

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1730 K STREET, N W
WASHINGTON, D C 20006

July 12, 1965

LOUIS MARTIN
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD GOODWIN

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

1. There are, at the latest count, 280 Negroes holding elective governmental positions in the United States, 98 sit in state legislatures. There are six Negroes in the U.S. House of Representatives.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



OFFICE OF THE
VICE CHAIRMAN

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 6, 1965

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Lee White
Associate Counsel
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Re: White House Conference on
Equal Employment Opportunity

Dear Lee:

MEMORANDUM TO
LEE WHITE'S OFFICE

Bill Moyers has given the following answers
to the queries in this memo:

- 1) No objection
- 2) Bill is working on this.

Connie Gerrard

Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., is out of the city on vacation. He is checking daily with me by telephone. I have been designated by him and our fellow Commissioners to coordinate plans for the above mentioned Conference with you.

We are anxious to have a reception during the Conference but there are no funds in our budget. The Vice President's Office does not have any expenses for this purpose. I need your reaction on the following:

1. Would there be any objection from the White House on our seeking funds from a special grant such as the Roosevelt Foundation, the Ford Foundation or a similar source?
2. Could we send out the attached letter on White House stationery under the signature of President Johnson -- A suggested letter for the President to write to each of the invitees.

Sincerely yours,

Luther Holcomb

Attachment

*Please ask
Connie what the
status is of the letter
referred to in item # 2.*

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September 29, 1965
Wednesday, 6:30 p. m.

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

Both Morris Abram and William Coleman have agreed to serve as Co-Chairmen of the Civil Rights Conference.

Although this is an item that would be highly appropriate for a press conference announcement, I believe that our need to get these two men working actively is such that it might be preferable to have them come to Washington tomorrow or Friday when they might have a chance to meet with you and have you announce their appointment and perhaps have photographs taken in your office.

In the event you decide to meet with them personally, it might also be a good idea to have A. Phillip Randolph in attendance also. Attached is a suggested statement for release in connection with their appointment.

Set up a meeting with Abram and Coleman. _____ Yes _____ No

Also invite Randolph _____ Yes _____ No

Instead of a meeting, simply issue a statement. _____ Yes _____ No

Hold the entire matter for a press conference. _____ Yes _____ No

Encl.

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SUGGESTED STATEMENT

Last June, in addressing the graduating class of Howard University, I announced that a White House Conference would be held this Fall with the theme of "To fulfill these rights."

I am pleased to announce the Conference will be held in Washington on November 17, 18 and 19. To provide leadership and guidance to those who participate in the Conference, I have asked that most distinguished American, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and a Vice President of the AFL-CIO to serve as Honorary Chairman. Working with him as Co-Chairmen of the Conference will be Mr. Morris Abram of Atlanta and New York City, and Mr. William Coleman of Philadelphia. Both Mr. Abram and Mr. Coleman have gained widespread identification as outstanding lawyers, and men of deep personal commitment to the goals of eliminating prejudice from our society and in assisting those who have been disadvantaged for generations to assume their rightful role in the growth and development of our Nation.

We are entering a new and far more difficult phase of our national effort to ensure that all Americans participate fully in the

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benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous of Nations.

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

The November Conference will, I am confident, provide a proper and suitable forum to begin in earnest our efforts to define the immediate goals and objectives that will enable us to reach that day when every American, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin, will have the opportunity, together with his neighbors, to enjoy adequate housing, effective education, satisfactory jobs and a full share of our national life.

MEMORANDUM

To: Lee White and Cliff Alexander
From: Berl Bernhard *Bernhard*
Date: October 8, 1965
Subject: White House Civil Rights Conference

Equity does not support a volunteer but the White House supports a draft. This timing is a shocking display of brinkmanship and we all may go over the ledge. If any modicum of success is to be achieved, it is essential that we have the unequivocal backing of the White House. Additionally, because of the eleventh hour nature of this effort, we must remove all bureaucratic headaches.

If the Conference Director is to gain needed support from the Federal Government as well as knowledgeable people throughout the country agreement must be reached on a number of organizational details.

- (1) That the President himself appoint the Director, announce his appointment and personal support, and make a call for cooperation.
- (2) That the White House publicize not only the appointment but the thrust of the conference.
- (3) That a memo go out to all department heads from the President asking their cooperation including the lending of personnel.
- (4) That a single person on the White House Staff be appointed liaison and that this person have the clear authority to act for the President on operational details.

- (5) That the Director be furnished a White House pass.
- (6) That wherever the office of the Director is to be, calls should be placed through the White House switchboard so that people who have contributions to make are not prohibited from doing so because of telephone screw-ups.
- (7) That adequate secretarial personnel be made available immediately day and night, weekdays and weekends.
- (8) To avoid waste of time that a car and driver be available, for use in the city during the day, to see government officials and others. This car could be provided from the White House pool or some such other place.
- (9) That the Director be made a contractor with the government or a consultant at a previously agreed upon rate of compensation.
- (10) That the Director have authority to appoint other consultants to serve without pay. And that he also have authority to appoint certain compensated consultants after approval of the White House Staff liaison on each such appointment.
- (11) That approval be given the Director for using the services, without compensation, of Harold Fleming, Executive Vice President of the Potomac Institute on a full-time basis, and that Mr. Fleming be recognized as an integral part of the staff.

October 15, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lee White, Special Counsel to the President
FROM: Berl Bernhard, Harold Fleming, Carl Holman
SUBJECT: Status Report on the White House Conference

QUESTIONS

1. What criteria will be employed to determine the acceptability of Planning Session participants and planning staff?
2. Is the Planning Session to be two or three days?
3. Is the Planning Session to be closed to the press absolutely or under what conditions?
4. Is there to be some sort of reception on the evening of November 16?
5. If so, where should it be--at the White House or at the Planning Session headquarters?
6. Is it anticipated that the President or the Vice President may drop in at such an affair or at one of the dinner sessions?
7. If there is to be a reception, who is to pay for it?

ADMINISTRATIVE

Arrangements have been made to take care of all printing costs of the Planning Session, including invitation letters, reservation forms, meal tickets, background memoranda, and printed programs. In view of the time limitations, we intend to use private printing.

As to the Planning Session site, the Washington Hilton appears to have the best facilities for meeting rooms as well as lodging. It is felt to be preferable to the Mayflower because of the meeting room facilities. Because of the size and nature of this conference, we feel that it is preferable to arrange both housing and meeting facilities at one location rather than using the State Department.

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It is necessary to have a White House release on the nature of the Planning Session immediately. A draft press release is enclosed.

A memorandum should go out from Lee White to all heads of Departments and Agencies urging their cooperation. Such a memorandum is enclosed.

INVITATION LIST

Names of personnel thus far proposed from all sources have been put on index cards with appropriate identification, including source. Suggestions have been solicited from the principal civil rights groups, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, business leadership through the Plans for Progress, the religious organizations, the legal profession, and social welfare groups. In making such solicitations, we are stressing the high degree of selectivity and the importance of the substantive competence of the people to be invited. We are aiming at a maximum of 200 outside participants.

What do we do about Government officials, particularly those in the civil rights areas, i.e., members of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the Equal Employment Commission, Community Relations Service, Cabinet members, etc.? We want a decision from the White House as to this kind of participation.

We expect to have invitations out in the form of a letter within three weeks before the Planning Session.

We hope that White House review and approval can be secured within about three days. Do you want the letter to go out over the name of the President or A. Philip Randolph and/or the co-Chairmen? Let us stress the fact that we are asking people because of their knowledge and demonstrated competence, not because of their status or position.

PERSONS PRESENTLY ON STAFF

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Carl Holman
Mr. Edward Bayley
Mr. Gordon Wright
Mrs. Virginia Frank
Miss Elizabeth Drew
Mr. Norman Hill
Mr. Sterling Tucker
Dr. Hylan Garnet Lewis

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE PLANNING SESSION

As a result of numerous discussions with the co-Chairmen, the representative of the Honorary Chairman, members of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and others, it is apparent that there is something less than unanimity about the format. However, there is substantial agreement on the following points:

1. This should be purely a working session.
2. A major emphasis throughout should be on the economic status of the Negro family head, although this should not be narrowly interpreted.
3. The unfinished business of civil rights per se must be considered (e.g., additional legislation needed, implementation of existing legislation, Executive and Administrative action--federal, state, and local.)
4. Preoccupation with purely civil rights problems must not prevent full consideration of the new business of equality in fact as defined in the President's Howard University speech. Participants should be selected for their knowledge of the basic economic, social, and institutional barriers to full Negro participation into society.
5. The Planning Session should be focused exclusively on the status of Negroes. To broaden it to include other minority groups--notably, the Spanish-speaking minorities--would make it unduly diffused. This creates a political problem either way. If the Spanish Americans are included, every other minority group which has not been heard as it feels it should be, will complain. If the Spanish American is excluded, we may expect some protest, particularly because this group is now becoming better organized and more vocal, (e.g., the Employment Commission Conference.)

