances for part-time training;	Legislative
d. Raising training allowances in training courses of long duration.	Legislative
6. Encourage the use of MDTA training for Neighborhood Youth Corps graduates by removing the one-year restriction on the payment of MDTA training allowances to former recipients of other federal allowances, and by suspending the unemployment, work experience, and household status requirements for former NYC enrollees. Exempt NYC youth from the 25 percent limitation on young trainees in the MDTA.	Legislative

0177

Recommendation	Action Needed
7. Amend the MDTA to institute a Federally financed program of vocational guidance and occupational training for inmates of Federal, State, and local penal institutions who require assistance in preparing for productive work at the completion of their prison terms. This program should not be subject to apportionment or state matching requirements.	Legislative
8. Expand the program of experimental and demonstration projects under MDTA to develop and test new ways of meeting the employment and training needs of disadvantaged workers. ✓	Legislative

0178

Recommendation	Action Needed
D. <u>Programs to Meet the Special Needs of Negro Youths</u>	
1. Sharply expand employment-oriented services for in-school youths, including efforts to motivate youths toward jobs in which opportunities are increasing, reduction of drop-outs, and vocational counseling by skilled counselors who are acquainted with emerging job opportunities and the requirements of industry.	Legislative and Administrative
2. Experiment with Job Corps Programs in urban settings, realistically geared to the employment and social environment that participants are likely to face upon graduation from the Job Corps.	Administrative
3. Expand the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program, including:	
(a) Providing additional resources;	Legislative
(b) Reducing the minimum eligibility age from 16 to 14;	Legislative
(c) Admitting young people between the ages of 22 and 24 to the out-of-school work experience program in order to improve the employability of those with severe unemployment problems.	Legislative

0179

Recommendation	Action Needed
E. <u>Fill the Gaps in a Comprehensive Program of Income Security</u>	
1. Enact negative income tax or guaranteed minimum income law. (c)	Legislative
2. Provide family allowances. (c)	Legislative
3. Extend coverage and raise benefits under unemployment insurance. (c)	Legislative
4. Establish a federally financed work program to provide last-resort employment to workers who can neither find nor be trained for other jobs.	Legislative
5. Require that Aid to Families with Dependent Children be granted to otherwise eligible families in cases where there is an employable male present in the household, provided that he is unemployed through no fault of his own and is making reasonable efforts to secure or train for a job.	Legislative

0180

Recommendation

Action Needed

F. Efforts by Non-Government Organizations to Improve the Employment Status of Negroes

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Positive efforts by employers to locate new business establishments in areas accessible to Negro workers. (c) | Private Employers and possible Legislative incentives |
| 2. Positive efforts by private employers to provide job opportunities for Negro workers. | |
| a. Modification of job duties to permit the employment of low-skilled workers. (c) | Private Employers |
| b. Review of job requirements to eliminate unrealistic educational and test specifications. | Private Employers |
| c. Positive recruitment of minority groups in cooperation with Government agencies and minority group organizations. | Employers, Government Agencies, and Minority Group Organizations |
| 3. Elimination of discrimination in apprenticeship programs and development of pre-apprenticeship training programs to prepare nonwhites for apprenticeship. (c) | Private Employers and Labor Organizations |
| 4. Systematic efforts by employers to review the work potential of nonwhites on their present staffs to insure full use of this potential and to encourage upgrading. | Employers |
| 5. Emphasis on insuring equal employment opportunity in non-profit activities, including the promotion of nondiscriminatory policies in local and State affiliates of national medical, hospital, and other non-profit associations. (c) | Private Non-Profit Organizations |

0181

Recommendation

Action Needed

6. Establishment of local and State equal employment opportunity councils. (c)
7. Assistance from non-Government sources for Negroes who are starting or operating business enterprises, including the extension of franchises to nonwhites and the encouragement of joint ventures by white and nonwhite businessmen. (c)

Administrative, Business,
Non-Profit Organizations,
Labor Unions, Etc.

Businessmen

0182

Recommendation
Action Needed

G. Strengthen Recruitment and Job Development Programs for Minority Groups, Including the Federal-State Employment Service System

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Strengthen the Federal-State employment service system by stronger national standards, better staffing, prevention of discrimination, intensified work with minority groups in rural areas, insuring that State personnel are covered by merit systems, and providing additional funds to improve services for minority group members. (c)</p> | <p>Legislative and Administrative, including implementation of recent Task Force report.</p> |
| <p>2. Undertake Human Resources Development Programs in major urban areas, taking an individualized approach to the needs of disadvantaged workers. This should include experimental centers in several cities where workers with especially severe unemployment problems can receive intensive and individualized assistance. This might include diagnosis of needs, individual counseling, referral to health, welfare, or other services, referral to training, and specialized job development and placement under continuing supervision. These centers would be somewhat similar to Youth Opportunity Centers but they would deal with adults.</p> | <p>Administrative and Legislative</p> |
| <p>3. Conduct a comprehensive Government information and technical assistance program to encourage employers and unions to provide equal employment opportunities, to exchange information on the experience of employers who have recently reversed discriminatory policies, and to provide realistic guidance to employers and unions facing severe problems in complying with nondiscrimination policies.</p> | <p>Administrative</p> |

0183

 Recommendation

 Action Needed

 H. Improve Public Assistance and Welfare Services

1. Expand non-cash welfare services to solve the basic causes of poverty among needy people:

- (a) Establish a network of service centers in all areas of need to provide a range of services including consumer education; legal assistance; vocational and personal counseling; training in hygiene, home economics, and citizenship; and related activities. (c)
- (b) Extend free family planning services and materials on a voluntary basis to both married and unmarried public assistance recipients. (c)
- (c) Separate the administration of welfare services from the more mechanical extension of cash assistance. (c)
- (d) Expand rehabilitative services such as: facilities for day care of children, occupational training and basic education for welfare recipients, counseling, highly selective and supervised job placement of marginal workers, and work experience programs. (c)

Legislative

Legislative and Administrative

Administrative

Legislative and Administrative

2. Solve the staffing crisis in public assistance agencies:

- (a) Employ non-professional "expeditors" to inform poor people about available programs and to help them utilize services. (c)

Administrative

0184

Recommendation	Action Needed
(b) Develop case work and related activities which can be conducted by supplemental subprofessional personnel and develop large scale programs to recruit and train such aides in order to reduce the burden of the professional staff.	Legislative and Administrative
(c) Provide resources for a substantial expansion in the number of case workers and for a reduction of clients per case worker.	Legislative
(d) Improve and expand programs to recruit and train professional case workers.	Legislative
(e) Provide higher salaries for case workers, to make them comparable with other skilled and arduous professions.	Legislative and Administrative
3. Reduce or eliminate residence requirements for public assistance or reimburse the States for payments to nonresidents. (c)	Legislative
4. Adjust public assistance programs to encourage recipients to take seasonal farm jobs without endangering their subsequent access to cash benefits and non-monetary services required to help them make long-range adjustments.	Administrative and State Legislative
5. Establish national standards for the level of public assistance benefits paid by the States.	Administrative

0185

Recommendation	Action Needed
I. <u>Programs for Rural Negroes</u>	
1. Provide Federally financed employment opportunities to help seasonally employed rural Negroes in the South to supplement low farm incomes. (c)	Legislative
2. Develop a program to facilitate the economic and social assimilation of rural Negroes migrating to the city. (c) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="186 1467 1138 1568">a. Centers in rural labor surplus areas to help potential migrants make advance arrangements for jobs and housing and to provide vocational and personal counseling; <li data-bbox="186 1595 1119 1721">b. Reception centers in urban labor demand areas equipped to help the in-migrants solve employment and housing problems and to make available to them the range of health, welfare, and other urban services; <li data-bbox="186 1754 1147 1880">c. Residential centers in urban areas--Halfway Houses and Youth Hostels--to provide temporary quarters and health, welfare, and recreation services for youthful and adult migrants during the initial adjustment period; <li data-bbox="186 1914 1153 2012">d. Provision of relocation allowances to help migrants meet moving and subsistence costs without imposing burdens on their target community. 	Legislative
3. Expand the labor mobility demonstration program under MDTA and make it a permanent part of the law.	Legislative
4. Experiment with measures to structure the job market for migratory and other seasonal farm workers so as to provide year-round employment and build a skilled and stable farm work force.	Legislative, Administrative, and action by Farm Employers

