

The CRISIS

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1964

15¢

Calendar No. 854

88TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 7152

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 19 (legislative day, MARCH 30), 1964

Ordered to be printed with the amendment of the Senate

AN ACT

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Vol. 71, No. 7

Whole Number 615

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August-September, 1964

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. THE CRISIS is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Arthur B. Spingarn, president; John Hammond, vice-president; Samuel Williams, Secretary; Theodore Spaulding, treasurer; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is \$1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscription \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the label. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given, and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July 22, 1949 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Civil Rights Bill

By Senate After

LBJ Signs the Rights B

He Asks Americans to Aid Enforcement

Washington, (AP)—President Johnson signed the strongest civil rights law in nearly a century last night, only three hours after Congress passed it and called on Americans to help enforce it.

LBJ Hails

WASHINGTON (AP)—The president hailed the passage of the civil rights law as a "turning point" in the nation's history.

Senate Votes Cloture, 71-29

Limit Right

SENATE VOTES 71-29 TO GAG FOES OF BILL

Johnson Hails Victory on Measure

Seventy-one U.S. Senators Vote For Cloture

WASHINGTON — Seventy-five days of Southern filibuster against the Civil Rights Bill...

SENATORS VOTE 71-29 FOR RIGHTS CLOTURE

SENATE VOTES CLOTURE ON RIGHTS BILL, 71 TO 29; PASSAGE APPEARS SURE

Cloture Okay Styrom Passage of Senate Measure Allows Each Hour Debate

Senator Barry Goldwater Leads Bias Foes in Losing Fight Against Rule

By PAUL HILLEY
SENATE HAS acted to choke off a filibuster on a piece of civil rights legislation. The cloture rule was adopted 12 years ago and since that time only five other cloture efforts have been successful.

Senate Cuts Off Civil Rights Filibuster; Bill Likely to Be Passed Late Next Week

Senate Shuts Off Filibuster; Goldwater Votes With Dixie

FIRST INSTANCE OF APPROVAL FOR USE OF RULE ON SUCH A MEASURE

Backers Got Majority

Senate Halts 75-Day Filibuster Of Civil Rights Bill

Rejects 2 Crippling Amendments By Southern

Senate Ends Filibuster On Civil Rights Measure

SENATE INVOKES CLOSURE ON RIGHTS BILL, 71 TO 29, ENDING 75-DAY FILIBUSTER

CLOTURE IS INVOKED BY VOTE OF 71 TO 29, 4 MORE THAN REQUIRED

RIGHTS FILIBUSTER HALTED

RULE XXII—HOW GAG WAS VOTED

The majority thus voted further risk of invoking Senate Rule XXII. Two days after 26 or more Senators petition for cloture, the cloture issue must be voted upon. The day was set when 28 Senators signed the necessary petition Monday.

Senators Vote an End To Filibuster, 71-29

By PAUL HILLEY
Civil Rights Measure Is Signed by Johnson After House Votes Senate Version, 289-126

Cloture Silences Dixie

For the first time in nearly two centuries since the United States Senate this week self-imposed punishment against the civil rights measure.

Historic SE

Senators Then Dined

ts Debate

l Rights Bill, 73-27

SENATE ENDS FILIBUSTER ON RIGHTS BILL, 71-29

es Dixie Drive Against Rights Bill Goldwater Ballots With Southerners

SENATE ENDS RIGHTS FILIBUSTER

Sigh Breeds Tension of 67th Vote

Senate Votes Closure, Defeats 2 Amendments

Rights Victors Push Fight

Bill's Passage Assured; Barry 'No' on Cloture

Senate Votes to Halt Rights Bill Filibuster

Historic Day of Cloture

FILIBUSTER IS HALTED

sure Closes Out Filibuster in Senate

With Cloture Voted, South Must Face Reality Of Bill

Way Cleared, 71-29 For Rights Bill Vote

SENATE, BY 71-29, HALTS DEBATE ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Passage Seen In Two Weeks

The Provisions

The Civil Rights Bill, signed into law yesterday, contains the following major provisions. All take effect immediately, unless otherwise stated.

1. Voting—Barry registers from getting stricter literacy tests than whites, or from other reasons.
2. Public Accommodations—

WASHINGTON, (UPI)—In a senate chamber, a pitched voice of John F. William were Republican "Aye."

An almost int of relief broke that gripped galleries during a historic vote in a sure on the cl... Others noted what they wan... assured that i... behind major... shake off the... the nation age... BOTH

BY JOHN CHADWICK

WASHINGTON, (P)—The Senate voted Wednesday in a historic-making move, to choke off the 75-day old southern filibuster against the civil rights

one hour before the bill is brought to a final vote.

With Mrs. Mansfield of Mass.

offered by Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., leader of the Southern forces, which would have post-

the senators we refused to pass 67 if all Closure imposed, the S

71-29 Tally

the bill assured passage after the senate votes closure

the background of ground floor in the South, the Senate finally got around to routing southern filibusters stalling the pending civil rights bill in the history... low keyed atmosphere of high the 100 members of the quiet began voting shortly after 11 AM... against

The United States Senate has set the "balance" in the schools by transporting students from one school to another

crates to vote for the motion while only six Republicans (including Arizona's Sen. Barry Goldwater) joined 23 Democrats in voting against setting off the debate. It marked only the sixth time that cloture had been successfully invoked since the rule was adopted in 1917 and it was the first time it has ever been used successfully in support of civil rights legislation.

President Johnson called the vote "a major responsibility to meet a national responsibility." Sen. Jacob Javits, an liberal New York Republican, said after the vote. "We (meaning the lockers at the hall are in the driver's seat." A... luded they were they demonstrate... these seats immediately by quickly de... agreements, on

... came after details of the... had been argued... was ad...

... cases without such agencies. Another key change is the forbidding of preferential treatment of "any individual because of race on account of an imbalance which may exist."

bill

h

By JOHN A. GOLDENBERG

SUMMARY OF MAIN PROVISIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Summary of the main provisions of the Civil Rights Bill, which passed the Senate on June 19, 1964 and was signed by President Johnson on July 2, 1964.

TITLE I—VOTING

Prohibits registrars from applying different standards to white and Negro voting applicants and from disqualifying applicants because of inconsequential errors on their forms. Requires that literacy tests be in writing, except under special arrangements for blind persons, and that any applicant desiring one be given a copy of the questions and his answers. Makes a sixth-grade education a rebuttable presumption of literacy. Allows the Attorney General or defendant state officials in any voting suit to request trial by a three-judge Federal Court.

TITLE II—PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Prohibits discrimination or refusal of service on account of race in hotels, motels, restaurants, gasoline stations and places of amusement if their operations affect interstate commerce or if their discrimination "is supported by state action." Permits the Attorney General to enforce the title by suit in the Federal courts if he believes that any person or group is engaging in a "pattern or practice of resistance" to the rights declared by the title. The latter language was added in the Senate, which also authorized three-judge courts for suits under this title.

TITLE III—PUBLIC FACILITIES

Requires that Negroes have equal access to, and treatment in, publicly owned or operated facilities such as parks, stadiums and swimming pools. Authorizes the Attorney General to sue for enforcement of these rights if private citizens are unable to sue effectively.

TITLE IV—PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Empowers the Attorney General to bring school desegregation suits under the same conditions as in Title III. Authorizes technical and financial aid to school districts to assist in desegregation. The Senate strengthened a provision in the House bill saying that the title does not cover busing of pupils or other steps to end "racial imbalance."

TITLE V—CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission until Jan. 31, 1968.

TITLE VI—FEDERAL AID

Provides that no person shall be subjected to racial discrimination in any program receiving Federal aid. Directs Federal agencies to take steps against discrimination, including—as a last resort, and after hearings—withholding of Federal funds from state or local agencies that discriminate.

TITLE VII—EMPLOYMENT

Bans discrimination by employers or unions with 100 or more employees or members the first year the act is effective, reducing over four years to 25 or more. Establishes a commission to investigate alleged discrimination and use persuasion to end it. Authorizes the Attorney General to sue if he believes any person or group is engaged in a "pattern or practice" of resistance to the title, and to ask for trial by a three-judge court. The Senate added the "pattern-or-practice" condition and shifted the power to sue from the commission to the Attorney General.

TITLE VIII—STATISTICS

Directs the Census Bureau to compile statistics of registration and voting by race in areas of the country designated by the Civil Rights Commission. This might be used to enforce the long-forgotten provision of the 14th Amendment that states that discriminate in voting shall lose seats in the House of Representatives.

TITLE IX—COURTS

Permits appellate review of decisions by Federal District judges to send back to the state courts criminal defendants who have attempted to remove their cases on the ground that their civil rights would be denied in state trials. Permits the Attorney General to intervene in suits filed by Private persons complaining that they have been denied the equal protection of the laws.

TITLE X—CONCILIATION

Establishes a Community Relations Service in the Commerce Department to help conciliate racial disputes. The Senate removed a House ceiling of seven employees.