On balance, it seems wise to stick with the focus of the President's speech and deal with any political problem presented by the Spanish American group separately.

6. While exact language hasn't yet been settled on, there is considerable agreement on the broad areas that should be dealt with:
 - a. An overview of the problem as it has developed and now exists and which will reflect as accurately as possible the

economic, educational, and other gaps that must be closed. One such paper will be prepared by Bayard Rustin. Part of the perspective must include the changing role of the law-- a fact which the President acknowledged in his Howard University speech. Jack Greenberg has agreed to prepare such a paper indicating the changing role of the law and the new approaches that can be anticipated or will be required in the years ahead.

b. The special volume of Daedalus on The Negro American is now available and can serve as a general background document for the Planning Session and perhaps the major Conference to follow.

c. A work session on the Negro family to be developed by Dr. Hylan Lewis.

d. The living environment of the Negro family, including not merely physical shelter, but the neighborhood and its supporting facilities. Charles Abrams has been suggested as a leading possibility for this.

e. A session on work and economic opportunity generally. Dr. Vivian Henderson is expected to play a major role in the development of this session.

f. The session on education broadly defined to include formal schooling, adult education, and literacy, etc. Kenneth Clark will be a major consultant in this area.

g. A session on Government at all levels, including access to public services and facilities, voting and participation in the Government process, and equal protection of the law. The question of the need for federal legislation to protect bodily security of civil rights advocates and sympathizers, particularly in the South. This is of particular interest to co-Chairmen and members of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Mr. Coleman has requested Anthony Amsterdam of the University of Pennsylvania Law School to prepare a paper on this subject.

h. A session on the Negro as a member of his community and how he can be brought into the main stream of civic life.

i. A session on crime and police community relations.

j. As a supplement to the consideration of the Negro family, we contemplate asking Professor Pauli Murray to prepare a background paper on the status of the Negro woman.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1965

To: Mr. Lee C. White

From: Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.

While you were out of the city, the "Powers That Be" have decided that you should be our lead-off batter at the 3:30 meeting because of your uncanny ability to get on base.

The following are some of the points which you want to make:

1. The President's best wishes to the assembled gathering.
2. The nature of the involvements of the rights leadership in planning this conference by their direct contact (and submission of ideas) to the President.
3. The appointment of Abram and Coleman and the authority for substantive decisions which was given them by the President on October 5.
4. Our desire to keep the civil rights leadership continually informed.
5. Our desire to receive the views of the civil rights leadership on topics which will be discussed in some detail by Abram and Coleman. (*PLANNING SESSION*)
6. A brief over-all statement indicating that the genesis of the conference and its substantive backdrop is the President's Howard University speech.
7. Turn the meeting over to either Abram or Coleman to deal with the eight areas which we are going to explore in the Planning Session.
8. If appropriate and not awkward, indicate to the leadership that Coleman and Abram were checked with them by the President prior to their appointment.

*NOTE: NUMBER OF AVAILABLE EXPERIENCE WE HAVE SETTING
WITH A P. HARRIS AS PLANNING CHAIRMAN*

AGENDA

October 30, 1965

THE WHITE HOUSE

Background of the White House Conference

Mr. Lee White

Report of the Co-Chairmen

Mr. Morris Abram
Mr. William T. Coleman, Jr.

Progress of Planning Activities

Mr. Berl Bernhard

Discussion

Closing Remarks and Adjournment

Mr. Morris Abram

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NOTES FOR SATURDAY MEETING, 3:30 PM
October 30, 1965

1. Basic purpose of the meeting and expression of Presidential interest and greetings.
2. A brief chronology and state ment of Presidential and White House understanding of the goals and mechanics of the Conference.
3. Role of Abram, Coleman and Bernhard.
4. Role of Civil Rights organizations.
5. The tentative substantive decisions reached by Abram and Coleman.
6. Meeting with Katzenbach.
7. Handling of press inquiries.

Support

November 8, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Berl Bernhard
From: Louis Martin
Subject: List of invitees for White House Conference
on Civil Rights

1. The first point I want to make is that we believe it is of supreme importance that the use of those who own, control, and direct Negro communication media be represented at the conference. Specifically at least three key persons should be invited:

John H. Johnson
Johnson Publishing Company
Chicago, Illinois
(Editor and publisher of EBONY, TAN, and JET Magazines).

Carl Murphy
Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland
(Editor and publisher of the 6 newspapers of the AFRO-AMERICAN chain).

John Sangstacke
Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois
(Editor publisher of the only important Negro daily newspaper, THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, and also chain newspaper publisher).

The Negro press has been an institution of some importance in shaping the thinking of the Negroes in America and I think we would get very sharp resentment from the publishers if they were totally excluded.

The president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association is Frank Stanley, publisher of the LOUISVILLE DEFENDER, in Louisville, Kentucky. The NNPA has been a very forceful organization in the civil rights matters from time to time.

The line can be drawn very easily by inviting the major voices, Johnson, Murphy, and Sengstacke, and possibly Frank Stanley.

2. There are some omissions on this list which you may want to consider. State Representative Julian Bond of Atlanta, Georgia, who is the son of Horace Bond and has a SNCC background. I understand he has captured the imagination of the young people across the country and is full of ideas. State Senator Leroy Johnson of Georgia who has become something of a southwide political leader and has great influence. Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York whose work is well known to everyone. Dr. Philip Hauser of the University of Chicago, who has pioneered in population matters and who is highly regarded by some civil rights people. Mr. Neil Sullivan, the Superintendent of Schools of Berkeley, California, formerly the Superintendent of Prince Edward County Schools. Jack Conway of the Industrial Union Department of AFL-CIO might be very helpful in some of the planning.

I received a call from Commissioner John Duncan who is interested in Victor Daly getting an invitation. It seems that Daly has been working on the apprenticeship program.

Inasmuch as you have invited Ralph Ellison, the author of the Invisible Man, in a panel on communities, I was wondering about the possibility of inviting James Baldwin, who is the darling of the literati. His books have made a tremendous impact on the American mind. I was also wondering about Louis Lomax, the author of The Negro Revolt. He also has made some impact on the American mind.

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 13, 1965

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

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Lee C. White
Special Assistant to the President

From: Morris B. Abram, Co-Chairman
William T. Coleman, Jr., Co-Chairman

Following the President's appointment on October 5 of the Co-Chairmen, and their subsequent appointment of Berl Bernhard as Executive Director, a staff operation was organized to prepare for the Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on November 17-18. A central staff of 13, in addition to the consulting staff for the various work groups (30), with necessary clerical support (39) has been assembled and has been carrying on the preparation for the Planning Session. The commitments of all these people, as well as the arrangements for space, furniture, and equipment, extend only through November 18. As matters now stand, on November 19 the personnel of this operation will be recalled to their various federal agencies and private organizations; the space, furniture, and equipment will be subject to disposition by GSA.

The result of this would be a complete inability to follow up the Planning Session itself and the loss of administrative continuity. At some later date a new staff effort would have to be organized to undertake the formidable work of preparation for the Conference, now anticipated sometime in the Spring.

W. T. C. 11/18/65

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In addition to these practical problems the group assembled at the Planning Session will undoubtedly expect to have some indication of the follow-up mechanism and activities which will bridge the gap between the Planning Session and the Spring Conference. We feel very strongly that some assurances of this kind should be given to the group that has assembled on very short notice to offer their knowledge and experience as a first step in this process.

There are two quite distinct problems which must be faced now. The first is to assure proper follow-up of the Planning Session itself; the second is to consider what will be said about the planning structure of the Conference.

I. PLANNING SESSION FOLLOW-UP

It is essential that necessary staff and facilities be retained for approximately six weeks in order to evaluate the results of the Planning Session and prepare a considered report on the various work groups for the consideration of the President and his representatives. There will also be unfinished fiscal and administrative matters to be attended to. We recommend:

1. That Mr. M. Carl Holman be appointed to direct the follow-up work, with such assistance as will permit him to discharge unavoidable responsibilities with the Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Bernhard has advised us that his other commitments will not make it possible for him to continue to serve as Executive Director. He has offered to assist Mr. Holman as much as possible in a consultative capacity. Mr. Fleming will be similarly available.
2. That Mr. Bertram Levine be retained to consolidate the records of the Planning Session and to process the many requests to participate in the Conference that will be received, and that he be afforded the opportunity to select one or two junior professional assistants and necessary supporting clerical staff.
3. That Mrs. Virginia Frank, who has served ably as Executive Officer, be asked to remain if her commitments permit.
4. That appropriate secretarial and stenographic assistance be retained. At least five senior secretaries are indispensable.