0186

Recommendation

Action Needed

- | Recommendation | Action Needed |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <p>5. Improve agricultural labor standards, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Extension of Workmen's Compensation,b. Extension of unemployment insurance,c. Prohibition of child labor outside of school hours. | Legislative |
| <p>6. Sharply expand the availability of vocational counseling and training in rural areas, geared realistically to the demands of the increasingly technical nonagricultural occupations in which the great majority of rural youth must seek employment, and to potential movement to urban areas.</p> | Legislative and Administrative |

0187

Recommendation

Action Needed

J. Improve Labor Standards

1. Expand coverage of Fair Labor Standards Act to industries and occupations currently excluded. (c)
2. Raise the minimum wage under FLSA. (c)
3. Extend the protection of the Labor Management Relations Act to currently excluded workers and industries. (c)

Legislative

Legislative

Legislative

0188

Recommendation	Action Needed
K. <u>Insure Minority Group Representation in Decision-Making and Staffing of Government Agencies</u>	
1. "Integrate" the staffs of national agencies concerned with employment and welfare. (c)	Administrative
2. Insure minority group representation on State and local advisory, planning, and action committees under the MDTA, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and related programs.	Administrative



 Recommendation

 Action Needed

 L. Research and Analyses

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| <p>1. Conduct a study of the advantages and disadvantages of converting the Federal-State Public Assistance Program to a Federally operated program which would include: (c)</p> <p>(a) Planning at the national level;</p> <p>(b) A Federalized welfare system with States and local agencies providing only emergency or temporary personal assistance;</p> <p>(c) Abolition of the present public assistance categories and the substitution of a single category based on need;</p> <p>(d) A Federal scale of welfare benefit levels;</p> <p>(e) Federal standards of eligibility.</p> | <p>Administrative</p> |
| <p>2. Conduct an intensive study of the use of nonprofessionals in the welfare program, including ways in which nonprofessionals can assist professional case workers, the training of nonprofessional aides (including use of Negro colleges and the Job Corps), and examination of ways to gain acceptance of subprofessionals by professional case workers. (c)</p> | <p>Administrative</p> |
| <p>3. Conduct an intensive study of a panel of migrants from rural to urban areas, tracing their experience, problems, motivations, and adjustments over a substantial time period.</p> | <p>Administrative</p> |

 0190

Recommendation**Action Needed**

4. Encourage identification by race in relevant records of employers, labor unions, the Employment Service, and other agencies in order to provide a basis for evaluating the employment and training status of nonwhites.

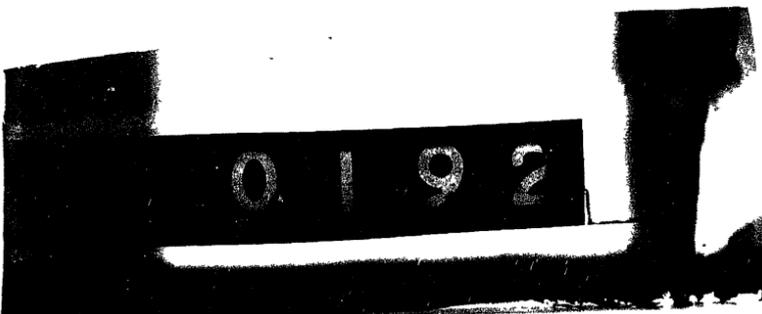
Administrative

0191

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

20

Recommendation	Action Needed
<u>Preparation of a Comprehensive, Structured Program to Meet Overall Needs for Manpower Services</u>	
Develop a comprehensive, structured program to survey and meet the employment, training, and related manpower needs of minority groups. This program should include:	Legislative and Administrative
1. Preparation of a "Human Resources Budget" to systematically:	
a.	
a. Estimate the number, characteristics, and manpower problems of the specific groups in the nonwhite population who require assistance in meeting their job and training needs. This assessment should not only be national in scope but should focus on the 70-odd cities and five or six Southern States in which Negroes are concentrated. Both urban and rural areas of Negro concentration should be included. Data on unemployment, underemployment, and skill attainment should be collected in predominantly Negro neighborhoods on a block-by-block basis if necessary. The assessment should include estimates of future needs based on population, labor force and socio-economic projections.	
b. Identification of the types of manpower services needed by the specific population groups involved; e.g., by in-school youths, out-of-school jobless youths, workers of low skill and educational attainment, older workers, female workers, etc.	
c. Establishment of specific program goals and a time schedule for meeting the goals. These goals should include the number and types of services to be provided, the specific number and types of minority group people to be served, specific locations, and a definite time schedule.	
d. Appraisal of existing Government and non-Government programs to determine the extent to which they can help meet the established goals, and to assign definite priorities and targets to specific agencies.	



Recommendation	Action Needed
e. Identification of the additional programs, services, and resources needed to fill program gaps and to meet the goals. This would include determination of the nature, size, timing, and location of the additional programs.	
2. Coordinated efforts to develop, propose, and support specific programs and increased resources for which the Human Resources Budget has indicated a need.	Administrative and Legislative
3. A systematic program to evaluate the progress of minority groups in the job market, by area, industry, occupation, and type of worker; and to assess the effectiveness of the Government services involved.	Administrative and Legislative

0193

Add the following item to the March 23 preliminary list of action possibilities:

22

Recommendation

Action Needed

Coordination of Programs

Improve the coordination of existing programs concerned with human resource development and utilization: e.g., the OEO program, the MDTA program, programs of DHEW and the Department of Commerce. (The President's Committee on Manpower has established teams to coordinate services in 30 selected cities. It has been given responsibility for coordination of key OEO, Department of Labor, and Department of Health, Education and Welfare programs by Executive Order.)

Administrative

0194

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0195



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1966

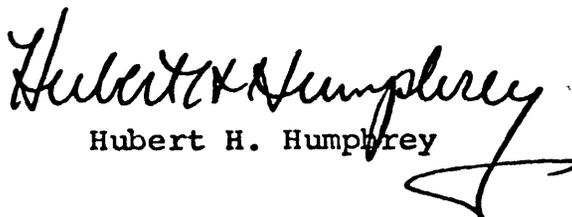
Dear Phil:

I was indeed pleased that you will again be able to assume the duties of Honorary Chairman of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

Your experience and leadership in these vital issues will be most valuable in organizing the full resources of America to achieve equality in fact and not just in theory. Your willingness to find time in your busy schedule for this important work is indeed appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1966
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

0196

March 16, 1966

The Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
The Vice President of the United States
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March 4, 1966 expressing your interest in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights."

May I say that the conference you addressed in November was greatly uplifted by your inspirational talk and I hope that you will participate in the coming conference.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

000197



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1966

Dear Phil:

Once again, you provided magnificent leadership at the White House Conference "To Fulfill these Rights." Your speech truly put the entire matter in vivid and accurate perspective, and I know provided great and lasting insights into the inter-connected and interrelated problems of the ghetto.