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS

Guarantees jury trials for criminal contempt under any part of the act but Title I—a provision added in the Senate. Provides that the statute shall not invalidate state laws with consistent purposes, and that it shall not impair any existing powers of Federal officials.

THE VOTE ON CLOTURE, JUNE 10, 1964

OUR FRIENDS, DEMOCRATS FOR (44)

Anderson (N.Mex.)	Humphrey (Minn.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Inouye (Hawaii)	Morse (Ore.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Jackson (Wash.)	Moss (Utah)
Brewster (Md.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Muskie (Me.)
Burdick (N.Dak.)	Lausche (Ohio)	Nelson (Wis.)
Cannon (Nev.)	E. V. Long (Mo.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Church (Idaho)	Magnuson (Wash.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Clark (Pa.)	Mansfield (Mont.)	Pell (R.I.)
Dodd (Conn.)	McCarthy (Minn.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Douglas (Ill.)	McGee (Wyo.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Edmonson (Okla.)	McGovern (S.Dak.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Engle (Calif.)	McIntyre (N.H.)	Symington (Mo.)
Gruening (Alaska)	McNamara (Mich.)	H. A. Williams (N.J.)
Hart (Mich.)	Metcalf (Mont.)	Yarborough (Texas)
Hartke (Ind.)		S. M. Young (Ohio)

REPUBLICANS FOR (27)

Aiken (Vt.)	Dirksen (Ill.)	Miller (Iowa)
Allott (Colo.)	Dominick (Colo.)	Morton (Ky.)
Beall (Md.)	Fong (Hawaii)	Mundt (S.Dak.)
Boggs (Del.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Pearson (Kans.)
Carlson (Kans.)	Hruska (Neb.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Case (N.J.)	Javits (N.Y.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Cooper (Ky.)	L. B. Jordan (Idaho)	Scott (Pa.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Keating (N.Y.)	Smith (Me.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Kuchel (Calif.)	J. J. Williams (Del.)

OUR ENEMIES, DEMOCRATS AGAINST (23)

Bible (Nev.)	Hayden (Ariz.)	Robertson (Va.)
H. F. Byrd (Va.)	Hill (Ala.)	Russell (Ga.)
R. C. Byrd (W. Va.)	Holland (Fla.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Johnston (S.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ellender (La.)	B. E. Jordan (N.C.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Ervin (N.C.)	R. B. Long (La.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	McClellan (Ark.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Gore (Tenn.)		Walters (Tenn.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST (6)

Bennett (Utah)	Mechen (N.Mex.)	Tower (Texas)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Simpson (Wyo.)	M. R. Young (N.Dak.)

SENATE ROLL-CALL VOTE ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

The civil rights bill passed the Senate by a 73-27 vote on June 19, 1964.

OUR FRIENDS, FOR PASSAGE—73

Democrats—46

Anderson (N.M.)	Hartke (Ind.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Hayden (Ariz.)	Morse (Ore.)
Bayh (Ind.)	Humphrey (Minn.)	Moss (Utah)
Brewster (Md.)	Inouye (Hawai)	Muskie (Me.)
Bible (Nev.)	Jackson (Wash.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Kennedy (Mass.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Lausche (Ohio)	Pastore (R.I.)
Church (Idaho)	Long (Mo.)	Pell (R.I.)
Clark (Pa.)	Magnuson (Wash.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Mansfield (Mont.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Douglas (Ill.)	McCarthy (Minn.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Edmonson (Okla.)	McGee (Wyo.)	Symington (Mo.)
Engle (Calif.)	McGovern (S.D.)	Williams (N.J.)
Gruening (Alaska)	McIntyre (N.H.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Hart (Mich.)	McNamara (Mich.)	Young (Ohio)
	Metcalf (Mont.)	

Republicans—27

Aiken (Vt.)	Dirksen (Ill.)	Morton (Ky.)
Allott (Colo.)	Dominick (Colo.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Beall (Md.)	Fong (Hawaii)	Pearson (Kan.)
Bennett (Utah)	Hruska (Neb.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Boggs (Del.)	Javits (N.Y.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Jordan (Idaho)	Scott (Pa.)
Case (N.J.)	Keating (N.Y.)	Smith (Me.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Kuchel (Calif.)	Williams (Del.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Miller (Iowa)	Young (N.D.)

OUR ENEMIES, AGAINST PASSAGE—27

Democrats—21

Byrd (Va.)	Hill (Ala.)	Russell (Ga.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Holland (Fla.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Johnston (S.C.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ellender (La.)	Jordan (N.C.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Long (La.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	McClellan (Ark.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Robertson (Va.)	Walters (Tenn.)

Republicans—6

Cotton (N.H.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)	Mechem (N.M.)	Tower (Tex.)

Statement on New Civil Rights Act

Upon the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by President Johnson on Thursday, July 2, 1964, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins issued the following statement.

THE signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by President Johnson represents the culmination of decades of efforts by the NAACP and many other organizations and individuals to secure Congressional recognition of and action in behalf of the Negro's basic citizenship rights. It is both an end and a beginning: an end to the Federal Government's hands-off policy; a beginning of an era of Federally-protected rights for all citizens.

At our 55th annual convention in Washington, we developed an implementation plan involving conferences with local officials and businessmen, an educational program and testing. The resolution adopted by our 2,810 delegates directed our 1,845 local units in 49 states to move immediately to seek compliance with the new law, particularly in those states for which the provisions of the law are new, such as public accommodations.

As important as is this Magna Carta of Human Rights, it does not mean that the struggle for full freedom is over. No law, or court decision, is self-implementing. We in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hope for widespread voluntary compliance. We know, however, that there will be hardcore resistance in some communities. Our Association is prepared to meet this test and to press for implementation even in the face of stubborn resistance.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the product of the joint efforts of many dedicated persons and of the inexorable forces of history. Many individuals, private citizens as well as public officials, Republicans and Democrats alike, contributed to this historic day. Foremost among these have been Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Baines Johnson; and the Senate and House leadership: Senators Mike Mansfield, Everett McKinley Dirksen, Hubert Humphrey, Thomas Kuchel, and Congressmen John McCormack, Carl Albert, Charles Halleck, Emanuel Celler, William M. McCulloch, Clarence J. Brown and Richard Bolling.

There was also the active, effective and dependable support or organized religion involving the three major faiths; of the AFL-CIO and its constituent unions; of many women's organizations, fraternal orders and civic associations, all working to achieve today's triumph.



Wide World

PEN FOR NAACP—President Johnson hands one of the 72 pens he used in signing the Civil Rights Bill on July 3, 1964, to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. Others identifiable are, from L, Sen. Wayne Morse, D-Ore., wearing glasses; Roland Libonati, D-Ill.; Rep. Ray Madden, D-Ind.; and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.



PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ADDRESS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Text of the President's address to the nation prior to his signing of the Civil Rights Bill in the White House on July 3, 1964.

My fellow Americans:

I am about to sign into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I want to take this occasion to talk to you about what the law means to every American.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago this week a small band of valiant men began a long struggle for freedom.

They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor not only to found a nation but to forge an ideal of freedom, not only for political independence but for personal liberty, not only to eliminate foreign rule but to establish the rule of justice in the affairs of men.

That struggle was a turning point in our history.

Today in far corners of distant continents the ideals of those American patriots still shape the struggles of men who hunger for freedom.

This is a proud triumph. Yet those who founded our country knew that freedom would be secure only if each generation thought to renew and enlarge its meaning.

From the Minutemen at Concord to the soldiers in Vietnam, each generation has been equal to that trust.

Americans of every race and color have worked to build a nation of widening opportunities.

Now, our generation of Americans, has been called on to continue the unending search for justice within our own borders.

We believe that all men are created equal—yet many are denied equal treatment.

We believe that all men have certain unalienable rights—yet many Americans do not enjoy those rights.

We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty—yet millions are being deprived of those blessings, not because of their own failures but because of the color of their skin.

The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand without rancor or hatred how this all happened. But it cannot continue.

Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic forbids it. The principles of our freedom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it. That law is the product of months of the most careful debate and discussion. It was proposed more than one year ago by our late and beloved President, John F. Kennedy. It received the bipartisan support of more than two-thirds of the members of both the House and the Senate. An overwhelming majority of Republicans

as well as Democrats voted for it.

It has received the thoughtful support of tens of thousands of civic and religious leaders in all parts of this nation, and it is supported by the great majority of the American people.

The purpose of this law is simple. It does not restrict the freedom of any American so long as he respects the rights of others. It does not give special treatment to any citizen. It does say the only limit to a man's hope for happiness and for the future of his children shall be his own ability.

It does say that those who are equal before God shall not also be equal in the polling booths, in the classrooms, in the factories and in hotels and restaurants, and movie theatres, and other places that provide service to the public.

I'm taking steps to implement the law under my constitutional obligation to take care that the laws are faithfully executed.

First, I will send to the Senate my nomination of LeRoy Collins to be Director of the Community Relations Service.