4. (Cont'd.) We suggest that they be selected from the following: Joan Thornell (OEO), Antonell Aikens (Department of Labor), Terry Golden (no federal agency), Fran Carter (Peace Corps), Marilyn Galvin (HEW), Christine Hemphill (Department of Labor), and Cecelia Johnson (HEW). A decision must be made on Monday, November 15 or each of the named individuals will return to her former position or make new commitments.
5. That during this interim period the present administrative officer, Mr. James Sasser, and his assistants, Messrs. Gardner and McCaw, be retained.
6. That present space facilities be secured to the extent necessary to house the required continuing staff. A decision is also necessary in order to save whatever furniture and equipment has been provided.
7. That since present estimates are that we will exceed our funds allocated by approximately \$5,000, additional funds must be secured immediately to complete the work of the follow-up period. (Had the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission contributed \$6,000, as expected, we would have been within our budgetary allocation.) In addition to payment of some clerical personnel, funds must be available for consultants who will assist in the preparation of the report.

II. PREPARATION FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

We recommend that one of the assignments for the six week follow-up operation be to develop in detail the proposed staff needs and work to be done in preparation for the Spring Conference, including such regional and local meetings as may be desirable. Meanwhile, however, it would be desirable to make some minimal decisions that will enable the leaders of the Planning Session to indicate to the participants what general process will be followed in preparing for the Conference. We recommend that the following position be taken:

1. That the President will assess the results of the Planning Session prior to making final decisions on the details of the Spring Conference.

2. That in making this assessment he will draw upon not only the report of the Co-Chairmen, but also such suggestions or recommendations as he receives from participants and interested organizations.
3. That strong assurance should be given that, whatever the mechanism, there will be a strong line of continuity between the work of the Planning Session and the Conference itself, and that all relevant groups will be fully consulted in that connection.

While this need not figure in public comments, we feel it should be clearly understood that whoever is given responsibility for organizing the Spring Conference should have a free hand in organizing the new staff, including administrative personnel.

The Co-Chairmen would emphasize that this Planning Session could never have been organized and staged within the time allowed without the skill, competence, experience, and day-and-night work of Berl Bernhard, Harold Fleming, and Carl Holman. Mr. Bernhard responded to the urgent call to this post at considerable private sacrifice; Mr. Holman's knowledge and relationship with many in the civil rights movement have spared us from numerous pitfalls; and, Mr. Fleming, it should be noted, came to help from private life without any compensation from the Government, thanks to his dedication and the generosity of the Potomac Institute, of which he is Director.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JUNE 4, 1965

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

(As actually delivered at 6:35 PM EDT)

Dr. Nabrit, my fellow Americans: I am delighted at the chance to speak at this important and this historic institution. Howard has long been an outstanding center for the education of Negro Americans. Its students are of every race and color and they come from many countries of the world. It is truly a working example of democratic excellence.

Our earth is the home of revolution. In every corner of every continent men charged with hope contend with ancient ways in the pursuit of justice. They reach for the newest of weapons to realize the oldest of dreams, that each may walk in freedom and pride, stretching his talents, enjoying the fruits of the earth.

Our enemies may occasionally seize the day of change, but it is the banner of our revolution they take. And our own future is linked to this process of swift and turbulent change in many lands in the world. But nothing in any country touches us more profoundly, and nothing is more freighted with meaning for our own destiny than the revolution of the Negro American.

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope.

In our time change has come to this nation too. The American Negro, acting with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtrooms and the seats of government, demanding a justice that has long been denied. The voice of the Negro was the call to action. But it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the President and most of the people, have been the allies of progress.

Thus we have seen the high court of the country declare that discrimination based on race was repugnant to the Constitution, and therefore void. We have seen in 1957, 1960, and again in 1964, the first civil rights legislation in this nation in almost an entire century.

As majority leader of the United States Senate, I helped to guide two of these bills through the Senate. And, as your President, I was proud to sign the third. And now very soon we will have the fourth -- a new law guaranteeing every American the right to vote.

No act of my entire administration will give me greater satisfaction than the day when my signature makes this bill too the law of this land.

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and among the most important, in a long series of victories. But this victory -- as Winston Churchill said

MORE

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of another triumph for freedom-- "is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

That beginning is freedom; and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally, in American society -- to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, or do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others;" and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.

Thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates.

This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

For the task is to give twenty million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities -- physical, mental and spiritual, and to pursue their individual happiness.

To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough, not enough. Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family you live with, and the neighborhood you live in, by the school you go to and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces, playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man.

This graduating class at Howard University is witness to the indomitable determination of the Negro American to win his way in American life.

The number of Negroes in schools of higher learning has almost doubled in fifteen years. The number of nonwhite professional workers has more than doubled in ten years. The median income of Negro college women tonight exceeds that of white college women. And there are also the enormous accomplishments of distinguished individual Negroes -- many of them graduates of this institution, and one of them the first lady ambassador in the history of the United States.

These are proud and impressive achievements. But they tell only the story of a growing middle class minority, steadily narrowing the gap between them and their white counterparts.

But for the great majority of Negro Americans --the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted and the dispossessed -- there is a much grimmer story. They still, as we meet here tonight, are another nation. Despite the court orders and the laws, despite the legislative victories and the speeches, for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening.

Here are some of the facts of this American failure.

Thirty five years ago the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high.

In 1948 the 8 per cent unemployment rate for Negro teenage boys was actually less than that of whites. By last year that rate had grown to 23 per cent, as against 13 per cent for whites unemployed.

Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963 the median income of Negro families compared to white actually dropped from 57 per cent to 53 per cent.

In the years 1955 through 1957, 22 per cent of experienced Negro workers were out of work at some time during the year. In 1961 through 1963 that proportion had soared to 29 per cent.

Since 1947 the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 per cent while the number of poorer nonwhite families decreased only 3 per cent.

The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 per cent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 per cent greater.

Moreover, the isolation of Negro from white communities is increasing, rather than decreasing as Negroes crowd into the central cities and become a city within a city.

Of course Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance. But the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many are losing ground every day.

We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle. But we do know the two broad basic reasons. And we do know that we have to act.

First, Negroes are trapped --as many whites are trapped-- in inherited, gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in slums, without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through our poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack in years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding will. But there is a second cause -- much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery; and a century of oppression, hatred and injustice.

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For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences -- deep, corrosive, obstinate differences -- radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be dealt with and they must be overcome, if we are ever to reach the time when the only difference between Negroes and whites is the color of their skin.

Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice.

The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly on his own efforts. But he just can not do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded -- these others -- because of race or color -- a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

One of the differences is the increased concentration of Negroes in our cities. More than 73 percent of all Negroes live in urban areas compared with less than 70 percent of the whites. Most of these Negroes live in slums. Most of these Negroes live together -- a separated people.

Men are shaped by their world. When it is a world of decay, ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain, and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the man.

There is also the burden that a dark skin can add to the search for a productive place in society. Unemployment strikes most swiftly and broadly at the Negro, and this burden erodes hope. Blighted hope breeds despair. Despair brings indifference to the learning which offers a way out. And despair, coupled with indifference, is often the source of destructive rebellion against the fabric of society.

There is also the lacerating hurt of early collision with white hatred or prejudice, distaste or condescension. Other groups have felt similar intolerance. But success and achievement could wipe it away. They do not change the color of a man's skin. I have seen this uncomprehending pain in the eyes of the little Mexican-American schoolchild that I taught many years ago. But it can be overcome. But, for many, the wounds are always open.

Perhaps most important -- its influence radiating to every part of life -- is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man. It flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination, which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to provide for his family.

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This, too, is not pleasant to look upon. But it must be faced by those whose serious intent is to improve the life of all Americans.

Only a minority -- less than half -- of all Negro children reach the age of 18 having lived all their lives with both of their parents. At this moment, tonight, little less than two-thirds are at home with both of their parents. Probably a majority of all Negro children receive Federally-aided public assistance sometime during their childhood.

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled.

So, unless we work to strengthen the family, to create conditions under which most parents will stay together -- all the rest: schools, and playgrounds, and public assistance, and private concern, will never be enough to cut completely the circle of despair and deprivation.

There is no single easy answer to all of these problems. Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn -- an equal chance to learn -- are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

Care for the sick is part of the answer. An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer.

And to all these fronts -- and a dozen more -- I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the Johnson Administration.

But there are other answers still to be found. Nor do we fully understand even all of the problems. Therefore, I want to announce tonight that this fall I intend to call a White House conference of scholars, and experts, and outstanding Negro leaders -- men of both races -- and officials of Government at every level.

This White House conference's theme and title will be "To Fulfill These Rights." Its object will be to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure; to move beyond opportunity to achievement; to shatter forever not only the barriers of law and public practice, but the walls which bound the condition of man by the color of his skin; to dissolve, as best we can, the antique enmities of the heart which diminish the holder, divide the great democracy, and do wrong -- great wrong -- to the children of God.