The entire nation is surely in your debt for your great statesmanship and leadership at the Conference, as on so many other occasions.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey
Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

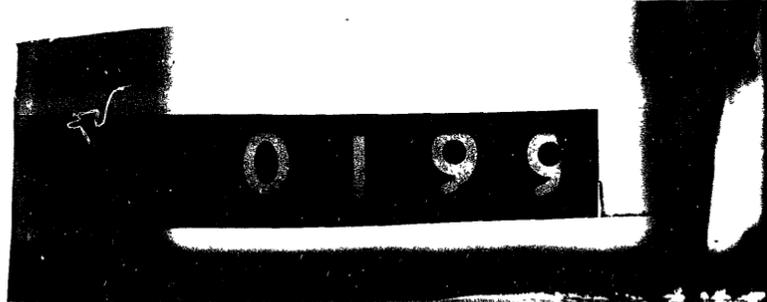
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Ben W. Heineman
Craig Christensen
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy
Clifford L. Alexander
Berl I. Bernhard
Colonel McKenzie

✓ A. Philip Randolph
Harry McPherson
Louis Martin
John Stewart
M. Carl Holman
Harold Fleming
George Reedy

0200

Uptown Lowdown

Puzzler For NAACP Branch

By JAMES BOOKER

Pertinent Questions:

Hasn't the HARYOU - ACT Board of Directors, for all intents and purposes, reinstated Livingston L. Wingate back to his former powers as executive director of the anti - poverty agency? . . . Will Senator Robert F. Kennedy take a Negro with him in his entourage when he goes to South Africa in June? It could be a real test . . . Doesn't the New York Branch NAACP have a real puzzler in trying to find out what is the real story surrounding the relationship of their construction worker project and the branch? Will the branch benefit from the worker's affair, and what's this about joining fees? . . . Did a top official in a Brooklyn group quit recently after staffers found out that he was considered the real roadblock to their overall agency progress? . . .

It's 221 Come April 23

Isn't the city waiting rather late to come up with a real program to combat summer tensions? It could erupt in the spring, Mr. Mayor, unless you hurry . . . Didn't Governor Nelson Rockefeller show his concern for the minority vote in New York City by coming to the offices of the Amsterdam News to announce his reelection campaign?

Clubhouse Row:

Mayor Lindsay continued his non-partisan ways in naming Queens' popular Mrs. Marie Brown Brewer to the city-wide anti - poverty board and Bronx's pretty Attorney Mary Johnson Lowe, to the Youth Board. Both are Democrats . . . Former Democratic leader and Assemblyman Lloyd Dickens discussing a

possible comeback try for the Legislative seat he formerly held . . . Civil Service Commissioner George Gregory, Jr., who resigned as head of the District 10 Planning Board last winter, slated to be honored at a testimonial on Monday, April 18 by officials of the planning group . . .

It's 221 Come April 23

Democratic County Leader J. Raymond Jones' right hand man, Sidney Crichlow, now on staff of the City Council . . . SCHR Chairman George Fowler and top Negro GOPers participated in a conference phone call between several cities last week and recommended Richmond's Clarence Townes to be the new top aide to the Republican National Chairman . . . Assemblyman Percy Sutton, who looms as the next Borough President, holds his club dance Saturday, April 16, at the Renny.

Late Ticker:

Gov. Rockefeller picked Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker to represent him at the Senegal festival. He flew over last weekend . . . Attorneys Tom Weaver and Archibald Murray have formed a law partnership . . . Ex-Palm Cafe owner Ralph Bastone opening a small night-spot in Miami. He'll be missed in Harlem . . . Attorney James R. Rhone slated for a key GOP appointment shortly . . .

The White House Conference on Civil Rights, now scheduled for June 1-2, has decided to concentrate on Jobs, Housing and Education — the real-bread and butter issues rather than go out on a wide range of subjects . . . Look for a scramble among labor biggies for the NALC post which A. Philip Randolph vacates next month . . . All of which brings us around to saying, that's 30, Princess and Prince.

0201

NEWS COLUMN REPORT

Militants May Picket White House Rights Confab

Representatives of organizations of militants and residents of ghettos threatened to form a 1,000-person picket line outside of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights in Washington.

ACT Washington Chairman Julius Hobson said a national committee which included Mississippi leader Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, New York City rent strike leader Jesse Gray, and Deacons for Defense and Justice Chairman Ernest Thomas planned a "Black March on Washington" to coincide with the conference.

Hobson accused the conference of failing to recognize leaders of militant and ghetto organizations on planning sessions. He warned that all of the meeting would be picketed and some 2,000 participants from around the country would be urged not to attend the sessions.

White House Confab Eyes Economic Security, Welfare And Education

WASHINGTON — The 29-member Council to the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" has agreed to concentrate major work sessions at the forthcoming June 1-2 Conference on three problem areas — Jobs and Economic Security and Welfare, Education, and Housing.

"While recognizing the importance of many other areas in fulfilling the rights of the American Negro, the Council was of the opinion that these three areas are of the utmost urgency and magnitude as to require the closest attention," Ben W. Heineman, Council Chairman, declared.

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In Howard Speech

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Also, Father Theodore M. Hes-

burgh, president, Notre Dame University; Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr., U.S. District Court, Philadelphia; Rafer Johnson, former Olympic Decathlon Champion, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director, Voter Education Project, Southern Christian Leadership

Conference, John Lewis, chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; James A. Linen, III, president, Time Inc.; Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin of Baltimore; Floyd McKissick, national director, Congress of Racial Equality.

JET

Vol XXX No 2
April 21, 1966
A Johnson Publication

... Jimmy Booker of the New York Amsterdam News and Ofield Dukes, former newsman, are handling public relations for the White House Conference on Civil Rights. Both worked on the planning conference held last fall ...

New White House Rights Confab To Be Biggest

The forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for June 1 and 2 in Washington promises to become the most important session in human relations ever organized by the federal government.

0204

BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1966

SCIENCE MONITOR

THE CHRISTIAN

FOCUS on Washington

What's ahead . . .

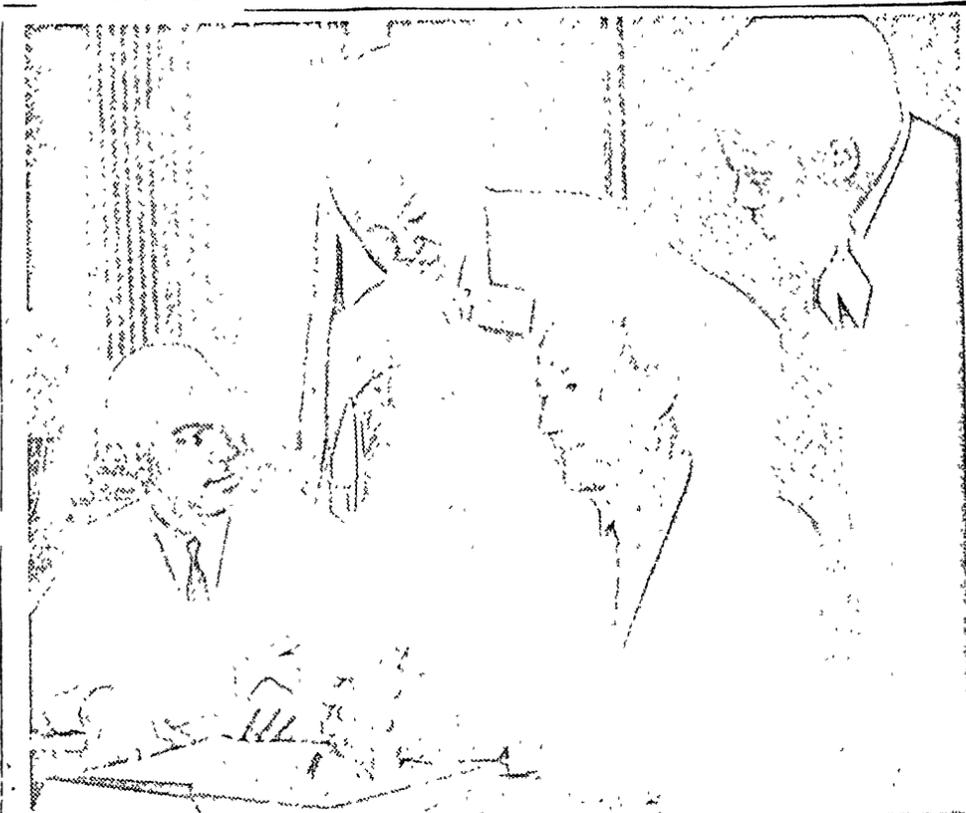
Two Johnson civil-rights moves now brewing on Washington's back burners will be served up to the public more hard boiled than expected.