Governor Collins will bring the experience of a long career of distinguished public service to the task of helping communities solve problems of human relations through reason and common sense.

Second, I shall appoint an advisory committee of distinguished Americans to assist Governor Collins in his assignment.

Third, I am sending Congress a request for supplemental appropriations to pay for necessary costs of implementing the law and asking for immediate action.

Fourth, already today in a meeting of my Cabinet this afternoon I directed the agencies of this Government to fully discharge the new responsibilities imposed upon them by the law and to do it without delay and to keep me personally informed of their progress.

Fifth, I am asking appropriate officials to meet with representative groups to promote greater understanding of the law and to achieve a spirit of compliance.

We must not approach the observance and enforcement of this law in a vengeful spirit. Its purpose is not to punish. Its purpose is not to divide but to end divisions, divisions which have lasted all too long.

Its purpose is national not regional. Its purpose is to promote a more abiding commitment to freedom, a more constant pursuit of justice and a deeper respect for human dignity.

We will achieve these goals because most Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to do what is right. This is why the Civil Rights Act relies first on voluntary compliance, then on the efforts of local communities and states to secure the rights of citizens.

It provides for the national authority to step in only when others cannot or will not do the job.

This Civil Rights Act is a challenge to all of us to go to work in our communities and our states, in our homes and in our hearts to eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in our beloved country.

So, tonight I urge every public official, every religious leader, every business and professional man, every working man, every housewife—I urge every American to join in this

effort to bring justice and hope to all our people and to bring peace to our land.

My fellow citizens, we have come now to a time of testing. We must not fail.

Let us close the springs of racial poison. Let us pray for wise and understanding hearts. Let us lay

aside irrelevant differences and make our nation whole.

Let us hasten that day when our unmeasured strength and our unbounded spirit will be free to do the great works ordained to this nation by the just and wise God who is the Father of us all.

Thank you and good night.

THANKS FOR CLOTURE VOTE

Mr. Wilkins sent out thank-you letters to all 71 Senators who voted to invoke the cloture rule, June 10, which halted the Southern filibuster, which had in turn prevented any action on the civil rights bill for 74 days.

In the letters, Mr. Wilkins thanked the 27 Republican and 44 Democratic Senators in the name of the Association, "the general Negro public and the millions of friends of the civil rights cause."

He added that the action of 27 out of the 33 Republicans, "once more echoed Abraham Lincoln" and that the Democrats had "upheld the finest tradition of their party."

In the communications to the Republican and Democratic floor-leaders for the civil rights proposal—Sen. Thomas K. Kuchel of California and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota—Mr. Wilkins praised the two for their efforts which resulted in the historic and decisive victory, noting that it was the first time cloture had been imposed on a civil rights debate.

Mr. Wilkins pointed out further, in his letter to Sen. Kuchel, that despite the vote of Senator Goldwater and five other Republicans against cloture, the majority of the GOP Senators were better than 4-to-1 in favor of cutting off the filibuster. This clearly indicated, the NAACP leader declared, "the feeling of the party that debate had proceeded long enough and that the Senate should be permitted to vote on the bill."

SENATOR DIRKSEN CITED

"When the historic voting of cloture on the civil rights bill on June 10, 1964, is seen in perspective, away from the heat of the contest of the long spring, your key work will receive the credit it deserves."

These words were addressed to Illinois Senator Everett M. Dirksen in a letter written by Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Admitting that he had some misgivings when the Senator introduced

his proposals for amending the civil rights bill, Mr. Wilkins wrote: ". . . There were certain realities which had to be taken into account in advancing this legislation to a vote. Out of your long experience you devised an approach which seemed to you to offer a chance for success. The resounding vote of 71-29 June 10 to shut off debate tended mightily to reinforce your judgment and to vindicate your procedure."

Noting that 27 of the 33 Republican Senators voted for cloture, the first time it has ever been imposed on a civil rights debate, Mr. Wilkins thanked Sen. Dirksen for his vote and for his final speech before the vote was taken, which cited the war service of millions of American Negro citizens. The NAACP Secretary added, "These have, indeed, fought and died to preserve or to advance democracy abroad. They have waited too patiently and been humiliated too long in their own country. As you so well noted, the time of an idea has come."

NAACP PLANS FOR SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

A FIVE-POINT blueprint for implementation of the civil rights bill was developed and approved by delegates attending the 55th annual convention of the NAACP held in Washington, D. C.

The implementation program outlined in a convention resolution calls upon local and state units of the NAACP:

1. "To seek immediately compliance with the provisions on voting in Title I . . . and insist on the widest possible exercise of the voting privilege by citizens to insure a political climate in which the civil rights bill can succeed."

2. To seek immediately "conferences with public officials to gain broad community support for the bill, to launch an educational program to make the general public aware of the new law, and to seek wide community acceptance of its provisions."

3. To seek immediate compliance with the public accommodations provisions of the bill giving "particular attention to places of public accommodation along interstate highways."

4. To urge national chain establishments to notify immediately all their local outlets of the provisions of the law with directions that they comply promptly.

5. To compile a list of local offices of all agencies and institutions receiving federal assistance and to check compliance of these agencies with the nondiscrimination provisions of the new law.

The resolution further called for appointment to the five-man Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, as director of the new Community Relations Service, and to other key positions "of persons whose philosophy and outlook will be conducive of effective enforcement of the provisions of the civil rights bill." Also called for was "expanded personnel in the Attorney general's office to handle enforcement of the civil rights bill."

Nations Press on Civil Rights Bill

Some Editorial Excerpts

New York, The New York Times

President Johnson has signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which gives statutory force to the traditional American ideals of equality and justice for all. . . . The overwhelming votes by which this legislation passed both houses of Congress testified that the great majority of this nation's people and of their representatives in Washington understood this basic issue, and understood too that the time had come to put the full weight of law behind what is morally right.

Memphis, Tenn., Commercial Appeal

This will be a difficult package of laws to enforce. Like prohibition, it treads on quicksand. Morals cannot be legislated.

Little Rock, Arkan., Gazette

It is imperative that the South recognize the existence of the consensus and cease chasing after the fantasy that the white South has somehow sold its own ideas of racial segregation to the country. . . . The people and the leaders in each Southern state must make their decisions whether to look reality in the face or continue their dalliance with a dangerous illusion.

Atlanta, Ga., Inquirer

The new Federal Civil Rights law is a giant step in the struggle for freedom, human dignity and first class citizenship for all citizens. The Civil Rights law is not a panacea, a cure-all or total solution to the problems and hurdles that face the American Negro. However, it is a great act of Congress on behalf of our ethnic group.

Shreveport, La., Sun

The bill only gives the Negro more legal avenues to pursue in his fight to become a first class citizen. Unless there is a change of heart on the part of the white leadership of the various communities, civil rights conflicts will continue in the years ahead.

Washington, D. C., Post

The civil rights bill presents an opportunity, not a solution. . . . There are two grave general dangers to be faced in connection with the civil rights law. One is a danger that civil rights enthusiasts may assume complacently that the law will of itself end discrimination.

New York City, Amsterdam News

The nation's top civil rights organi-

zations and their leaders must be given the lion's share of credit for passage of the historic Civil Rights Bill signed by President Johnson.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Enquirer

It scarcely needs to be said that legislation alone is capable of solving no problem. All it can do is to provide some of the tools. It remains for the American people to translate law into fact, to make certain that the constitutional rights reaffirmed by the legislation are given the protection and the meaning they deserve.

Kansas City, Kansas, Call

The Senate has come through with a victory which will go down in history as a great moment for freedom.

Miami, Fla., News

Now it becomes the duty of the American people to accept this law of the land, for ours is a government of law. And even beyond this, we must obey the law of the land.

Washington, D. C., Post

There is undoubtedly abundant leadership throughout the South capable of rational response to the law of the land. It has already shown itself in many places—in Atlanta and Savannah and now, at last in St. Augustine, to name but a few conspicuous examples.

Philadelphia, Pa., Evening Bulletin

Unquestionably it was an historic moment when President Johnson—a Southerner—signed the new and heavily-muscled Civil Rights Act into law. . . . The President had fought for it. So had thousands of others, each in his way. The nation generally could take satisfaction in completion of a long struggle.

Willingboro, N. J., Times

How far-reaching will be the effects of this already historic document a great deal on the human qualities of the nation's citizens. Even though the Congressional Battle of '64 has been won, the war on bigotry and prejudice, discrimination and ignorance is far from over.

Baltimore, Md., Sun

The 1964 civil rights bill now stands as the law of the land, a monument to President Kennedy, to President Johnson, to the members of both houses of Congress who saw where their duty lay and to the great majority among their constituents who backed them in this reaffirmation of the democratic faith.

Washington, D. C., Evening Star

It is a historic achievement for the American society, a true landmark in the progress toward solution of our outstanding domestic problem. The new law measures the distance we have come from the days of "separate but equal."