And I pledge you tonight this will be a chief goal of my Administration, and of my program next year, and in years to come. And I hope, and I pray, and I believe, it will be a part of the program of all America.

For what is justice? It is to fulfill the fair expectations of man.

Thus, American justice is a very special thing. For, from the first, this has been a land of towering expectations. It was to be a nation where each man could be ruled by the common consent of all -- enshrined in law, given life by institutions, guided by men themselves subject to its rule. And all -- all of every station and origin -- would be touched equally in obligation and in liberty.

Beyond the law lay the land. It was a rich land, glowing with more abundant promise than man had ever seen. Here, unlike any place yet known, all were to share the harvest.

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And beyond this was the dignity of man. Each could become whatever his qualities of mind and spirit would permit -- to strive, to seek, and, if he could, to find his happiness.

This is American justice. We have pursued it faithfully to the edge of our imperfections, and we have failed to find it for the American Negro.

So, it is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American nation and, in so doing, to find America for ourselves, with the same immense thrill of discovery which gripped those who first began to realize that here, at last, was a home for freedom.

All it will take is for all of us to understand what this country is and what this country must become.

The Scripture promises: "I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out."

Together, and with millions more, we can light that candle of understanding in the heart of all America.

And, one lit, it will never again go out.

E N D

"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS" WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

I. Tentative dates:

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

II. Objectives:

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

--To define nature and extent of continuing deprivations;

--To propose courses of action to remedy these deprivations; and

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

III. Conference Organization:

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Conference Panels:

A. To Fulfill Legal Rights--

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

B. To Fulfill Economic Rights--

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

C. To Fulfill Personal and Family Rights--

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

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

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

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

DRAFT

June 22, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

1. Some of the steps which should be taken between now and the date of the conference:

a. We should request from those individuals and agencies in the Federal Government concerned primarily with civil rights their ideas on the substance of this conference, its size, and who should participate.

b. From time to time during the summer we might release stories on some of the progress in planning this conference. This might serve to alleviate some tension during the summer and also would give us a feeling of what kind of reaction there is to our tentative plan. This would enable us perhaps to correct some preliminary errors.

c. We might think of holding a few small conferences leading up to the White House conference. The planning conferences might include Federal officials in the field of civil rights, civil rights organizations, religious leaders, labor leaders, business leaders, women's leaders, etc.

d. If we do not have preliminary conferences, it might be wise to set up an informal chat with people in the private sector concerned with civil rights on our preliminary planning. Through this procedure we might enlist their support prior to the conference,

and thus insure backing for whatever resolutions or action might follow the conference.

e. We must do a careful job selecting the participants in such a conference. The President has stated that the group making up the conference should include "scholars and experts and outstanding Negro leaders--men of both races--and officials of government at every level." To meet his definition we are going to have a pretty large crowd. I think that the White House should keep control of who the participants will be, and that we should not farm out this responsibility. ^{of the present crisis} If we farm it out, there is a tendency to get a group of alleged professionals that might tend to ~~keep~~ us in hot water with the politicians and others who have a vital interest in civil rights but do not pursue it as an avocation.

f. A date for the conference should be established as soon as possible. This would have the advantage of taking some of the pressure off of a potential long, hot summer. Also, if we leave the setting of the date to the last minute, we may be accused of deferring the solution of this important problem too long.

2. The Conference Itself:

Probably, because of the number of participants, we should have a three-day conference. The first two days might be utilized for final ironing out of resolutions by various sub-groups of the full White House Conference. The final day might be the conference here at the White

House itself, with the rather pro forma approval of resolutions which have been hammered out in the first two days.

The running of the preliminary sessions during the first two days might be turned over to those in the private sector who are concerned with civil rights. This would stress their involvement and indicate our clear interest in their maintaining a leadership role in civil rights. Concerned government officials, of course, could do the hard spade work and be active participants in the meetings. I think, however, titular positions, such as Chairman or Recording Secretary, should go to people outside of government, for the most part.

Government officials, in conjunction with people in the field of civil rights, probably should develop resolutions they wish to have come out of such a conference at least a month before the conference is to take place. These resolutions might prove to be the backbone of the conference; if we do not have something specific (if not tangible) coming from this conference we might well be accused of words and not action.

3. Post-Conference Activity

- a. Resolutions should be implemented by follow-up meetings (the dates given for said meetings while the conference is in progress).

b. Certain ~~with~~ responsibilities should be given to non-governmental participants for following up on the work of the conference.

c. The conference might tend to stimulate similar conferences on a state and regional basis.

d. Federal agencies concerned with civil rights should, prior to the end of the conference, have a clear blueprint of how they propose to assist in the implementation of the resolutions which might flow from this conference.

4. Miscellaneous Items:

a. We should consider whether we are going to take up the problems of other minorities--the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, etc.

b. We must beware of being accused of being either too political or too intellectual in our approach. While we do not wish to eliminate the academic community, this should not merely be a confab of sociologists and writers who have expressed themselves at one time or another on the problems of the Negro.

c. We should be careful to include politicians who have been elected from, and are responsive to, the needs of minority areas.

d. We should consider whether the President ought to devote

-5-

a series of speeches or statements at press conferences to specific parts of the Howard address; i.e., another more detailed statement on the importance of the stability of the Negro family.

e. Perhaps we should set up a small task force of people in government to start working on the details under White House direction now.

C.L.A.J.

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.

00995

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

August 2, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of Task Force on Fall
Civil Rights Conference

FROM: David B. Filvaroff

Attached is a copy of a memorandum which Professor Erikson prepared in 1963 for a Howard University symposium. Professor Erikson sent the memorandum to me with the suggestion that it would provide some background on the approach he discussed with us when he was here. I thought you would be interested in seeing it.

Enclosure

00996

A Memorandum on Identity and Negro Youth

Erik H. Erikson

Introduction

A lack of familiarity with the problem of Negro youth and with the actions by which Negro youth hopes to solve these problems is a marked deficiency in my life and work which cannot be compensated for with theoretical speculation; and this least of all at a time when Negro writers are finding superb new ways of stating their and our predicament and when Negro youth finds itself involved in action which would have seemed unimaginable only a very few years ago. But since it is felt that some of my concepts might be helpful in further discussion, I will in the following recapitulate the pertinent ideas on identity contained in my writings.* This I do only in the hope that what is clear may prove helpful and what is not will become clearer in joint studies.

The fact that problems of Negro youth span the whole phenomenology of aggravated identity confusion and rapid new identity formation—cutting across phenomena judged antisocial and prosocial, violent and heroic, fanatic and ethically advanced—makes it advisable to include remarks concerning the origin of the concept of ego-identity in clinical observation in this review. However, the concept has come a long way since we first used it to define a syndrome in war—neurotics in World War II: I recently heard in India that Nehru had used the term “identity” to describe a new quality which, he felt, Gandhi had given India after offering her the equivalent of a “psychoanalysis of her past.”

- * See: “*Childhood and Society*,” W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., New York, 1950
- “*Wholeness and Totality*,” In *Totalitarianism*, Proceedings of a Conference held at the Am. Academy of Arts and Sciences, C. J. Friedrich, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954
- “*Identity and the Life Cycle*,” Monograph, *Psychological Issues*, Vol. I, No. 1, New York: Int’l Universities Press, 1959 with an intro. by D. Rapaport.
- “*Youth: Fidelity and Diversity*” *Daedalus*, 91:5-27, 1962

1. Childhood and Identity

a. The growing child must derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life plan. Minute displays of emotion such as affection, pride, anger, guilt, anxiety, sexual arousal (rather than the words used, the meanings intended, or the philosophy implied), transmit to the human child the outlines of what really counts in his world, i.e., the variables of his group's space-time and the perspectives of its life plan.

Here is the first observation I made (a decade and a half ago) on Negro children. I will quote it to characterize the point-of-view with which I started. The babies of our colored countrymen, I said, often receive sensual satisfactions which provide them with enough oral and sensory surplus for a lifetime, as clearly betrayed in the way they move, laugh, talk, sing. Their forced symbiosis with the feudal South capitalized on this oral sensory treasure and helped to build a slave's identity: mild, submissive, dependent, somewhat querulous, but always ready to serve, with occasional empathy and childlike wisdom. But underneath a dangerous split occurred. The Negro's unavoidable identification with the dominant race, and the need of the master race to protect its own identity against the very sensual and oral temptations emanating from the race held to be inferior (whence came their mammies), established in both groups an association: light—clean—clever—white, and dark—dirty—dumb—nigger. The result, especially in those Negroes who left the poor haven of their Southern homes, was often a violently sudden and cruel cleanliness training, as attested to in the autobiographies of Negro writers. It is as if by cleansing, a whiter identity could be achieved. The attending disillusionment transmits itself to the phallic-locomotor stage, when restrictions as to what shade of girl one may dream of interfere with the free transfer of the original narcissistic sensuality to the genital sphere. Three identities are formed: (1) mammy's oral-sensual "honey-child"—tender, expressive, rhythmical; (2) the evil identity of the dirty, anal-sadistic, phallic-rapist "nigger"; and (3) the clean, anal-compulsive, restrained, friendly, but always sad "white man's Negro."