One of these is the President's civil-rights message to Congress. It deals, among other things, with segregated juries. A group of civil-rights leaders previewed it and found it far too weak.

So the Justice Department now is making changes.

The big White House conference on civil rights now ticketed for early June, is likewise under pressure. Many Negro leaders were acutely unhappy with the planning conference last November. They are pushing to make the main show in June more to their liking.

So changes are being made in it too. The President can't risk a civil-rights fiasco in an election year.



POW-POW ON WHITE HOUSE CONFAB — Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP, and John Lewis, chairman, Student Non - Violent Coordinating Committee, discuss plans

for forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights with two Conference officials — the Rev. Walter Fauntroy (left), vice chairman, and Ben W. Heineman, chairman.

Mr. Heineman is also chairman, Chicago and North Western Railway Company. The Conference will be held June 1 - 2 in Washington.

1,000 pickets promised when White House Conference opens

A group of "militants" will confer in Newark, N.J. Saturday on strategy for a demonstration against the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" which is set for June 1 - 2 in here in Washington.

Julius Hobson, chairman of Washington ACT asserted militant groups were secluded from the planning of the conference and decided to "ring it with picket lines." He said representatives of the ghetto should have been included at the policy - making level of the conference.

Hobson said his views were solicited in a letter by

the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, a Conference vice - chairman, but he (Hobson) decided not to advise Fauntroy on conference participation.

THE ACT chairman stated he expects approximately 1,000 persons to picket the conference. In addition to himself, Hobson said militants who have been excluded from the conference include Mrs. Fannie Lou Hammer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; William Davis of Philadelphia and Jesse Gray, Harlem.

Hobson said Mrs. Hammer will bring a contingent from

Mississippi to picket the conference and other demonstrators are expected from other parts of the country.

Meanwhile, the 29 - member Council to the White House Conference announced

it will concentrate on jobs, economic security, welfare, education and housing.

The Conference was first proposed by President Johnson last June on a speech at Howard University when he said its object would be "to help the American non-white fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

About 2,000 persons will participate in the two - day session which will be held at Sheraton Park Hotel. A. Philip Randolph is the honorary chairman of the conference.

Washington Afro-American

APRIL 16, 1966 THE AFRO-AMERICAN

Right To Be Wrong

With all due respect for his brilliance, his devotion, and his service to the cause of freedom, Julius Hobson is walking down the wrong street this time in planning to throw 1,000 pickets — his figures — around the White House Conference on Civil Rights in June.

Mr. Hobson's complaint is that the conference is ignoring the militants in the civil rights movement. If this were true, there would be cause for concern, but it is not true.

What is true is that at the planning session for the conference last fall, the militants were generally ignored. At that time, this newspaper took strong editorial exception to this omission, and noted that the conference bore too much of a resemblance to a pink tea party, instead of a session where all different viewpoints could be heard.

Planning for the full dress conference has been placed in the hands of the Rev. Walter Fauntroy of

SCLC and Edward Sylvester of the Labor Department. Both men are realists who know that a conference that omits any shade of opinion is worthless.

Under their guidance, the conference is shaping up as representative of the entire community, with the entire spectrum of opinions represented.

When Mr. Hobson talks about militants, the question arises as to "what militants?" Are they militants Mr. Hobson has designated as militants, since they please him. What Mr. Hobson might not consider a militant, might be a militant to others.

Short of turning control of the conference over to Mr. Hobson, there seems to be no other way of answering his complaints. Most of the militants we've talked to seem rather well satisfied with the conference, but then Mr. Hobson has a right to his opinion.

He also has a right to be wrong.

Target areas set - up for White House confab

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Mr. Heineman said the decision had been reached in a series of weekend work sessions of the past month. The council has held meetings on March 5, 26, and April 1 and 2. Mr. Heineman added that staff papers are also being prepared on the administration of justice and health for possible inclusion on the conference agenda.

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MR. HEINEMAN, who is chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company, explained that task forces under the supervision of Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., vice chairman of the Conference, have been assisting the Council in developing action-oriented programs in housing, education, and jobs and economic security and welfare.

"Without in any way minimizing the vital role of the Federal Government, the major purpose of this Conference is to attempt to bring other segments of society—business, labor, and state and local governments—into the cause of helping to make the colored American an equal partner in the society," Mr. Heineman said.

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AFL-CIO NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 2, 1966

***Meany, Molony
On Rights Unit***

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Vice Pres. Joseph Molony of the Steelworkers have been named by Pres. Johnson to the special leadership council which will plan the White House Conference on Civil Rights.

AFL-CIO Vice Pres. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, is honorary chairman of the conference, which will be held in Washington June 1-2. Ben W. Heineman, board chairman of the Chicago & North Western Railway, is conference chairman.

0209

To Fulfill These Rights' Meet To Push, Housing, Welfare, Jobs

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Still other are Dr. James G. Maddox, School of Agriculture & Life Sciences, North Carolina State; Burke Marshall, General Counsel, IBM Corporation; J. Irwin Miller, Chairman, Cummins Engine Company, Inc.; G. William Miller, President, Textron Inc.; Dr. Robt. Spike, Divinity School, University of Chicago; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director National Urban League.

DR. KING'S GROUP SCORES KY JUNTA

Calls on Johnson to Weigh
a Vietnam Withdrawal

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 13 — The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., called on the Johnson Administration today to abandon the ruling military junta of South Vietnam and consider withdrawing from the country altogether.

The executive board of the civil rights organization, which is based here, adopted the resolution at a meeting in Miami. Dr. King announced it at a news conference there.

Although Dr. King has spoken against American involvement in the war before, this was the first time that his organization has taken a formal stand on it. Always before, he had carefully emphasized that his views were personal and did not represent the organization.

Civil rights leaders have debated for months the wisdom of civil rights activists' participating in the peace movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has suffered financially since taking a

States involvement in Vietnam.

The Rev. Andrew Young, executive director of the leadership conference, said the organization had lost a few contributions because of Dr. King's previous utterances against the war.

The resolution adopted in Miami said, "We call on our Government to desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, whose efforts to democratize their Government are more in consonance with our traditions than the policy of the military oligarchy."

"If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta under such manifestly vigorous popular opposition," it said.

"We believe the moment is now opportune and the need urgent to reassess our position and seriously examine the wisdom of prompt withdrawal."

Free Elections Sought

The resolution urged the Administration to seek free elections in Vietnam and to abide by the results. It was timed to support the demonstrations of various dissent elements threatening the Government of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky in Saigon.

Mr. Young said the board believed that the time was ripe for it to speak on Vietnam policy because the anti-Ky demonstrators had shown that nonviolent protest could be effective, even in the midst of war.

Dr. King, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is committed to non-violence as a solution to international problems as well as to American civil rights disputes.

Mr. Young said the resolution did not mean that the leadership conference would participate in peace demonstrations or support them financially.

The Georgia House of Representatives voted earlier this year not to seat Julian Bond, public relations director of the student committee, after he endorsed an antiwar statement that was much more militant than the one adopted by the leadership conference today.

The leadership conference resolution was criticized by Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta.

"Everyone is seriously concerned about our foreign policy and it leads to honest differences of opinion," Mr. Anthony said, "but it is the greatest of mistakes to mix domestic civil rights and foreign policy."

On the other hand, he said, adoption of the resolution indicates "the growing boldness of those who are dissatisfied with the Vietnam policy."

Concern on Congress

Some civil rights leaders have worried over the possibility that antiwar statements by civil rights groups might alienate Congressmen and members of the Johnson Administration and damage the chances of passing further civil rights legislation.