Washington, D. C., Daily News

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now the law of the land. The time for arguing about it is over. The time for acting on it is here.

Houston, Texas, Post

For President Johnson, who fought strenuously for its enactment, the Civil Rights Bill is truly a victory. But it is also a victory for all of the American people. Through their representatives in Congress, they have said that the American dream must come true for all Americans.

Aurora, Colo., Star & News

The new civil rights law is a big victory for national morality.

Los Angeles, Calif., Herald Examiner

Civil rights now is the law of the land, a tremendous and historic achievement in the civilization of humankind.

Dallas, Texas, Morning News

Passage of the civil rights bill ends an epochal chapter in American history, and there is bitter irony in the conclusion. The statute that was to end racial discord now brings the threat of continued violence and agitation.

Phoenix, Arizona, Arizona Republic

The Civil Rights Bill of 1964 became the law of the land when President Johnson signed it. Unless it is changed by Congress or thrown out by the Supreme Court, it should be obeyed by every American.

Denver, Colo., Rocky Mountain News

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now the law of the land. The time for arguing about it is over. The time for acting on it is here.

Los Angeles, Calif., Times

Ahead lies a difficult period wherein voluntary compliance with the law's provisions will be tested and after that, inevitably, a long series of court actions is promised. Full implementation could take five years, acceptance a generation.

Chicago, Ill., Daily News

Nobody expects this law to solve the problems of differences and tensions. But this is more than a law. It is the expression of the American people's

moral decision to put law in the service of equal justice and equal opportunity. It is a reaffirmation of the Declaration of Independence.

Boston, Mass., Christian Science Monitor

It is a triumph for reason that such a large voting majority in Congress agreed on a carefully drawn civil-rights law. It is also a triumph for constructive emotion which can drain off some of the frustration felt on both sides.

Tacoma, Washington, New Tribune

With this law on the books, the alternative to compliance will be anarchy. The question will no longer be one of wanting or not wanting to accept integration, but of obeying the law of the land.

Boston, Mass., Evening Globe

This law, while providing a mighty expression of the nation's will and the legal structure needed to sustain it, marks not an end but a new beginning, President Johnson's eloquent appeal for ever-widening compliance recognizes this.

Boston, Mass., Record American

Civil Rights now is the law of the land, a tremendous and historic achievement in the civilization of humankind.

Louisville, Kentucky, Courier-Journal

While this is definitely not the time for Negroes to engage in flamboyant and provocative demonstrations of protest, it is the time for them to test the new law with orderly determination.

New Orleans, La., States-Item

It must be recognized as such [civil rights measure] even in those sections where the content of the legislation

runs against the grain of what has been local custom.

St. Louis, Mo., Globe-Democrat

By and large this is a good statute, enacted by topheavy vote of Senate and House.

Marianna, Fla., Floridan

If a reception for the new law is not planned carefully, there might develop in the vacuum a "massive resistance" such as marked the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of a decade ago.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Tribune

With President Johnson's signature, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became the law of the land. It thus has a force and standing which the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision did not possess. The civil rights law was enacted by the national legislature after long debate and by a two-thirds vote in each house. It is not the result of a judicial pronouncement.

Portland, Oregon, Reporter

In years to come, enactment of the civil rights bill will be noted as one of the historic achievements of our nation.

Ithaca, N. Y., Journal

In any event, such a law bears a presumption of constitutionality unless and until it is declared otherwise by the highest court in the land.

Cullman, Ala., Tribune

Acceptance of the new civil rights law, and our tolerance, will be much better for our state than defiance, or not facing reality.

Herkimer, N. Y., Telegram

The passage of the civil rights law will almost certainly go down in the history books as one of the major turning points of this century. It marks a new departure in thinking, and its influence upon the future course of events is certain to be profound. Yet its whole effectiveness must necessarily hinge upon public acceptance and willingness to cooperate.

Macon, Ga., News

Now the Civil Rights Act is a part of the law of the United States. And it must be and will be obeyed. Those who are still voicing defiance are engaging in an exercise in futility.

Albuquerque, N. M., Tribune

Negroes should exercise caution and prudence in testing the law. They must test it, of course—for otherwise the legislation would be meaningless. But they should give it a chance to work before resorting to extreme protest measures.

Orange, N. J., Transcript

The Civil Rights is now law. The oft-repeated maxim that this nation is one of laws, not of men, will now be tested by the way men either accept or defy this new law.

Palestine, Texas, Herald Press

Its effect in many parts of the country will be chaotic. The sorriest elements of both negro and white races will seize the opportunity this new law gives them to create disturbances and fan senseless hates. Statements have already been made by militant leaders of both sizes, which make further hate-mongering, public demonstrations, and violence a certainty in some parts of both the South and the North.

**"...our
cause
is
just...**



Dear Friend,

A man arrested and on trial in Mississippi for picketing was asked by the judge if he was represented by counsel. His reply was that the Lord was on his side. The judge agreed, but told the defendant that what he meant was, did he have someone locally? *To the Negro citizen of America this means the NAACP.*

Last year in the State of Mississippi alone, the NAACP put up \$230,000 in cash bail bonds for people arrested in demonstrations for freedom. This money came into our reserve through Life Memberships of \$500.00 each. Thus we were able to represent and "stand by" the Freedom Fighters who were arrested.

I would like to invite you to join the many who are Life Members and thereby document your stand for freedom NOW!

A subscribing Life Membership is only \$50 a year — which really means \$1.00 a week or 15 cents a day until the full sum of \$500 is paid. A handsome plaque is then issued along with other appropriate recognition that will forever testify as to what you have done in the battle for equal rights.

I would like to feel that you plan to become a Life Member NOW and will wait no longer. If you are already a member of our Honor Guard, won't you assist us by securing one?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Roy Wilkins". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

DURT



NATIONAL LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Chairman: KIVIE KAPLAN

Vice-Chairmen: DR. GEORGE D. CANNON,
DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, JACKIE ROBINSON

Kelly Alexander	Dr. J. Leonidas Leach
George A. Beavers, Jr.	Bishop Edgar A. Love
Dr. W. Montague Cobb	Dr. James J. McClendon
Nathaniel Colley	Cornelius McDougald
Dr. Walter Darden	Allan Morrison
Hon. Hubert T. Delany	Dr. Maurice Rabb
Earl B. Dickerson	A. Philip Randolph
Katherine W. Frederick	Dr. Eugene T. Reed
Dr. S. Ralph Harlow	Walter Reuther
Bishop E. C. Hatcher	Dr. P. T. Robinson
George K. Hunton	Nellie Roulhac
Daisy E. Lampkin	Ike Smalls
	Pauline Weeden



...wait no longer"

SEND TO YOUR LOCAL BRANCH OR THE N.A.A.C.P.
20 W. 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

I WISH TO BECOME A LIFE MEMBER OF THE NAACP

- I ENCLOSE CHECK FOR \$.....
AS FIRST PAYMENT TOWARD A LIFE MEMBERSHIP.
- I ENCLOSE A CHECK FOR \$500.00 FOR FULL LIFE
MEMBERSHIP.

NAME

STREET

CITY AND STATE

Annual installments of as little as \$50.00 or more, sent to either your local branch of the NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

(B)

NAACP's 55th Convention: Civil Rights and Mississippi

By Gloster B. Current

THE nation's largest civil rights organization—a record-breaking 534,710 members in 1963—opened its 55th Annual Convention in an atmosphere of thanksgiving and ecstasy over the passage of the long-sought Civil Rights Act. The spirit of exultation permeating the lobby and noticeable in the opening plenary session held in the Grand Ballroom of the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D. C., June 22, quickly evaporated the next day when word was received of the disappearance in Mississippi of three young COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) workers.

By the end of the six-day meeting, the jubilant mood of 2,846 delegates—1,525 voting, 1,317 alternates and observers, including over 800 youth—

had reverted to one of sober contemplation of convention-ordered plans to continue their all-out attack upon segregation and discrimination with intensified efforts in the political action field.

Highlights of the convention included assessments by outstanding speakers of the impact on the country of the just-adopted Civil Rights Bill and suggested strategy and tactics for its implementation in a presidential election year. Major addresses were given by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, majority and minority Whips of the United States Senate; Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman, department of history, Brooklyn College, New York; Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver; Dr. Vivian Henderson, Fisk University professor of

GLOSTER B. CURRENT is the director of NAACP branches.

economics; Carl T. Rowan, director of the U.S. Information Agency; Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education; Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; and Mrs. Myrlie Evers, widow of the late NAACP field secretary, Medgar W. Evers.

Other prominent speakers included Jackie Robinson and NAACP board chairman, Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood.