So-called opportunities offered the migrating Negro often only turn out to be a more subtly restricted prison which endangers his only historically "successful" identity (that of the slave) and fails to provide a reintegration of the other identity fragments mentioned. These fragments, then, become dominant in the form of racial caricatures which are underscored and stereotyped by the entertainment industry. Tired of his own caricature, the colored individual

often retires into hypochondriac invalidism as a condition which represents an analogy to the dependence and the relative safety of defined restriction in the South: a neurotic regression to the ego identity of the slave.

Mixed-blood Sioux Indians in areas where they hardly ever see Negroes refer to their full-blood brothers as "niggers," thus indicating the power of the dominant national imagery which serves to counterpoint the ideal and the evil images in the inventory of available prototypes. No individual can escape this opposition of images, which is all-pervasive in the men and in the women, in the majorities and in the minorities, and in all the classes of a given national or cultural unit. Psychoanalysis shows that the unconscious evil identity (the composite of everything which arouses negative identification—i.e., the wish not to resemble it) consists of the images of the violated (castrated) body, the "marked" outgroup, and the exploited minority. Thus a pronounced he-man may, in his dreams and prejudices, prove to be mortally afraid of ever displaying a woman's sentiments, a Negro's submissiveness, or a Jew's intellectuality. For the ego, in the course of its synthesizing efforts, attempts to subsume the most powerful evil and ideal prototypes (the final contestants, as it were) and with them the whole existing imagery of superior and inferior, good and bad, masculine and feminine, free and slave, potent and impotent, beautiful and ugly, fast and slow, tall and small, in a simple alternative, in order to make one battle and one strategy out of a bewildering number of skirmishes.

I knew a colored boy who, like our boys, listened every night to Red Rider. Then he sat up in bed, imagining that he was Red Rider. But the moment came when he saw himself galloping after some masked offender and suddenly noticed that in his fancy Red Rider was a colored man. He stopped his fantasy. While a small child, this boy was extremely expressive, both in his pleasures and in his sorrows. Today he is calm and always smiles; his language is soft and blurred; nobody can hurry him or worry him—or please him. White people like him.

As such boys and girls look around now, what other ideal (and evil) images are at their disposal? And how do they connect with the past? (Does non-violence connect totalistically or holistically with traditional patience and tolerance of pain?)

b. When children enter the stage of the adolescent Identity Crisis, a factor enters which characterizes the real kind of *crisis*, namely, a moment of decision between strong contending forces. "A moment" means that here something can happen very rapidly; "decision," that divergence becomes permanent; "strong and contending," that these are intense matters.

Developmentally speaking the sense of ego identity is the ac-

crued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one's ego in the psychoanalytic sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others. The growing child must, at every step, derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience is a successful variant of the way other people around him master experience and recognize such mastery.

In this, children cannot be fooled by empty praise and condescending encouragement. They may have to accept artificial bolstering of their self-esteem in lieu of something better, but what I call their accruing ego identity gains real strength only from wholehearted and consistent recognition of real accomplishment, that is, achievement that has meaning in their culture. On the other hand, should a child feel that the environment tries to deprive him too radically of all the forms of expression which permit him to develop and to integrate the next step in his ego identity, he will resist with the astonishing strength encountered in animals who are suddenly forced to defend their lives. Indeed, in the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity. Or else, there may be total self-abnegation (in more or less malignant forms) as illustrated in this observation. And here is an example of total denial of identity:

A four-year-old Negro girl in the Arsenal Nursery School in Pittsburgh used to stand in front of a mirror and scrub her skin with soap. When gently diverted from this she began to scrub the mirror. Finally, when induced to paint instead, she first angrily filled sheets of paper with the colors brown and black. But then she brought to the teacher what she called "a really *good* picture." The teacher first could see only a white sheet, until she looked closer and saw that the little girl had covered every inch of the white sheet with white paint. This playful episode of total self-eradication occurred and could only occur in a "desegregated" school: it illustrates the extent to which infantile drive control (cleanliness) and social self-esteem (color) are associated in childhood. But it also points to the extent of the crime which is perpetrated wherever, in the service of seemingly civilized values, groups of people are made to feel so inexorably "different" that legal desegregation can only be the beginning of a long and painful inner reidentification.

Such crises come when their parents and teachers, losing trust in themselves and using sudden correctives in order to approach the vague but pervasive Anglo-Saxon ideal, create violent discontinuities; or where, indeed, the children themselves learn to disavow their sensual and overprotective mothers as temptations and a hindrance to the formation of a more "American" personality.

If we, then, speak of the community's response to the young

individual's need to be "recognized" by those around him, we mean something beyond a mere recognition of achievement; for it is of great relevance to the young individual's identity formation that he be responded to, and be given function and status as a person whose gradual growth and transformation make sense to those who begin to make sense to him. Identity formation goes beyond the process of *identifying oneself* with ideal others in a one-way fashion; it is a process based on a heightened cognitive and emotional capacity to *let oneself be identified* by concrete persons as a circumscribed individual in relation to a predictable universe which transcends the family. Identity thus is not the sum of childhood identifications, but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments. For this very reason societies *confirm* an individual at this time in all kinds of ideological frameworks and assign roles and tasks to him in which he can *recognize himself* and *feel recognized*. Ritual confirmations, initiations, and indoctrinations only sharpen an indispensable process of self-verification by which healthy societies bestow and receive the distilled strength of generations. By this process, societies, in turn, are themselves historically verified.

The danger of this stage is *identity diffusion*; as Biff puts it in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life." Where such a dilemma is based on a strong previous doubt of one's ethnic and sexual identity, delinquent and outright psychotic incidents are not uncommon. Youth after youth, bewildered by some assumed role, a role forced on him by the inexorable standardization of American adolescence, runs away in one form or another; leaving schools and jobs, staying out all night, or withdrawing into bizarre and inaccessible moods. Once "delinquent," his greatest need and often his only salvation, is the refusal on the part of older friends, advisers, and judiciary personnel to type him further by pat diagnoses and social judgments which ignore the special dynamic conditions of adolescence. For if diagnosed and treated correctly, seemingly psychotic and criminal incidents do not in adolescence have the same fatal significance which they have at other ages. Yet many a youth, finding the authorities expect him to be "a nigger," "a bum," or "a queer," perversely obliges by becoming just that.

To keep themselves together, individuals and groups treated in this fashion temporarily overidentify, to the point of apparent complete loss of individual identity, with the heroes of cliques and crowds. On the other hand, they become remarkably clannish, intolerant, and cruel in their exclusion of others who are "different," in skin color or cultural background, in tastes and gifts, and often in entirely petty aspects of dress and gesture arbitrarily selected as *the* signs of an in-grouper or out-grouper. It is important to understand (which does

not mean condone or participate in) such intolerance as the necessary *defense against a sense of identity diffusion*, which is unavoidable at a time of life when the body changes its proportions radically, when genital maturity floods body and imagination with all manners of drives, when intimacy with the other sex offers intense complications, and when life lies before one with a variety of conflicting possibilities and choices. Adolescents help one another temporarily through such discomfort by forming cliques and by stereotyping themselves, their ideals, and their enemies.

In general, one may say that we are apt to view the social play of adolescents as we once judged the play of children. We alternately consider such behavior irrelevant, unnecessary, or irrational, and ascribe to it purely delinquent or neurotic meanings. As in the past the study of children's spontaneous games was neglected in favor of that of solitary play, so now the mutual "joinedness" of adolescent clique behavior fails to be properly assessed in our concern for the individual adolescent. Children and adolescents in their presocieties provide for one another a sanctioned moratorium and joint support for free experimentation with inner and outer dangers (including those emanating from the adult world). Whether or not a given adolescent's newly acquired capacities are drawn back into infantile conflict depends to a significant extent on the quality of the opportunities and rewards available to him in his peer clique, as well as on the more formal ways in which society at large invites a transition from social play to work experimentation, and from rituals of transit to final commitments: all of which must be based on an implicit mutual contract between the individual and society.

2. Totalism and Negative Identity

If such contact is deficient, youth may seek perverse restoration in a negative identity, "totalistically" enforced. Here we must reconsider the proposition that the need for identity is experienced as a need for a certain wholeness in the experience of oneself within the community (and community here is as wide as one's social vision); and that, where such wholeness is impossible, such need turns to "totalism."