Illustrating the intricacy of political relationships in the civil rights movement, Walter Fauntroy, Dr. King's chief representative in Washington, is vice chairman of the White House Conference on Civil Rights, to be held June 1 and 2.

A recent poll by Louis Harris showed that 4 out of 10 Americans were unfavorably disposed toward civil rights groups opposing the Vietnam war. Forty-one per cent of those polled said that when a civil rights group came out against the war, it made them less in favor of civil rights for Negroes.

Dr. King announced Aug. 12, 1965 at Birmingham that he would ask the leaders of the United States, Communist China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam and South Vietnam to halt the war.

The next day, 400 delegates to the annual meeting of the

leadership conference approved a resolution authorizing Dr. King to "throw the resources" of the organization behind the effort to end the war.

Dr. King apparently dropped his plan to approach the heads of state when it was pointed out that the Logan Act prohibits a private citizen from dealing with a foreign government.

Some civil rights leaders have opposed involving civil rights organizations in the peace movement. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in January that he could not go along with the student committee's strong statement against the war. The statement called the United States participation in the Vietnam conflict murderous aggression.

The resolution said in part: "What has aptly been called 'the gangrene of Vietnam' has in recent weeks made a conflict of confused direction a tragic spectacle. American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy."

'Despised by People'

"Our men and equipment are revealed to be serving a regime so despised by its own people that, in the midst of conflict, they are seeking its overthrow. Not only the Vietcong but basic institutions of the South Vietnam society, Buddhists, Catholics and students, are expressing contempt for the bankrupt government we have blindly supported and even exalted.

"The immorality and tragic absurdity of our position is revealed by the necessity to protect our nationals from the population and army we were told were our cherished allies and toward whom we were benefactors.

"Beyond this, the confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestation to the contrary, the promises of the Great Society top the casualty list of the conflict. The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens, both at the front and at home.

"Another casualty in this war is the principle of dissent. We deplore efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal or traitorous, because such attacks on dissent are themselves destructive of our most fundamental democratic traditions.

"More important, S.C.L.C., as an organization committed to nonviolence, must condemn this war on the grounds that war is not the way to solve social problems. Mass murder can never lead to constructive and creative government or to the creation of a democratic society in Vietnam."

Sordid Adventure Seen

MIAMI, April 13 (AP)—Dr. King said today the United

States war effort was "rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

"It is imperative to end a war that has played havoc with our domestic destinies," Dr. King said.

Referring to the Buddhists, Catholics and students of Vietnam, Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference said in a resolution adopted today:

"They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta."

The resolution said further "the intense expectation and hope of the neglected poor in the United States must be regarded as a priority more urgent than pursuit of a conflict so rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure."

Dr. King said his organization planned no immediate demonstration for Vietnam peace. "Our first consideration is still civil rights," he said.

Dr. King added "if the war continues and nothing is done to de-escalate it, some elements of our civil rights movement may have to demonstrate to preserve our program of domestic progress."

Rights Council To Concentrate On Jobs, Education

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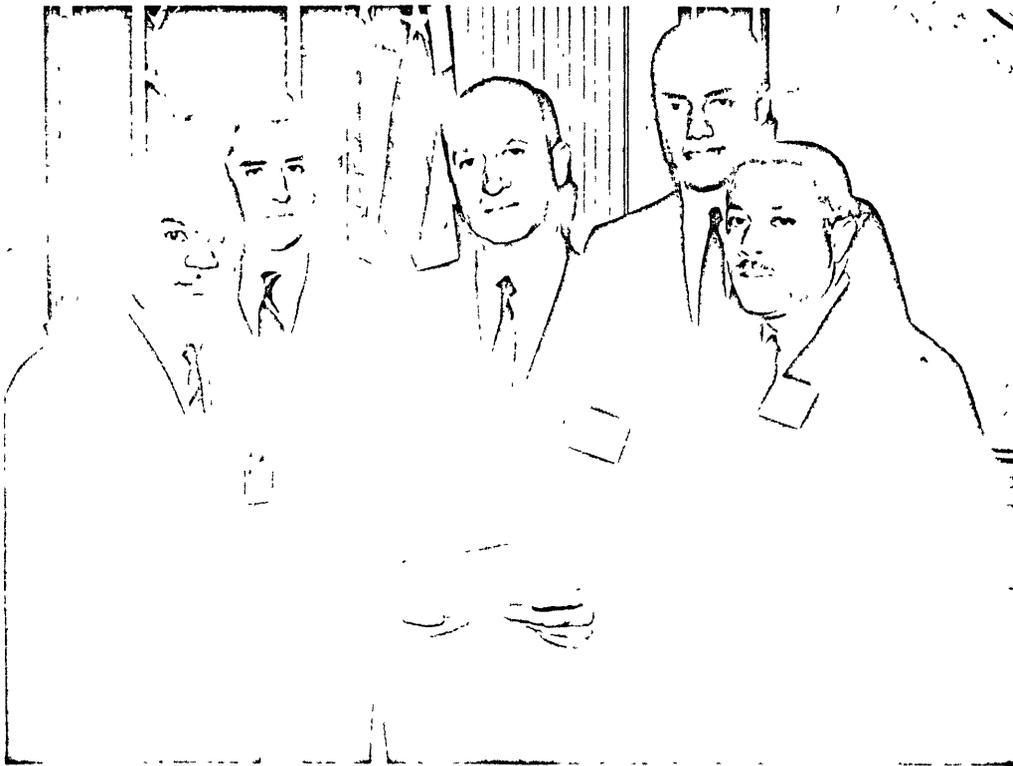
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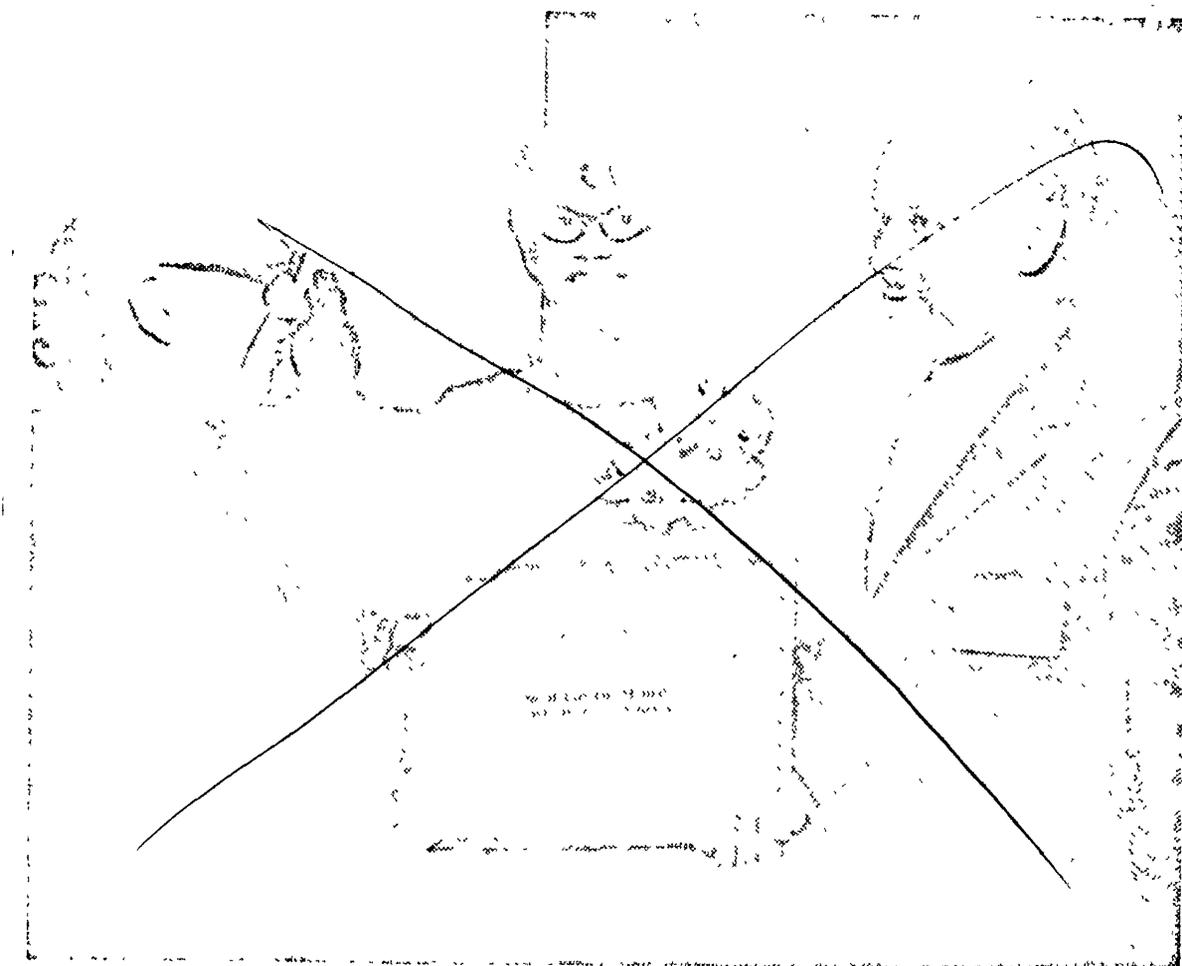
See RIGHTS COUNCIL P. 8