Every NAACP convention is chock full of features which make headlines daily. The 55th had at least one a day beginning with the pre-convention press conference of Roy Wilkins on Sunday; his keynote address on Monday; presentation of the Spingarn Medal on Tuesday; the emergency call for a protest demonstration to the Justice Department in which the entire convention participated on Wednesday; also the ear-splitting ovation given Tuesday to Senator Hubert Humphrey in response to Clarence Mitchell's praise of the Senator's efforts in support of the civil rights bill; the unprecedented resolution adopted by the convention urging rejection by the Republican Party of Senator Barry Goldwater as its 1964 presidential nominee; the board of director's resolution on Thursday recommending that the federal government "take over the administration of Mississippi" by invoking Article IV, Section 4, of the U.S. Constitution to set up a federal administration; the pilgrimage to the graves of the martyred President John F. Kennedy and Medgar Evers on Thursday and the refusal of both the board and convention to act on an abortive proposal to change election procedures,

reportedly aimed at unseating the Association's venerable president, Arthur B. Spingarn.

STRIKING KEYNOTE

The expectant crusaders received their keynote from Roy Wilkins, who pledged the Association would "keep pushing along the entire front."

Speaking to an overflow audience in historic Metropolitan AME Church, Wilkins paid tribute to "courageous and inspiring Mississippi leader, Medgar W. Evers" who gave his life "for his people" and likewise to slain President John F. Kennedy, "assassinated in a region where hatred had been practiced so long and so respectably on Negro citizens . . . that its transference to even a President of the United States was easy."

The principal value of the civil rights bill, the NAACP executive indicated, "is the recognition finally—by the Congress of the United States that the Negro is a constitutional citizen." Wilkins paid tribute to "a formidable group of national Negro, labor, church, Jewish, civic, fraternal, and women's organizations" who, working together under the banner of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, helped bring about final passage. He also singled out for special thanks Clarence Mitchell, NAACP lobbyist, and lauded the cooperative efforts of 138 Republicans and 152 Democrats in the House, and 27 Republicans and 46 Democrats in the Senate who voted for the bill.

Also included among the praiseworthy were the President of the United States; Representatives Carl Albert and Emanuel Celler, Democrats; Representatives Charles Halleck and William McCulloch, Republicans;

in an oblique reference to President Dwight Eisenhower, mused, "If the White House had given prompt and effective leadership, these past ten years would have been much less troubled and we would have been much further along the road to the genuine integration of our schools."

He praised President Johnson as "a man who doesn't float on a cloud somewhere above the battle, but plunges right into the struggle," and as "an active leader" who "doesn't dither" or "agonize, he acts."

Recalling dire predictions of "a long, hot summer," Humphrey opined, "it should be a long, busy and constructive summer, as well," and expressed the hope that "the national, state and local officials of the NAACP—and all the other organizations in the civil rights movement—would "spend as much time in the halls of government as on the streets."

He hoped that civil rights leaders would be invited to advise mayors, governors, and the federal government on "translating the provisions of the Civil Rights Act from words on the statute books into living realities in our cities, in our states, and in our nation."

He urged NAACP leaders to join in the President's program to end poverty which "is not inevitable—any more than racial segregation and discrimination are inevitable. We have the resources, for the first time in history, to banish poverty."

At the close of his speech, a suggestion from chairman Clarence Mitchell that it would be a great thing for America if we have just been listening to the next "Vice-President of the United States," brought delegates to their feet shout-

ing, "we want Humphrey, we want Humphrey." The rousing ovation continued as the Senator left the auditorium.

The next speaker, Senator Kuchel of California, Republican Floor Manager, had a tough assignment to follow the staccato-tongued orator, but his eloquently delivered speech of firm support of civil rights similarly captivated the delegates. Passage of the Civil Rights Act should assure all nations, Senator Kuchel said, that "we seek justice for all peoples, including our own." The legislation demonstrates "that the American dream is not a nightmare . . . that the theory of human dignity will not be mocked and that what we preached for so long shall now be practiced forever."

Also present at the session was Joseph A. Rauh, chairman of the District Democratic Central Committee, who worked closely with Mr. Mitchell in behalf of the Civil Rights Bill.

MINISTER'S BREAKFAST

Earlier, at the Minister's Breakfast, Dr. Robert W. Spike, director of the National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race, whose organization played a vital role in obtaining wide-spread religious support of the Civil Rights Bill, pointed to the summer of 1964 as "a time of incredible hope and incredible danger."

Dr. Spike discerned hope in "the important changes that have occurred in the past few months in this country in the field of human rights." The churchman, who gave extensive aid to the March on Washington, was optimistic "despite hysteria about the white backlash." He warned that this

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is also a time of incredible danger, a danger of extreme militancy due to the enlargement of discontent in the Negro community and the myths by which people live.

Speaking to over 200 ministers hosted by the NAACP Church Department, headed by Rev. Edward J. Odom, Spike called attention to the frightened people "who grasp at the most spurious parts of the past and try to make them their guide." He termed the Goldwater boom an "attempt to reverse time", a backward movement which could cause "a terrible human traffic-jam, as the great mass of the population moves in another direction." Dr. Spike called for a "new kind of interpretative ministry", a ministry unafraid to take hold of the "hot" issues, a seasoned leadership—seasoned by constant exposure to risk.

SPINGARN MEDAL

Climaxing the Convention's second day was the awarding of the 49th Spingarn Medal to Roy Wilkins by scholarly Professor John Hope Franklin, chairman of the history department, Brooklyn College. Earl B. Dickerson, member of the National Board of Directors, presided.

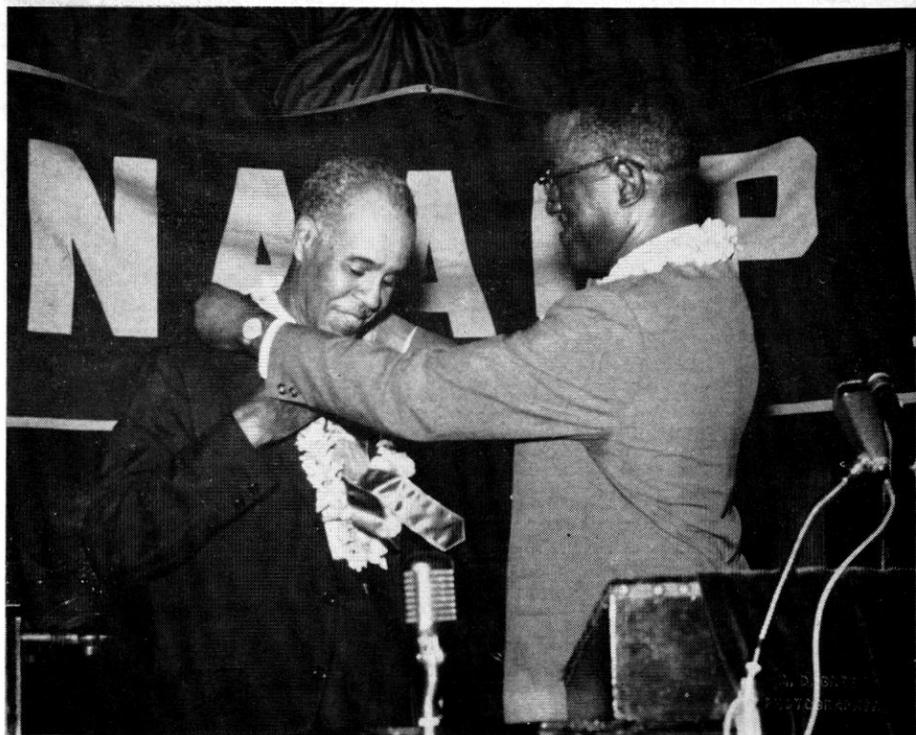
Wilkins thus joined that illustrious company of great men and women whose solid achievements helped their race take measured strides toward the goal of full equality. Other distinguished NAACP staff members to receive the medal include William E. Burghardt Dubois, editor of *The Crisis* and founder of the Pan African Congress; James Weldon Johnson, author, diplomat and NAACP executive secretary; Walter White, the late executive secretary, for lynching investigations; Thurgood Marshall, spe-

cial counsel, for outstanding legal work. Daisy Bates and the Little Rock Nine, because of their close association with the NAACP in the Little Rock school integration case, could also be considered honorees because of NAACP activity.

Speaking on the subject "In the Image of Greatness", Dr. Franklin decried the double standard in the United States in the determination of greatness; that there has been throughout the centuries in this country "the strongest possible disinclination to concede the attributes of greatness to anyone whose skin was not white."

Dr. Franklin called attention to Joel Edward Spingarn's purpose, in 1915, of establishing the medal as a means of honoring "the highest and noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years . . . to call attention of the American people to the existence of distinguished merit and achievement among American Negroes, and . . . to serve as a reward for such achievement, and as a stimulus to the ambition of colored youth." The medal, he concluded, "is a reminder to the entire nation that race is no respecter of abilities, resourcefulness, initiative, and perseverance."