To be a bit didactic: *Wholeness* connotes an assembly of parts, even quite diversified parts, that enter into fruitful association and organization. This concept is most strikingly expressed in such terms as wholeheartedness, wholemindedness, and wholesomeness. In human development as well as in history, then, wholeness emphasizes a progressive coherence of diversified functions and parts. *Totality*, on the contrary, evokes a Gestalt in which an absolute boundary is emphasized: given a certain arbitrary delineation, nothing that belongs

inside must be left outside; nothing that must be outside should be tolerated inside. A totality must be as absolutely inclusive as it is absolutely exclusive. The word "utter" conveys the element of force, which overrides the question whether the category-to-be-made-absolute is an organic and a logical one, and whether the parts, so to speak, really have a natural affinity to one another.

To say it in one sentence: Where the human being despairs of an essential wholeness of experience, he restructures himself and the world by taking refuge in a totalistic world view. Thus there appears both in individuals and in groups a periodical need for a totality without further choice or alternation, even if it implies the abandonment of a much-needed wholeness. This can consist of a lone-wolf's negativism, of a delinquent group's seeming nihilism, or in the case of national or racial groups, in a defiant glorification of one's own caricature.

Thus, patients (and I think it is in this respect that patients can help us understand analogous group processes) choose a *negative identity*, i.e., an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to them as most undesirable or dangerous, and yet also as most real. For example, a mother having lost her first-born son may (because of complicated guilt feelings) be unable to attach to her later surviving children the same amount of religious devotion that she bestows on the memory of her dead child and may well arouse in one of her sons the conviction that to be sick or dead is a better assurance of being "recognized" than to be healthy and about. A mother who is filled with unconscious ambivalence toward a brother who disintegrated into alcoholism may again and again respond selectively only to those traits in her son which seem to point to a repetition of her brother's fate, in which case this "negative" identity may take on more reality for the son than all his natural attempts at being good: he may work hard on becoming a drunkard and, lacking the necessary ingredients, may end up in a state of stubborn paralysis of choice. The daughter of a man of brilliant showmanship may run away from college and be arrested as a prostitute in the Negro quarter of a Southern city; while the daughter of an influential Southern Negro preacher may be found among narcotic addicts in Chicago. In such cases it is of utmost importance to recognize the mockery and the vindictive pretense in such role playing; for the white girl may not have really prostituted herself, and the colored girl may not really become an addict—yet. Needless to say, however, each of them could have placed herself in a marginal social area, leaving it to law-enforcement officers and to psychiatric agencies to decide what stamp to put on such behavior. A corresponding case is that of a boy presented to a psychiatric

clinic as "the village homosexual" of a small town. On investigation, it appeared that the boy had succeeded in assuming this fame without any actual acts of homosexuality, except that much earlier in his life he had been raped by some older boys.

Such vindictive choices of a negative identity represent, of course, a desperate attempt to regain some mastery in a situation in which the available positive identity elements cancel each other out. The history of such choice reveals a set of conditions in which it is easier to derive a sense of identity out of a *total* identification with that which one is *least* supposed to be than to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are unattainable with the patient's inner means.

There is a "lower lower" snobbism too, which is based on the pride of having achieved a semblance of nothingness. At any rate, many a late adolescent, if faced with continuing diffusion, would rather *be a total nobody, somebody totally bad, or indeed, dead—and all of this by free choice—than be not-quite-somebody.*

Thus, individuals, when caught up in the necessity to regroup an old identity or to gain a new and inescapable one, are subject to influences which offer them a way to wholeness. Obviously, revolutions do the first to gain the second. At any rate, the problem of totalism vs. wholeness seems to be represented in its organized form in the Black Muslims who insist on a totally "black" solution reinforced by historical and religious mysticism on the one hand; and the movement of non-violent and legal insistence on civil rights, on the other. Once such a polarization is established, it seems imperative to investigate what powerful self-images (traditional, revolutionary, and, as it were, evolutionary) have entered the picture, in mutually exclusive or mutually inclusive form, and what the corresponding symptoms are, in individuals and in the masses.

3. "Conversion" and More Inclusive Identity

In a little-known passage, Bernard Shaw relates the story of his "conversion": "I was *drawn into* the Socialist *revival* of the early eighties, among Englishmen *intensely serious* and *burning with indignation* at very *real* and very *fundamental evils* that affected *all the world.*" The words here italicized convey to me the following implications. "Drawn into": an ideology has a compelling power. "Revival": it consists of a traditional force in a state of rejuvenation. "Intensely serious": it permits even the cynical to make an investment of sincerity. "Burning with indignation": it gives to the need for repudiation the sanction of righteousness. "Real": it projects a vague inner evil onto a circumscribed horror in reality. "Fundamental": it promises participation in an effort at basic reconstruc-

tion of society. "All the world": it gives structure to a totally defined world image. Here, then, are the elements by which a group identity harnesses the young individual's aggressive and discriminative energies, and encompasses, as it completes it, the individual's identity in the service of its ideology. Thus, identity and ideology are two aspects of the same process. Both provide the necessary condition for further individual maturation and, with it, for the next higher form of identification, namely, the *solidarity linking common identities*. For the need to bind irrational self-hate and irrational repudiation makes young people, on occasion, mortally compulsive and conservative even where and when they seem most anarchic and radical; the same need makes them potentially "ideological," i.e., more or less explicitly in search of a world image held together by what Shaw called "a clear comprehension of life in the light of an intelligible theory."

What are, then, the available ideological ingredients of the new Negro and the new American identity? For (such is the nature of a revolutionary movement) the new Negro cannot afford any longer just to become "equal" to the old White. As he becomes something new, he also forces the white man as well as the advanced Negro to become newer than they are.

4. Weakness and Strength

a. In my clinical writings I have suggested that delinquent joining stands in the same dynamic relationship to schizoid isolation, as (according to Freud) perversion does to neurosis: negative *group* identities (gangs, cliques, rings, mobs) "save" the individual from the symptoms of a negative identity neurosis, to wit: a disintegration of the sense of time; morbid identity consciousness, work paralysis, bisexual confusion; and authority diffusion.

Unnecessary to say, however, a *transitory* "negative identity" is often the necessary pre-condition for a truly positive and truly new one. In this respect, I would think that American Negro writers may turn out to be as important for American literature as Irish expatriates were in the Europe of an earlier period.

On the other hand, there are certain strengths in the Negro which have evolved out of or at least along with his very submission. Such a statement will, I trust, not be misunderstood as an argument for continued submission. What I have in mind are strengths which one would hope for the sake of all of us, could remain part of a future Negro identity. Here I have in mind such a traditional phenomenon as the power of the Negro mother. As pointed out, I must glean examples from experiences accessible to me; the following observation on Caribbean motherhood will, I hope, be put into

its proper perspective by experts on the whole life-space of the Negro on the American continent.

b. Churchmen have had reason to deplore, and anthropologists to explore, the pattern of Caribbean family life, obviously an outgrowth of the slavery days of Plantation America, which extended from the Northeast Coast of Brazil in a half-circle into the Southeast of the United States. Plantations, of course, were agricultural factories, owned and operated by gentlemen, whose cultural and economic identity had its roots in a supra-regional upper class. They were worked by slaves, that is, men who, being mere equipment put to use when and where necessary, had to relinquish all chance of being the masters of their families and communities. Thus, the women were left with the offspring of a variety of men who could give no protection as they could provide no identity, except that of a subordinate species. The family system which ensued can be described in scientific terms only by circumscriptions dignifying what is not there: the rendering of "sexual services" between persons who cannot be called anything more definite than "lovers", "maximum instability" in the sexual lives of young girls, whose pattern it is to relinquish the care of their offspring to their mothers, and mothers and grandmothers who determine that "standardized mode of co-activity" which is the minimum requirement for calling a group of individuals a family. They are, then, mostly called "household groups"—single dwellings, occupied by people sharing a common food supply. These households are "matrifocal," a word understating the grandiose role of the all powerful mother-figure who will encourage her daughters to leave their infants with her, or, at any rate, to stay with her as long as they continue to bear children. Motherhood thus becomes community life, and where churchmen could find little or no morality, and casual observers, little or no order at all, the mothers and grandmothers in fact also became father and grandfathers,^o in the sense that they exerted that authoritative influence which resulted in an ever newly improvised set of rules for the economic obligations of the men who had fathered the children, and upheld the rules of incestuous avoidance. Above all, they provided the only super-identity which was left open after the enslavement of the men, namely, that of the mother who will nurture a human infant irrespective of his parentage. It is well known how many poor little rich and white gentlemen benefited from the extended fervor of the Negro women who nursed them as Southern mammies, as creole das, or as Brazilian babas. This cultural fact is, of course, being played down by the racists as mere servitude while

^o See the title "My Mother Who Fathered Me."

the predominance of maternal warmth in Caribbean women is characterized as African sensualism, and vicariously enjoyed by refugees from "Continental" womanhood. One may, however, see at the root of this maternalism a grandiose gesture of human adaptation which has given the area of the Caribbean (now searching for a political and economic pattern to do justice to its cultural unity) both the promise of a positive (female) identity and the threat of a negative (male) one: for here, the fact that identity depended on the procreative worth of being born, has undoubtedly weakened the striving for becoming somebody by individual effort.