PLANNING WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE -- Having major responsibility in preparing for the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights are: (from left) Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, a Conference Vice Chairman, who is also Washington Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Berli. Bernhard, Special

Counsel to Conference Chairman, Ben W. Heineman (center), who is Chairman of the Chicago and North Western Railway Company; Clifford Alexander, Jr., Deputy Special Counsel to the President; and Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., a Conference Vice Chairman. The Conference is scheduled for June 1 - 2.

YWCA's Urged To Organize Pre-White House Meetings



MALLORY JANE LEWIS 17, of Camden, N. J., was presented a \$1,000 Pepsi-Cola Scholarship during dedication ceremonies of the new home office of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N.C. The scholarship, honoring the largest Negro business in the world, was presented April 1, in Durham. Miss Lewis is a senior at Camden High School and plans to use her Pepsi-Cola scholarship at Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., where she will study mathematics and secondary education. Shown (left to right) are A. T. Spaulding, president, North Carolina Mutual, Miss Lewis, and H. Naylor Fitzhugh, vice-president, Pepsi-Cola Company, New York, who made the presentation.

NEW YORK (AP) — YWCAs throughout the United States have been urged by their National President, Mrs. Lloyd J. Marti of Lincoln, Nebraska, to organize locally "pre-White House" conferences to gather material for and support the White House conference on implementing civil rights called by President Johnson for June 1-2, 1966, it was announced Monday.

Local YWCAs have been asked to convene representatives of women's organizations in their areas, including college and university groups, cultural and religious organizations, women's civic, youth, educational and coordinating groups.

In her letter to Associations Mrs. Marti included a plan for a one-day pre-White House Conference (attached). Summaries from these sessions will be incorporated in a report from the National Board of the YWCA to the White House Conference.

The National YWCA which has had an interracial charter since 1946 and had its first Negro National Board member in 1908 is represented on the Council for the White House Conference by Miss Dorothy I. Height, who is director of the National Board's Office of Racial Integration and president of the National Council of Negro Women.

The emphasis in the one-day conference would be on education, jobs and economic security, housing and administration of justice. The group would be considering how the existing laws can be fully implemented and what may need to be achieved. Information would be gathered on the nature and extent of employment for Negroes in the community, the degree to which schools are integrated, to what extent housing is open, how justice is being administered in the community.

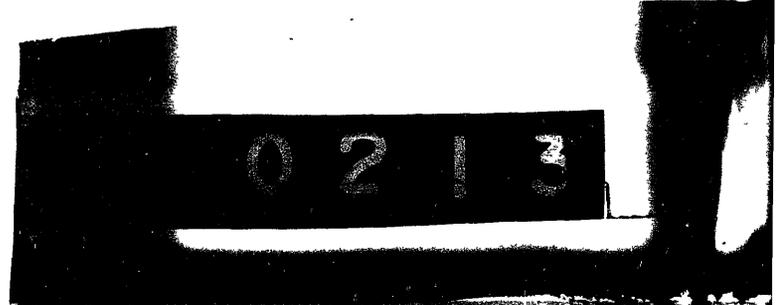
At its last national convention in Cleveland in 1964 the YWCA of the U. S. A. voted for the Association a goal of "Conscious and deliberate effort to assure complete racial integration in all aspects of YWCA membership, leadership, and program, in the use of facilities, and in administrative and employment practices, and also to work for reconciliation and full integration immediately in all areas of the communities' life including education, employment, housing, public facilities, and religious and social institutions."

In her letter to Associations Mrs. Marti said in part:

"We in the YWCA are convinced that when people of goodwill come together close to home to share facts, their hopes and experiences in the light of the nation's goal and our YWCA program priority in racial integration they can make

a difference on the side of greater justice, equality and goodwill. This is especially important now when many people seem to think the job has been finished with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Apathy abounds in the face of potentially explosive situations in many of our communities. YWCA leaders dare not observe in silence lest we forfeit hard-won gains.

"Every community and student Association can make a positive contribution by serving as the initiator by calling together women's organizations from all segments of the community for a one-day conference. This is a significant opportunity to express our YWCA commitment to the fulfillment of Constitutional rights and to the achievement of full equality."



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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.
CONFIDENTIAL FILED JULY 27 1966

ADN



A NZ

CONGRESSMAN CELLERS POSITION ON SECTION FOUR 1966 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL " THAT IT IS BETTER TO BEND THAN BREAK, " SHOULD BE REJECTED. BETTER TO BREAK THAN BEND ON BASIC PRINCIPLE OF OPEN OCCUPANCY FOR NEGRO CITIZENS TO RENT AND PURCHASE PROPERTY OF THEIR CHOICE WITHOUT RESERVATION. PROPOSE WE ALL STAND FIRM WITH MR . WILKINS AND LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THIS MATTER AND REJECT ANY EXEMPTION.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
406P EDT

666 9512
BD A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE 217 WEST 125 ST NYC
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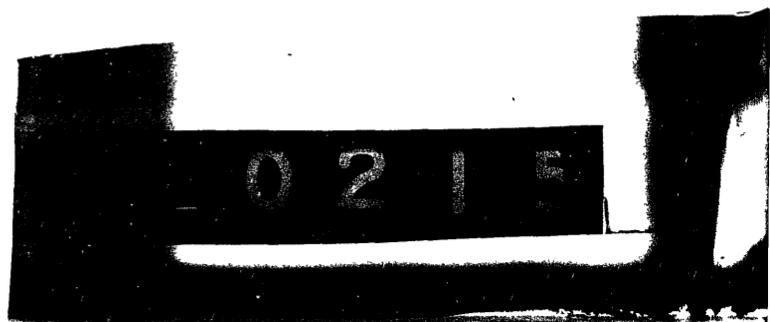
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10

- 001 ANDREW B MILLER A F OF L-CIO 815 16TH ST NORTHWEST WASHDC
- A 002 MR STOAKLEY CARMICHAEL S N C C 8-1/2 RAYMOND ST ATLA
- N 003 MR WHITNEY YOUNG NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE 14 EAST 43 ST NYC
- N 004 MR ROY WILKINS NAACP 20 WEST 40TH ST NYC
- A 005 DR MARTIN L KING 407 AUBURN AVE ATLA
- N 006 MR ARNOLD ARONSON LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 20 WEST 40TH ST NYC
- N 007 FLOYD B MCKISSICK CORE 38 PARK ROW NYC
- N 008 DOROTHY I HEIGHT NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN 200 WEST 57 ST NYC
- N 009 MR CLARENCE MITCHELL NAACP 422 1ST ST SOUTHEAST WASHDC
- N 010 JOSEPH L RAUH 1625 K ST NORTHWEST WASHDC

666 9512

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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

March 16, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please be reminded that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building, at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, March 19, 1966.