In his acceptance remarks, Wilkins reminisced about his experiences as editor of the *Kansas City Call*; recalled an NAACP convention in Kansas City, Kansas, in 1923 which was welcomed by the local dailies in editorials but condemned after the newspapers discovered the organization's egalitarian objectives, causing James Weldon Johnson, executive secretary, to tear up his prepared address and deliver a ringing denouncement of



Green

WILKINS RECEIVES SPINGARN AWARD—*NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins (L), "a great American who has made a distinctive and immeasurable contribution to the advancement of the American people and the national purpose," was awarded the 49th Spingarn Medal at ceremonies during NAACP's 55th annual convention in Washington. Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of the history department of Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y., makes the award to Mr. Wilkins.*

the segregationists; remembered his coming for a sacrificial salary to the Association as assistant editor of *The Crisis* in the lean days of 1931; reported on an investigation, observing conditions in the camps of the Mississippi Delta levee project, made by George Schuyler and himself in disguise as laborers in 1932, and the arrest of Schuyler and their discovery causing them to flee the state but not

before they obtained valuable information which was turned over to the Wagner Committee of the U.S. Senate; of the cooperation received during his career from NAACP leaders and members throughout the country, sharing their homes and risking their lives in the cause of freedom.

ATTACK ON POVERTY

The monumental problems of pov-

erty were treated in a hard-hitting address Wednesday morning by Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps and also director of the President's anti-poverty program. The session was presided over by Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the West Virginia State Conference, NAACP.

Shriver's opening remarks, a sally against Senator Barry Goldwater, Presidential contender, drew applause from the delegates when he said: "It has been a hot week in Washington. Yesterday it was 92 degrees. Most of you haven't had time for swimming but Senator Goldwater, they tell me, was swimming in the Potomac River looking for the mainstream."

"If he really wants to find the mainstream, he should come here and try to explain to this convention his position on race relations, try to explain why he thinks it is unconstitutional to pass a law guaranteeing equal opportunity to all Americans regardless of color and creed."

Shriver appealed for NAACP help to start the President's war on poverty. Recalling the late President Kennedy's speech in 1960 concerning the problems confronting Negro opportunities for education, employment and life expectancy, he indicated that President Johnson's poverty program attacks each of these points "Not because Negroes are affected, but because all poor people are affected, by the deprivation of employment, education, health and economic opportunities."

A noted economist, Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University, presented statistics further substantiating the poverty problem confronting Negroes.

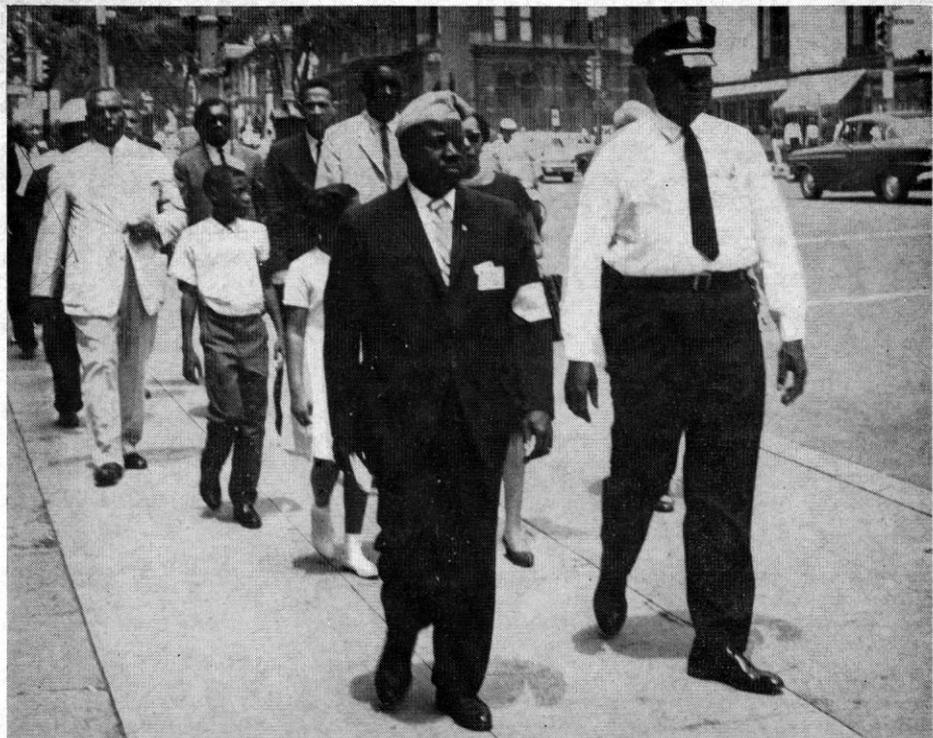
Dr. Henderson warned that if America is going to get at the hard-core unemployed "who are structurally incompatible with today's work market, then we have got to really go to work and put some money into programs that can simultaneously meet a whole host of education, training, sociological and psychological needs."

ACTION ON MISSISSIPPI

Convention leaders had planned no demonstrations this year. Meeting so soon after passage of the Civil Rights Act, it was felt that the time and attention of the delegates could best be spent in planning implementation procedures, rather than conducting further protests. But the emergency created by the disappearance on June 21, in Mississippi, of three youths—Andrew Goodman, 20, a Queens College student; Michael Schwerner, 24, Pelham, New York; and James Chaney, 21, of Meridian, Mississippi, a Negro—galvanized the entire convention to demand instant action.

At the Tuesday morning plenary session on June 23, Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi State Conference, NAACP, and Charles Evers, brother of martyred Medgar, Mississippi field secretary, addressed the convention prior to the political action session. They reported in addition to the disappearances, many cases of police brutality, abject denial of civil rights, wanton church burnings, bombings of the homes of NAACP and other leaders and the disinterested, spiteful attitudes of city and state officials when these cases are reported.

The fiery, charismatic Evers, still embittered over the violent death of



Green

PROTESTING MISSISSIPPI TERROR—*Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches, leads the way on an NAACP march on the Department of Justice in Washington to protest the disappearance of three civil-rights workers in Mississippi. All regular sessions of the NAACP's 55th annual convention in Washington were suspended as over 2500 delegates demanded action from the federal government to protect civil rights in the state of Mississippi.*

his brother, Medgar, charged that in Mississippi any white man can kill a Negro and escape punishment. He set the stage for a demonstration as he ended his speech with the remark: "We all ought to march on the Justice Department." There is no doubt that, had not calmer minds prevailed, the Convention would have stormed out in a body to Constitution Avenue, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, the

headquarters of the Department of Justice.

Presiding officer Arthur J. Chaptal of New Orleans, referred the matter to the Convention Resolutions Committee, headed by Robert D. Robertson of Norfolk. The Committee reported out an emergency resolution that afternoon, which the convention adopted unanimously expressing shock and indignation over Mississippi's law-

less conduct calling for a march the following day to the Justice Department and appointed a special committee to confer with the Attorney General, composed of the following: Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary; Robert L. Carter, general counsel; Dr. Aaron Henry, president of the NAACP State Conference of Branches in Mississippi; Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary in Mississippi; Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau; Alfred Williams, chairman, national youth work committee; and William Booth, vice-chairman, resolutions committee.

The following day the entire convention marched thirteen blocks silently to the Justice Department and encircled the building as their leaders conferred for ninety minutes with the Attorney General.

Roy Wilkins, spokesman for the delegation, expressing fear that the three youths were dead, told Mr. Kennedy that the Justice Department should take preventive action to protect not only civil rights workers, "but the 985,000 Negro citizens who live in Mississippi." The Attorney General deeply touched, told the delegates of his grave concern, but explained the constitutional limitations which prevent him from providing protection until a federal law has been violated.

On learning that Mrs. Evers was among the marchers, the Attorney General sent for her to come inside and expressed his sympathy over the tragic loss of her husband. Later, reviewing the march standing on the steps of the Justice Department, Mr. Kennedy shook Mrs. Evers' hand and said: "God bless you," to which the

stately widow replied: "God bless you too."

VISIT TO ARLINGTON

Delegates to the convention made a pilgrimage to Arlington National Cemetery to the graves of President John F. Kennedy and Medgar W. Evers in 40 chartered buses on Thursday. Silently in double file they walked up the hill to the knoll on which rests the President's body surrounded by two of his infant children. In front of the eternal flame, Bishop Stephen Gill Spottswood paused for a few moments of silent prayer, after which he led the board members and the assemblage to the Evers' grave at the foot of the hill.

Bishop Spottswood said that the President and the martyred Evers would be avenged "when character, not color—achievement, not complexion—intelligence, not classification—will be the criteria for our citizenship and the basis of Americanism."

Mr. Wilkins informed the group that Mrs. Evers would soon be moving to Claremont, California, to complete her education and defended her against mean accusations that she was running away from the civil rights crusade.

"What more can a woman give than the life of her husband?" the executive secretary asked.

CONVENTION ISSUES

The convention dealt with a number of controversial issues and adopted a number of resolutions as guidelines for the organization's future activities.