(This is an ancient pattern taking many forms in the modern Negro world. But—parenthetically speaking—it may give us one more access to a better understanding of the magnificently bearded group of men and boys who have taken over one of the islands and insist on proving that the Caribbean male can earn his worth in production as well as in procreation.)

My question is whether such maternal strength has survived not only in parts of our South but also in family patterns of Negro migrants; whether it is viewed as undesirable and treated as delinquent by Negroes as well as whites, and whether America can afford to lose it all at a time when women must help men more planfully not only to preserve the naked life of the human race but also some "inalienable" values.

c. This brings me, finally, to the issue of Fidelity, that virtue and quality of adolescent ego strength which belongs to man's evolutionary heritage, but which—like all the basic virtues—can arise only in the interplay of a stage of life with the social forces of a true community.

To be a *special kind*, has been an important element in the human need for personal and collective identities. They have found a transitory fulfillment in man's greatest moments of cultural identity and civilized perfection, and each such tradition of identity and perfection has highlighted what man could be, could he fulfil all his potentials at one time. The utopia of our own era predicts that man will be one species in one world, with a universal identity to replace the illusory super-identities which have divided him, and with an international ethic replacing all moral systems of superstition, repression, and suppression. Whatever the political arrangement that will further this utopia, we can only point to the human strengths which potentially emerge with the stages of life and indicate their dependence on communal life. In youth, ego strength emerges from the mutual confirmation of individual and community, in the sense that society recognizes the young individual as a bearer of fresh energy and that the individual so confirmed recognizes society

as a living process which inspires loyalty as it receives it, maintains allegiance as it attracts it, honors confidence as it demands it. All this I subsume under the term Fidelity.

Diversity and fidelity are polarized: they make each other significant and keep each other alive. Fidelity without a sense of diversity can become an obsession and a bore; diversity without a sense of fidelity, an empty relativism.

But Fidelity also stands in a certain polarity to adolescent sexuality: both sexual fulfillment and "sublimation" depend on this polarity.

The various hindrances to a full consummation of adolescent genital maturation have many deep consequences for man which pose an important problem for future planning. Best studied is the regressive revival of that earlier stage of psychosexuality which preceded even the emotionally quiet first school years, that is, the infantile genital and locomotor stage, with its tendency toward autoerotic manipulation, grandiose phantasy, and vigorous play. But in youth, auto-erotism, grandiosity, and playfulness are all immensely amplified by genital potency and locomotor maturation, and are vastly complicated by what we will presently describe as the youthful mind's historical perspective.

The most widespread expression of the discontented search of youth is the craving for locomotion, whether expressed in a general "being on the go," "tearing after something," or "running around", or in locomotion proper, as in vigorous work, in absorbing sports, in rapt dancing, in shiftless *Wanderschaft*, and in the employment and misuse of speedy animals and machines. But it also finds expression through participation in the movements of the day (whether the riots of a local commotion or the parades and campaigns of major ideological forces); if they only appeal to the need for feeling "moved" and for feeling essential in moving something along toward an open future. It is clear that societies offer any number of ritual combinations of ideological perspective and vigorous movement (dance, sports, parades, demonstrations, riots) to harness youth in the service of their historical aims; and that where societies fail to do so, these patterns will seek their own combinations, in small groups occupied with serious games, good-natured foolishness, cruel prankishness, and delinquent warfare. In no other stage of the life cycle, then, are the promise of finding oneself and the threat of losing oneself so closely allied.

To summarize: Fidelity, when fully matured, is the strength of disciplined devotion. It is gained in the involvement of youth in such experiences as reveal the essence of the era they are to join—as the beneficiaries of its tradition, as the practitioners and innovators of its technology, as renewers of its ethical strength, as rebels bent

on the destruction of the outlived, and as deviants with deviant commitments. This, at least, is the potential of youth in psychosocial evolution; and while this may sound like a rationalization endorsing any high sounding self-delusion in youth, any self-indulgence masquerading as devotion, or any righteous excuse for blind destruction, it makes intelligible the tremendous waste attending this as any other mechanism of human adaptation, especially if its excesses meet with more moral condemnation than ethical guidance. On the other hand, our understanding of these processes is not furthered by the "clinical" reduction of adolescent phenomena to their infantile antecedents and to an underlying dichotomy of drive and conscience. Adolescent development comprises a new set of identification processes, both with significant persons and with ideological forces, which give importance to individual life by relating it to a living community and to ongoing history, and by counterpointing the newly won individual identity with some communal solidarity.

In youth, then, the life history intersects with history: here individuals are confirmed in their identities, societies regenerated in their life style. This process also implies a fateful survival of adolescent modes of thinking in man's historical and ideological perspectives.

Historical processes, of course, have already entered the individual's core in childhood. Both ideal and evil images and the moral prototypes guiding parental administrations originate in the past struggles of contending cultural and national "species," which also color fairytale and family lore, superstition and gossip, and the simple lessons of early verbal training. Historians on the whole make little of this; they describe the visible emergence and the contest of autonomous historical ideas, unconcerned with the fact that these ideas reach down into the everyday lives of generations and re-emerge through the daily awakening and training of historical consciousness in young individuals.

It is youth which begins to develop that sense of historical irreversibility which can lead to what we may call acute historical estrangement. This lies behind the fervent quest for a sure meaning in individual life history and in collective history, and behind the questioning of the laws of relevancy which bind datum and principles, event and movement. But it is also, alas, behind the bland carelessness of that youth which denies its own vital need to develop and cultivate a historical consciousness—and conscience.

To enter history, each generation of young persons must find an identity consonant with its own childhood and consonant with an ideological promise in the perceptible historical process. But in youth the tables of childhood dependence begin slowly to turn: it is no longer exclusively for the old to teach the young the meaning

of life, whether individual or collective. It is the young who, by their responses and actions, tell the old whether life as represented by their elders and as presented to the young has meaning, and it is the young who carry in them the power to confirm those who confirm them and, joining the issues, to renew and to regenerate, or to reform and to rebel.

I will not at this point review the institutions which participate in creating the retrospective and the prospective mythology offering historical orientation to youth. Obviously, the mythmakers of religion and politics, the arts and the sciences, the stage and fiction—all contribute to the historical logic presented to youth more or less consciously, more or less responsibly. And today we must add, at least in the United States, "psychiatry; and all over the world, the press, which forces leaders to make history in the open and to accept reportorial distortion as a major historical factor.

Moralities sooner or later outlive themselves, ethics never this is what the need for identity and for fidelity, reborn with each generation, seems to point to. Morality in the moralistic sense can be shown by modern means of inquiry to be predicated on superstitions and irrational inner mechanisms which ever again undermine the ethical fiber of generations, but morality is expendable only where ethics prevail. This is the wisdom that the words of many languages have tried to tell man. He has tenaciously clung to the words, even though he has understood them only vaguely, and in his actions has disregarded or perverted them completely. But there is much in ancient wisdom which can now become knowledge.

What then, are the sources of a new ethical orientation which may have roots in Negro tradition and yet also reach into the heroic striving for a new identity within the universal ethics emanating from world-wide technology and communication? This question may sound strenuously inspirational or academic, yet, I have in mind the study of concrete sources of morale and strength, lying within the vitality of bodily experience, the identity of individual experience, and the fidelity developed in methods of work and cooperation, methods of solidarity and political action, and methods permitting a simple and direct manifestation of human values such as have survived centuries of suppression. As a clinician, I am probably more competent to judge the conditions which continue to *suppress* and attempt to *crush* such strengths; and yet I have also found that diagnosis and anamnesis can turn out to be of little help where one ignores sources of recovery often found in surprising and surprisingly powerful constellations.

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

August 6, 1965

MEMORANDUM TO: Lee White

FROM: Dave Filvaroff

I thought you might be interested in seeing the attached bibliography of materials relating to the subject matter of the Fall Conference on Civil Rights. While the list was prepared in our office, I obviously have not examined each of the books and articles cited and am unable to vouch for the quality of them.

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MEMORANDUM

TO : Secretaries, Department Heads, Etc.

FROM: Lee C. White

The Planning Session for the White House Conference entitled, "To Fulfill These Rights " is scheduled for November 17, 18, and 19. (17 and 18) This three (two) day planning session will have the responsibility for preparing for a major conference to be held early in 1966. It is the President's wish that this planning session and the subsequent 1966 conference will shape the policies and the tools needed to implement the program of action announced in his speech at Howard University on June 4th. (Please note page 5 of the enclosed speech). The President has given this conference the highest priority, and I am asking you to advise your key personnel of the urgent importance of this matter.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the President's October 5th memo in the event you would like to duplicate it and circularize it to your key staff personnel.