The agenda (provisional) will include:

1. Housing and Urban Affairs
 - (A) Existing programs and current legislative proposals.
 - (B) Planning session and other proposals.
2. Preliminary proposals on criteria for Conference invitees.

We look forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

0216

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

April 22, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please be reminded that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building on Friday, May 6, 7:00 p.m.; Saturday, May 7, 10:00 a.m.; and on Sunday, May 8.

We are enclosing a copy of the Summary of Minutes of the April 1-2 Council meeting, and will forward to you the compilation of the task force papers for your information.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosure

RECEIVED
APR 25 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

0217

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel. 737-9010

May 2, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Reference is made to our letter of April 22, 1966 which reminded you that the Council will meet in the Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building on Friday, May 6, 7:00 p.m.; on Saturday, May 7, 10:00 a.m.; and on Sunday, May 8, if necessary.

We are enclosing a draft copy of the Council's recommendations to the Conference for your review. Additional "how to do it" recommendations will be presented at the Council meeting.

We are looking forward to seeing you at the Council meeting. Please let us know if you are unable to attend.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosure

0218

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 7, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As you recall, it was agreed by the Council at its last meeting that we would meet again following the White House Conference on June 1 and 2. The meeting has been set for Thursday, June 23, 1966, 7:00 p.m., Indian Treaty Room, Executive Office Building.

Please inform us if you are unable to attend.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

0219

J. L.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

June 18, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a copy of the Council's Report and Recommendations to the Conference and the Draft Report of the Conference. In the final form of the Report each of the four discussion sections will be preceded by the actual text of the pertinent section of the Council's Report and Recommendations. As an expediency we have not reproduced the Council sections in this draft.

The introduction to this draft, which includes an overview and summary of the Conference, was not finished in time for this mailing and is therefore not included. It was decided, however, to send the incomplete draft to permit as much time as possible for your reading and study before the Council Meeting of Thursday, June 23rd.

We look forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosures

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0220

(4)

What is to be done?

I propose the convening of a State of the Race Conference ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~home~~ of Civil Rights leaders in particular and Negro leaders in general which shall be closed to the communications media as a convenient place to provide the climate for frank, hard, analytical reevaluation of the various factors affecting the Revolution.

This is to be a conference or discussion. No time-press to solve all of the problems of Civil Rights is suggested.

We shall meet to determine whether the Civil Rights Revolution is and whether it is trending.

0221

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel: 737-9010

July 11, 1966

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters, AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

Enclosed are pictures taken of you during the recent
White House Conference on Civil Rights. We thought
you would enjoy having these pictures to recall a
historic moment in the struggle "to fulfill these
rights" for all Americans.

Sincerely yours,



Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Enclosures 11

0222

July 21, 1966

Mr. Edward C. Sylvester, Jr.
Vice Chairman, The White House
Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

Thanks a lot for the pictures of
myself taken during the White House Conference
on Civil Rights.

Let me congratulate you upon the great
job you did to make the Conference the great success
it was.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

0 2 2 3

Statement by A. Philip Randolph

WHITE HOUSE RACE CONFERENCE
TO BE EPOCH-MAKING

Probably the most significant and prophetic statement made on the race problem by a public official was made by President Johnson at Howard University, June 4, 1965, when he stated: "It is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates."

Thus, the purpose of the Conference to Fulfill These Rights, June 1-2, is reflected in this practical and far-reaching proposal in that address: "This is the next and more profound state of the battle for civil rights. We seek not freedom, but opportunity - not just legal equity but human ability - not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result."

Such a task makes this June Conference one of the most important held to seek a solution of the Negro problem since the Civil War.

In order to give practical implementation to the comprehensive and basic proposals the Conference will consider, every important segment of our American society has been involved in the building of the Conference, including Negro and white, the religious faiths, Jewish, Catholic and Protestant, labor and business, educators and government specialists.

Since black and white America has a major stake in the success of this conference, citizens in all areas in the nation should rally to support the conference for the achievement of racial and social justice today should have top priority on the national agenda with a profound sense of urgency.

0224

Ben W. Heineman, Chairman
The White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"
1800 G Street, N. W
Washington, D. C.

Greatly regret unforeseen developments prevent my attending first meeting of council on conference "To Fulfill These Rights". Concerning size and composition of conference, I think ~~1,000~~ 1,000 or 1,500 ~~participants~~ participants would be adequate, but if judgement of Council call for several thousands, effective control, in interest of achievement of results as indicated in great speech of the President at Howard University, will require careful managerial planning. As to composition, I would stress importance of presence of a number of indigenous leaders from areas such as migrant farm laborers, longshoremen, sharecroppers, some teenagers, representatives from Appalachia or white working poor, skilled and unskilled workers, together with varied professional and business groups. Would recommend that goals be kept down to three or four, including jobs, education, housing, and implementation of civil rights legislation, with new legislation for protection of civil rights workers in the South and service of Negroes on juries. I presume we will employ the panel system for discussion, with one session for summarization of discussion in panels by chairman. The conference should begin, of course, with the blessing of the President.

A. Philip Randolph

022

(1)
Hon. Lyndon Baines Johnson
President of the United States
The White House
Washington - DC

My dear Mr. President,

Let me take this opportunity to assure you of my appreciation of the honor and privilege of having been invited by you with the great responsibility of serving as the honorary chairman of the White House Conference to fulfill these rights, supplemented with a ~~larger~~ ^{larger} ~~Spring~~ Conference in the spring.

Your conceptually structuring the Conference in the pattern of a spectrum with ~~a~~ luminous and thermal rays, to provide the lights of direction ~~and~~ the ~~giving of~~ ^{giving of} action followed by the animation of action, was excitingly challenging and profoundly creative.

None can gainsay the fact that there was ~~extensive~~ ^{and provocative} debate and discussion on the identification of various problems with various and varied proposals for solutions, without any semblance

of finality, realizing that they were for your study, and ^{interpretation} evaluation and utilization as you may deem advisable.

Certainly, your wisdom and vision in calling this conference in terms of the high qualitative standards of discussion ^{by the participants in the conference,} and the nation-wide expression of concern about general policy and program by white and Negro citizens, national and local indigenous leaders, have been fully justified.

In fact, your action, ^{as it was,} stemming from your historic and unforgettable speech at Howard University, June 4, 1965, was an high order of statesmanship, ~~and~~ perhaps, the most important, ~~and~~ weight and dangerously ~~of~~ exploration socio-ethnic problem of this century of our country, the reason for which you have ^{logically} ~~politically~~ pin-pointed.

Undoubtedly, the country is looking forward to the Spring Conference ~~and~~ hopefully with much anticipation interest.

Now, may I report to you upon

3 The ~~pleasure with which~~ ^{Cooperation} your ~~distinction~~
^{distinguished} Co-Chairmen: Mark Abrams
and W. T. Coleman and myself
received from Mr. Lee White
who represented your views impressive
ly and a distinctively friendly
manner.

By the same token, many say
than your professional White House
staff - - - - -
were dedicated and hard-working
a variously because they were aware
of the fact that they were carrying
out your assignments of promise and
prophecy to help build the New Society
under the leadership of a ~~great~~ President
for a New Country.

^{As you see} ~~that~~ in these troubled times of
trial by fire may I ~~for you~~ ^{even} sustain
and keep you and give you peace.

Very sincerely yours
Philip Rucker 37

**List for White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"**

Robert Battle, III
Negro American Labor Council
16125 Linwood
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Troy Brailey
Negro American Labor Council
2405 Baker Street
Baltimore, Md.