Gravely concerned over the imminent nomination of Senator Goldwater by the Republican National Conven-



Green

FOR FALLEN HEROES—Delegates to the NAACP's 55th annual convention, held in Washington, June 22-27, 1964, gather outside their hotel headquarters in preparation for a trip to Arlington Cemetery to honor the memory of Medgar Evers, martyred Mississippi NAACP field secretary, and President Kennedy.

tion in San Francisco, the delegates adopted a resolution at the Saturday plenary session urging the GOP not to nominate the Arizona Senator for President. The convention deplored Goldwater's ill-advised stand on the civil rights bill, which represented the consensus of both major parties. This action by NAACP broke a 55-year rule against endorsing presidential hopefuls.

The board of directors, at its meeting Thursday evening, inspired by

events in Mississippi, adopted a resolution asking the federal government to take over the state's administration in order to guarantee a republican form of government, by invoking Article IV, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution.

Other resolutions followed the NAACP's general program and called for stepped-up measures to increase registration and voting in this election year. The delegates spelled out a program of action to secure implementa-

tion of the civil rights bill of 1964, inclusive of conferences with public officials, testing of the public accommodations section, surveys of federal agencies to assure compliance with Title 6.

The Association's youth was an integral part of the convention. As recognition of their strategically significant role in the civil rights revolution, one of their number, Alfred Williams, III, of Muskegon, was selected to preside at the opening session on Monday, June 22. Popular, articulate, dynamic "Al" was chosen because of his NAACP record of achievement, serving as chairman of the National Youth Work Committee, his activities with the Muskegon youth council and as one of the "task" force workers last summer.

YOUTH NIGHT

The youth night program, presided over by Johnny Frazier, president of the Mississippi State Conference of Youth Councils, and member of the National Board of Directors, heard an address by Honorable Carl Rowan, Director of the United States Information Agency. The former newsman paid tribute to the NAACP as one of the two organizations "doing the tough and lonely jobs in the days before you were born," and said that "those who hold high positions in government and industry today "dare not forget . . . that without the long struggle in the courts and in the arena of public opinion by the NAACP, we would be far short of where we are today."

He saluted the young people for their courageous protests, willingness to face police dogs, fire hoses, and tear gas and other activities which

have "jarred America's conscience and awakened her sense of decency." Pointing to the passage of the civil rights bill as "a great achievement," he indicated that the time has come for revising tactics in the period ahead.

Recognizing that in some youth circles today a jail record is a badge of courage, Rowan also reminded his young heroes that a Phi Beta Kappa key is also a badge of honor, and no less a vital one in our struggle.

He said that as the civil rights bill takes effect, and many barriers fall, how many will fall and how quickly "will still depend on how many of you youths are pounding at the door of opportunity—but pounding now not simply with the sledge hammer of racial anger and frustration, but hammering also with so fragile a thing as a diploma, which sometimes will knock down more doors than will sledge hammers."

He urged that Negro youth add brain power to muscle power, suggesting that there will be "some ignoble responses" to the Civil Rights Act. The Negro will be smart if he "lets the indignity, the ignobility, the ugliness be on the other side," he said. The wise approach is to move in a dignified way, a smart way, to use this bill to widen the horizons of freedom in those areas that are amendable, though perhaps reluctant.

YOUTH BANQUET

Girls, resplendent in their colorful formal gowns and boys, impeccably dressed, filled the Statler ballroom to capacity at the youth banquet Thursday evening.

Jack Greenberg, principal speaker
(Continued on page 465)

FREEDOM NEWS

Brief highlights and comments about what the branches, college chapters, youth councils and staff personnel are doing in our NAACP. (Prepared for August-September, 1964 CRISIS.)

GOLDWATER BID SPURS VOTER DRIVES

Nomination of Arizona Senator Barry M. Goldwater as the Republican presidential candidate has spurred the most extensive NAACP political activity in the Association's 55-year history.

At press time, the NAACP was conducting voter registration and education campaigns in 370 cities in Northern and Western states. In Southern and border states, the NAACP has been engaged in drives in Louisiana, South Carolina, Kentucky, Texas, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland and Mississippi.

In August, Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins singled out 100 key cities in 25 states and urged local NAACP units to "convene emergency meetings of organizations" to accelerate voter registration campaigns.

Among the cities were Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Baltimore, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis and Milwaukee.

CONVENTION ADOPTS UNPRECEDENTED RESOLUTION

The NAACP's move to halt Goldwater began at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., in June. There, 2,846 delegates made an unprecedented departure from custom by unanimously adopting a resolution calling on the Republican party to deny the Arizonian the nomination.

Never in the history of the Association had a resolution been passed calling on a political party

to withhold endorsement from a particular aspirant, designating the party and the individual by name.

Because of the importance placed upon this year's presidential election, the delegates also adopted strong resolutions urging branches "to engage in vigorous and effective political action programs," and directing "each branch to further intensify its voter registration activity" sustaining such efforts "throughout the coming months."

WHY NAACP OPPOSES GOLDWATER

NAACP opposition to Goldwater as President stems basically from three things. First, the Senator has demonstrated his contempt for the Negro's fight for freedom by not only voting against limiting debate on the Civil Rights Bill but also by siding with Southern segregationists in voting against the measure itself.

Next, he believes issues involving equality and justice for Negroes should be left to the states, such as Mississippi where Medgar Evers was shot in the back last year and where three young voter registration workers were brutally murdered this year.

Finally, Goldwater's bid is being supported by militant segregationist and extremist groups such as the John Birch Society, the Klu Klux Klan, the Society for the Preservation of White People and numerous others.

NAACP GIRDS FOR FINAL VOTER PUSH

Miss Althea T. L. Simmons, field secretary for the southern and southwest areas of the West Coast Region, has been transferred to the National Office in New York temporarily. Until the election in November, she will devote full time to heading up and coordinating the NAACP's nationwide voter registration drive.

W. C. Patton, field secretary for southern voter registration, is being assisted full-time by Mrs. Helen Hayes and Hugh T. Love.



VOTER REGISTRATION is everybody's business, even that of two-year-old Jerry Washington of Waterbury, Conn., who was part of a parade boosting a campaign being conducted by the Waterbury NAACP Youth Council and the Congress of Racial Equality. (ADAMS PHOTO)

Calvin Banks, national program director and coordinator for northern voter registration, reports hundreds of public-spirited citizens, Negro and white, have volunteered to work with the NAACP on voter registration. He said, the rush of offers, which began pouring into his New York office right after Goldwater was nominated, is "probably a reflection of political tensions created by that nomination."

BRANCHES SET VOTER REGISTRATION HIGHS

Newark, N. J., branch attained an unprecedented achievement Monday, August 3, when in the space of four hours it registered 2,000 prospective voters. This was the highest number of registrations ever completed in such a short period in the city's history. Branch voter registration chairman is Mrs. Jennie Lemon.

Grand Rapids, Mich., branch, in a two-week crash effort, topped the goal of 1,000 set at the outset. Dr. W. W. Plummer, branch president, credited Political Action Committee Co-chairmen Loree Glover and Carl A. Thomasson with the drives's success, which netted 1,056 prospective voters.

Suffolk County, N. Y., election officials credited two Long Island NAACP branches with helping to provide the biggest single-day turnout in the county's current voter registration drive Saturday, August 15. A total of 1,541 prospective voters enrolled that day in the county's 10 towns as a result of efforts by the Bay Shore and Deer Park NAACP branches. Voter registration committees of the two units, respectively headed by Edgar E. Phipps and Mrs. June Harris, have also been pushing enrollments in the towns of Islip and Babylon.

SAYS SOUTHERN NEGROES MAY OUTVOTE WHITES

There are indications that the percentage of registered Negroes in the South voting in November will outstrip that for whites, said The New York Times, August 23, in an article written by the newspaper's Southern correspondent, Claude Sitton.

The newspaper based its prediction upon the strong feelings it found among Negroes fostered by "the anti-civil rights tone given to the Republican campaign in the South by public statements of support for Mr. Goldwater from leaders of the Klu Klux Klan, the Citizens Councils and the other militant segregationists."

Wiley A. Branton, head of the Voter Education Project from which the NAACP has received some funds



THIS MEMBER of the Grand Rapids NAACP Youth Council seems to be saying, "Voting is serious business," as she carries a poster in a voter registration parade. (GRAND RAPIDS PRESS PHOTO)

for voter registration, was quoted as saying, "without question the Negro vote is likely to be much more decisive this year than it was in 1960 because of the apparent abandonment of Negro support by the Republican party."

NEGRO VOTE GAINING IN THE SOUTH

Earlier in August, the Southern Regional Council, which supervises the Voter Education Project, released a report showing that the number of Negroes on the South's voting rolls has risen to nearly two million. Half a million were added this year and "good-size increases" could be expected up until the November elections, the report predicted.

The Times, quoting the Council's report, said much of this increase has been in key states such as South Carolina, where Negroes account for almost one of every four registered voters; North Carolina, Georgia and Texas. The greatest showing, however, has been in Florida, where the NAACP joined by ministerial groups and other organizations throughout the state, has been conducting an exceptionally successful voter registration drive.