Mr. Berl Bernhard is the Executive Director of this program. His offices are at 1800 G Street, N. W., Room 1126, Phone 737-9010. He has a small staff of persons on loan from other agencies presently assisting him in his work. He may need additional personnel, however, on a short

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term basis in order to meet the pressing deadline. I am therefore requesting that you give him whatever assistance he may request as quickly as possible so that we can achieve our our objective in the allotted time.

Enclosures

President's Howard Speech
October 5th Press Release

File

CONFIDENTIAL

October 22, 1965

SUBJECT: Big Six Meeting

At the big six meeting, there was virtually unanimous agreement among the civil rights leaders with the position taken by Bayard Rustin on the subject matter of the Planning Session.

His feeling was that, in order not to become too diffuse, the Planning Session should concentrate on three areas: (1) Economic security for the Negro family head; (2) protection of the person (i.e., physical protection of Negroes and civil rights workers in the South; and (3) implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Act.

In light of our discussion with the civil rights leaders, and our own subsequent review of planning to date, we would suggest that the 75 participants in the Planning Session confine themselves to considering four broad subject areas:

1. Family stability.
2. The neighborhood and community.
3. Administration of justice.
4. Implementing existing law.

This would mean including under "Family Stability" economic issues to be directed by Vivian Henderson; "Family Structure" to be directed by Hylan Lewis; and such aspects of the papers on new discussions in the law as would properly come under this rubric.

Secondly, under "Neighborhood and Community" would be included issues related to education, under the direction of Kenneth Clark; "Housing," under the direction of George Shermer and George Nesbitt; "Health and Welfare (Poverty)" under the direction of Lisle Carter.

Thirdly, under the "Administration of Justice" would be included the physical security paper to be done by Anthony Amsterdam; the northern police and police community issues, tentatively directed now by Judge Hastie; and again any aspects of the papers on law which would be relevant here.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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Fourth, "Implementing of Existing Law" would relate to the 1964 Civil Rights Act--especially Titles VI and VII, and the 1965 Voting Act. Subject to further discussion in the staff and among the committee directors, it might be decided whether the implementation of the education and OEO laws and other social action legislation should or should not be reviewed here. At present, we would suggest that such laws could more properly be considered under the earlier headings to the degree that they are relevant.

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October 22, 1965
6:00 p.m., Friday

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lee C. White

Morris Abram and William Coleman have begun to make some genuine progress in shaping the November 17-18 civil rights conference. After your meeting with them earlier this month, we had an afternoon session in which we got right into the heart of the conference planning. Both of them indicated that they felt it essential to have a very small but knowledgeable group of people on the Washington scene serving as their eyes and ears during the time that each of them was in and out of town. We steered them to Berl Bernhard, an excellent lawyer and the former Staff Director of the Civil Rights Commission, who has a superb personal relationship with all the civil rights organization leadership. He enjoys their confidence, but has demonstrated time and time again he is no patsy for them. He is a sophisticated operator and will be your man throughout. He has already evidenced his ability to work with these people and yet turn them to the position urged by Coleman and Abram without any rancor. As the time for the conference nears, it becomes necessary for additional outside meetings to be held, and Randolph, Abram and Coleman believe it desirable to clarify how we propose to structure this planning session.

Although it was announced earlier that the November conference was essentially a planning session for a larger meeting next spring, this did not receive very much play. Abram and Coleman strongly recommend that this be made clear at every possible opportunity and I certainly agree with that. This characterization of the November meeting plus the naming of Bernhard by Abram and Coleman could be announced as a package and get a little recognition of the fact that things are really moving to quiet the fears and doubts that have been expressed by some

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Negro leaders. This could be done either by Bill Moyers releasing a report to you from Coleman and Abram with an acknowledgment from you; Bill releasing the report without a statement from you; or by their releasing the information from their own office. The first method is certain to get a much larger play, and I so recommend. I am attaching a report which Abram and Coleman have prepared for your review and your possible acknowledgment of it.

Bill should release the progress report from Abram and Coleman as well as your statement accepting it. _____

Bill should release the report without comment from you. _____

Abram and Coleman should release a report on their progress up to date. _____

Encl. 2 page report from Coleman and Abram

FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

The President has received the following progress report from Morris E. Abram and William T. Coleman, Co-Chairmen of the November planning session for the White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights :

(Quote) 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. Aided by these discussions we have developed plans for a November session which will explore in depth and in their interrelationships 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 principal 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. (Unquote)

The President expressed his satisfaction with progress made thus far to carry out his pledge of last June at Howard University. He urged Messrs. Abram and Coleman to examine every barrier that prevents the Negro American from achieving his full share in our society. The President expressed his belief that no question was of greater significance to present and future generations of Americans -- no matter what the color of their skins. The Nation looks to this planning session, and to the Conference that will follow in the Spring, for a profound and candid search into the roots of Negro deprivation, and for guidance in making the America's promise for each of her citizens a reality.

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

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

October 22, 1965

REPORT TO: The President

FROM: Morris B. Abram
William T. Coleman

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MEMORANDUM

TO: The Honorary Chairman and the Co-Chairmen of the
President's Conference

FROM: Members of the Council for United Civil Rights
Leadership

We are in unanimous agreement as to the following:

1. The planning meeting scheduled for November 17-18 needs to be quickly and explicitly publicized as just that and nothing more. I.E., its purpose is to determine policy, and to define issues, priorities, etc. for consideration at the conference which is to be held in Spring, 1966, and to set the format and procedure for that conference. It will not undertake to draft substantive recommendations for action, but will fix the lines along which proposals for action can be developed in the interim between planning meeting and conference. This means making decisions as to the range of problems and alternative remedies to be taken up by the Conference.
2. The planning group, or ^{Policy}~~Advisory~~ board, which assumes this responsibility should not be larger than fifty or sixty in number. Not only can a larger body not really plan, but its actions would inevitably tend to assume the proportions of the substantive conference, leaving little but ratifications or dissent as the role of the Conference itself.
3. The planning group should consist primarily of representatives of the several elements directly concerned with civil.

rights and the status of Negroes. This means that its membership should come largely on nomination from the national civil rights organizations, protestant, catholic and ^{Jewish} ~~XXXXXX~~ groups, organized labor, business, government, et al.

4. The active presence of consultant experts at the planning meeting may be helpful.

5. At least part of the necessary structure of the planning meeting should be provided by a generalized statement of the available issues, perhaps in the form of questions covering both problems and possible solutions. This statement should be broad enough to give the planning board alternatives among which to make at least preliminary choices.

We further recommend that the planning conference be limited to those civil rights groups that are national or which possess a national image. Those groups are:

- (a) NAACP
- (b) CORE
- (c) SCLC
- (d) National Council of Negro Women
- (e) SNCC
- (f) Urban League
- (g) Legal Defense & Educational Fund.

To Conclude

The planning meeting should emerge as the policy board for the White House Conference and will be free to determine what additional meetings should be held prior to the spring conference

Meantime, it is recommended that the staff prepare the following:

1. Materials xax essential for planning meeting of the spring conference.
2. Alternative plans for the structure of the spring conference.
3. Alternative follow-through plans for action following the planning meeting to prepare for the April conference.
4. A list of persons to attend the planning meeting. This should be done in consultation with the three chairmen.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1965

FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM Joe Califano and Cliff Alexander

There will be a reception on Tuesday, November 16, for the 100-250 participants in the Planning Session for the White House Spring Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights". The participants will include the top civil rights leadership, other key individuals in the civil rights movement, a few of the top thinkers from the academic area, and some young people who should be the future leaders. The reception could be held at the White House, State Department (or some other Government building), or the Washington-Hilton Hotel (where the conferees will be meeting).

Although this is a Planning Session and not the full Conference, we believe it should be held at the White House because of the caliber of the people that are expected, the fact that the real work will be done at this session, the sensitivity of civil rights groups and leaders, and the widespread publicity on the November 17-18 Session. This is particularly important at a time when there are uneasy rumblings among civil rights groups about the progress of voter registration in the South, the implementation of Title VI, and the reorganization of the civil rights operations of the Government.

If you are in town on November 16, we believe it is important for you to stop in at the reception. If you are not, the Vice President could represent you because he will be at the reception in any case.

The Conference Co-chairmen, White, McPherson, and we are meeting with the leaders (King, Wilkins, Farmer, Foreman or Lewis, Height and Young) this Saturday afternoon to discuss with them the conference plans and keep things on the track. It would help to tell them that there will be a White House reception at that meeting. (Randolph cannot make the Saturday meeting, but expressed his satisfaction that the Conference is going well.)

If you approve, we will plan a White House reception for November 16.

Approve

Disapprove

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