Richard Parrish
Negro American Labor Council
10 West 135 Street
New York, N. Y. 10037

L. Joseph Overton
Negro American Labor Council
312 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Ernest Calloway
Negro American Labor Council
4441 Kennerly Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

U. C. Crowder
Negro American Labor Council
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Mitchell Ellis
Negro American Labor Council
333 Lafayette Avenue, #H-22
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11238

Frank Evans
Negro American Labor Council
13505 Kinsman Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Matthew Gregory
Negro American Labor Council
4006 Nassau Street
Tampa, Florida

Joseph T. Jackson
Negro American Labor Council
77 Coligni Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.

B. P. McLaurin
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Cleveland Robinson
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Horace Sheffield
Negro American Labor Council
3302 Collingwood Street
Detroit, Michigan 48206

Calvin Sherard
Negro American Labor Council
4417 Van Dyke
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Thomas J. Starks
Negro American Labor Council
108 Maher Street
St. Clairsville, Ohio

Charles F. Street
Negro American Labor Council
654 St. Louis Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio

L. B. Thompson
Negro American Labor Council
4006½ S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Miss Alice Turner
Negro American Labor Council
6203 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Agnes Willis
Negro American Labor Council
61 Harrison Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boyd Wilson
Negro American Labor Council
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Morris Doswell
Negro American Labor Council
13 Astor Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Mrs. Corrine Smith
Negro American Labor Council
32 Macombs Place
New York, N. Y.

0229

T. D. McNeal
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3412 North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

C. L. Dellums
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94620

Bennie Smith
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan 48226

L. J. Shackelford, Jr.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3947 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Samuel Harper
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
3704 Pierce Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Rutledge Pearson
Florida State Conference, NAACP
536 West 18th Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Miss Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Timuel Black
Negro American Labor Council
5059 So. Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Perry Harvey
Intl. Longshoremen's Association
711 Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

0230

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Los Angeles, California

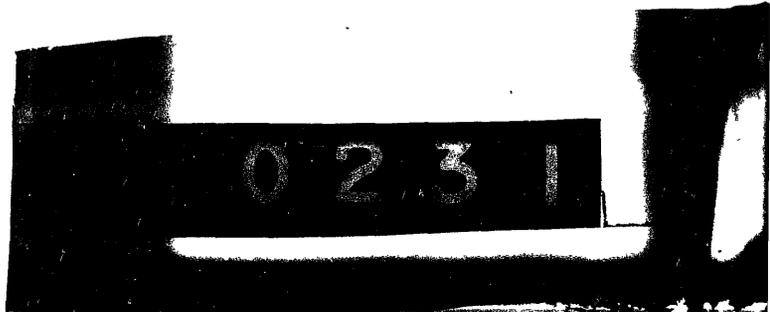
Miss Alice Turner
Negro American Labor Council
6203 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Mrs. Agnes Willis
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1500 Commonwealth Building
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32 Macombs Place
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5059 So. Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Perry Harvey
Intl. Longshoremen's Association
711 Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

0 2 3 2

*Best for white for a conference
To fill these [unclear]*

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

217 WEST 125th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

MONument 2-5080

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President

L. JOSEPH OVERTON
Secretary

RICHARD PARRISH
Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A. Philip Randolph
L. Joseph Overton
Richard Parrish
Cleveland Robinson
Horace Sheffield
Frank Evans

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Robert Battle III, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Troy Bralley, Baltimore, Md. ✓
Ernest Calloway, St. Louis, Mo. ✓
U. C. Crowder, Chicago, Ill. ✓
Mitchell Ellis, New York, N. Y. ✓
Frank Evans, Cleveland, Ohio ✓
Matthew Gregory, Tampa, Fla. ✓
Joseph T. Jackson, New Rochelle, N. Y. ✓
B. F. McLaurin, New York, N. Y. ✓

Cleveland Robinson, New York, N. Y. ✓
Horace Sheffield, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Calvin Sherard, Detroit, Mich. ✓
Thomas J. Starks, St. Clairsville, Ohio ✓
Charles F. Street, Youngstown, Ohio ✓
L. B. Thompson, Los Angeles, Calif. ✓
Alice Turner, Chicago, Ill. ✓
Agnes Willis, New York, N. Y. ✓
Boyd Wilson, Pittsburgh, Pa. ✓



440

*Mrs. B. [unclear] President Nat'l [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear] N.A.L.C.*

*Mrs. [unclear] Smith Chairman National
Fund Raising Committee
N.A.L.C.*

*P. S. [unclear] International Vice-Pres.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*

*A. L. [unclear] International Vice-President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*

*Dessie [unclear] International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*

*Miss [unclear] International
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*

*Ray Bennett, Executive Secretary National
Sleeping Car Porters Fund*

*Sam Harper, President of Jacksonville
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Branch, Jacksonville, Fla.*

*Butledge [unclear] President Florida State Branch
Jacksonville, Florida*

*536 W. 18 Street
Jacksonville*

Steinmann

Greatly regret unforeseen travel
needs prevent my attending with
meeting on Council or general Conference
to fulfill these rights - relation to
our telephone conversation concerning
and composition of Conference. ~~may~~
~~I say that if it be the judgment~~
~~of the Council that while I think a thousand~~
~~and or fifteen hundred participants~~
~~would be adequate in the judgment~~
~~of the Council & all this means~~
~~several thousands of effective contact~~
~~in interest of achievement of results~~
~~indicated in ^{great} speech of the President~~
~~at Howard University will require~~
~~careful managerial planning. As to~~
~~composition may ^{it would} be in~~
~~presence of existing indigenous leaders~~
~~from such areas as migrant farm~~
~~laborers, longshoremen - shore crappers,~~
~~railroad - hotel - store - front preachers,~~
~~some teenagers - skilled and unskilled~~
~~workers together with ^{various} ^{and business} professional groups~~
~~Suggest we keep goals down to three or four - job education employment~~
~~stability of civil rights legislation with new legislation for protection of civil rights~~
~~the panel system for discussion with~~
~~one session for each majorization by chairman~~
~~of the panels or selected ^{of course} delegates. The~~
~~conference should begin with the blessing of the~~
~~President -~~

Written in South - Seminary
purpose: to
document

0234

(1) The White House Race
Conference ⁷⁶ Could Advance
To An Epoch-making
Adds New Dimension to
Problem —

By Philip Randolph
~~When~~
Probably

Probably, the most significant
and prophetic statement made
on the race problem in by
a public official was made
by President Johnson at Howard
University - June 4, 1965, when he
stated that: "Thus it is not enough
just to open the gates of
opportunity. All our citizens must
have the ability to walk through
those gates"

It has ^{the purpose} the purpose of the Conference
to fulfill these rights, June 1-2,
is reflected in ~~a plan~~ ^{of this} a
practical and far-reaching proposal
in that address: "This is the next
and more profound stage of the battle
for civil rights. We seek now

2

freedom but opportunity -
not just legal equality - but
human equality a right -
not just equality as a
right and a theory, but equality
as a fact and as a result.

Such a task makes this
~~Democrat~~ Conference one of
the most important held in
~~a hundred years~~ to seek a
solution of the Negro problem
in a hundred years since the
Civil War.

In order to give practical imple-
mentation to the comprehensive
and basic proposals the Conference
will consider every ^{important} segment of
our American society - has been
involved in the building of the -
Conference including Negro and white,
the religious faiths, Jew, Catholic and
Protestant, labor and business, educa-
tors and government specialists.

Since black and white
America has a major stake
101112

0236

3

in the process of this
Congress, citizens in
all areas in the nation
should rally to support
the Congress for achieving
the achievement of racial
and social justice today
should have top priority
on the national agenda
with a profound sense
of urgency.

0237

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>ALLOCATION</u>
Arts, Sports, and Entertainment	30
Business and Industry	300
Civil Rights Organizations	200
Communications	80
Education	110
Federal Government Officials	200
Foundations	30
Fraternal, Service and Women's Groups	100
Human Relations and Public Interest Groups	100
Labor	100
Poor and Grassroots Organizations	150
Religion	100
State and Local Officials	400
Miscellaneous	<u>100</u>
	2000