The above five states, observed The Times, control 72 electoral votes or 56 per cent of the 128 to be cast by the 11 Southern states. And drives to get registered Negro voters to the polls have already begun, the newspaper declared.

GLEANINGS FROM REPORTS OF VOTER DRIVE CHAIRMEN

C. GEORGE CHAPMAN, Red Bank Area, N. J., reminds reluctant prospects who balk at registering that the present mayor was elected by a plurality of approximately 100 votes...MRS. JOAN CHAMBERS and A. E. PELHAM, Monroe County, Pa., said they are concentrating on Negroes, but encouraging whites also...

FREDERICK MOORE, Somerville, N. J., reports branch has organized "taxi squads" to transport people both to places of registration and election. ...LANSING, MICH., branch has distributed an attrac-

tive two-page booklet giving registration information in question and answer form...

HAROLD N. SMITH and MELVIN GIBSON, Kane County, Aurora, Ill., are after "all eligible people who are not registered"...MILDRED SIMMONS and MRS. HETTIE WILLIS, Tri-City Branch, Rock Island, Ill., are concentrating on newcomers to the area from other states...

GERARD A. ANDERSON, JR., Cleveland, Ohio, is checking memberships of 80 organizations against board of elections records to determine who is and who is not registered...DEWEY CREIGHTON, St. Louis, Mo., Committee is scouring large housing project for prospective voters...

BOSTON sent a six-man team to Mississippi to aid in voter registration drive. They were THOMAS ATKINS, executive secretary; MRS. HELEN HYMAN, executive committee member; REV. EARL LAWSON and GEORGE MORRISON, labor and industry committee members; HERBERT BROWN, youth council president; and EDWARD BATTLE, Lynn, Mass., branch member. KENNETH GUSCOTT, president, also went down...

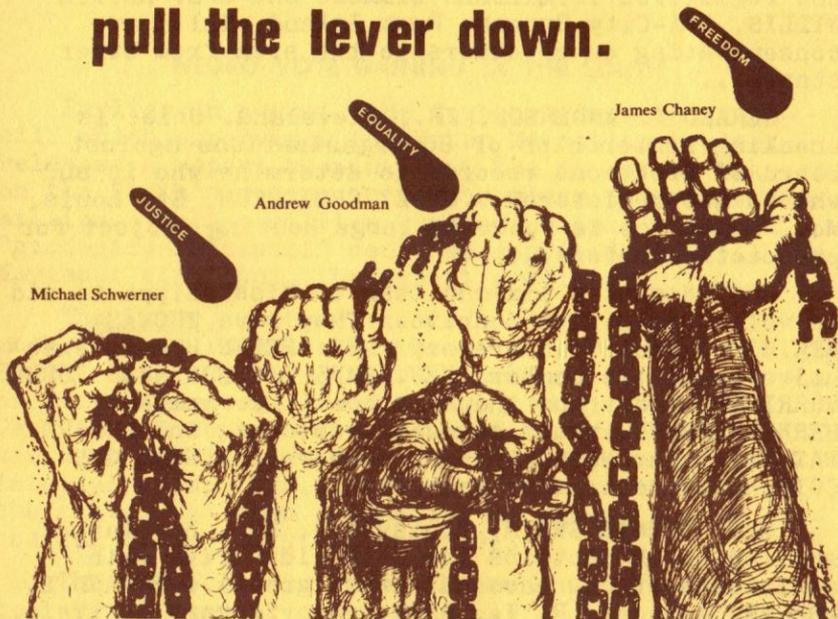
MRS. TOMMIE SMITH, Louisville, Ky., has marshalled block captains for city-wide drive with assistance of churches and other groups...HOWARD E. MORRIS, Newport, R. I., says youth is very active...

CHARLES EVERS, Mississippi field secretary, reports Negroes are being barred from "Goldwater for President" headquarters in Jackson...MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., youth council members TONI POTTER and CLAUDETTE LEMELLE were followed around on their voter registration canvassing routine by a newspaper reporter who did a story on them...

Space prevents naming all the voter registration committee chairmen whose reports were scanned, however, some of them included...ALBERT M. HAWKINS, Columbus, Ohio...HENRY JOHNSON and RICHARD FORD, Clairton, Pa...EDMOND McRAE, Portland-Middletown, Conn...ALFRED ADAMS, SR., Bayonne, N. J...ALFRED HEAD, Lorain, Ohio...

Also...HOWARD RIDGELY, Uniontown-Brownsville, Pa...CLAYTON DONALD BLANDFORD, Elmira, N. Y...

... now with your hand,
pull the lever down.



Michael Schwerner

Andrew Goodman

James Chaney

AN ARTIST, Clifford R. Joseph of New York, moved by the brutal murder of the three Mississippi voter registration workers, sketched the above poster idea and brought it into the National Office. This he said, was his contribution to the NAACP voter registration drive. While in the office he also took out an NAACP membership.

WILLIAM H. MITCHELL and JOHN KRAMER, Lakewood-Ocean County, N. J...WILLIS HADDIX, Mason City, Ia...
STEPHEN ROSS and JANNA OTTMAN, Monterey Peninsula, Calif...JAMES D. ULIS, South Bend, Ind...REGINALD T. JEFFRIES, Oranges-Maplewood, N. J...

Also...DR. JANE W. TORREY, New London, Conn...
JOHN M. KULIKOWSKI, Rapid City, S. D...and ROBERT A. RHODES, Rochester, N. Y...

55th CONVENTION

(Continued from page 456)

at the youth banquet, cited historical background to the civil rights revolution of the 60's indicating that the "great cases of the 40's and 50's slowly but inexorably cut away at a cancer which had grown on the body of American law, known by the name of 'Separate But Equal' or *Plessy v. Ferguson*." He paid tribute to the work of Thurgood Marshall and Charles Houston as the architects of the present-day legal victories, whose primary job until 1954 was that of making law and establishing precedents. After 1954 the task of the lawyers changed to that of enforcing precedents. The NAACP lawyers became involved in the "trench warfare of school segregation and public facilities cases." The *Brown* case stated "clearly and authoritatively" what America stands for in the area of racial relations, making it "increasingly difficult to hide or take no position" he stated. The racism of Governors Faubus, Barnett, and Wallace compel the country to act when they defy the Constitution.

Greenberg, speaking of Wallace and the so-called backlash, said the Alabama governor's "sorties into the North may stir a malaise, even a latent residue of segregationist feeling, but the United States Senate, the most heavily guarded bastion of the values of the past, knows better and voted the most far-reaching civil rights legislation since Reconstruction."

The NAACP's legal eagle predicted

that lawyers would continue to create new precedents, citing the recent cases involving segregation in Hill-Burton hospitals, adding that "some hospitals are responding no better than some schools."

"Equally as vicious as racial segregation is the perversion of law that has been used to persecute civil rights workers although the constitution has clearly said such conduct is protected," he said. As examples he cited arrests for breach of peace where no breach of peace occurred, arrests for traffic violations where no traffic violations occurred, and other cases, at fantastic expense. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund has increased its staff to deal with these cases, he reported.

Special awards for membership production activities and individual efforts were presented by Jackie Robinson.

The 55th annual convention will go down in history as one which marked the turning point in the fight for civil rights. The five previous conventions had dealt with the civil rights revolution and stimulated intensification of the struggle, utilizing direct action and other confrontation tactics.

This convention marked the beginning of a new day under the civil rights law adopted by Congress with the assistance of the NAACP and other groups. Succeeding conventions to be held in Denver, 1965; Los Angeles, 1966; and Boston, 1967, will determine if full victory has been achieved.





Green

THE PAUSE THAT REFRESHES—NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins takes a moment from his hectic schedule at the Association's 55th annual convention in Washington to chat with some of the younger generation of NAACP members. Over 600 youth delegates were registered at the convention, the largest in NAACP history.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

WILKINS ISSUES CALL

HERE is the text of the telegram which NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins sent to five major civil rights leaders on July 22 proposing that they meet to discuss how they may present a united front opposing the election of Senator Goldwater to the presidency.

The complete text of the wire, sent to the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James L. Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Negro American Labor Council; and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, reads as follows:

NOTHING COULD BE PLAINER THAN THAT EACH BATTLE WON IMPOSES NEW CHALLENGES UNTIL FINAL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED. THE EVENTS OF THE PAST 72 HOURS, INCLUDING THE TRAGIC VIOLENCE IN HARLEM AND THE END OF THE WALLACE CANDIDACY FOR PRESIDENT, HARD ON THE HEELS OF THE GOLDWATER NOMINATION, ARE ALL LINKED TOGETHER IN WAYS THAT MAY PRODUCE THE STERNEST CHALLENGE WE HAVE YET SEEN. THE PROMISE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 COULD WELL BE DIMINISHED OR NULLIFIED AND A DECADE OF INCREASINGLY VIOLENT AND FUTILE DISORDER USHERED IN IF WE DO NOT PLAY OUR HAND COOLY AND INTELLIGENTLY. THERE IS NO SAFETY IN ASSUMPTIONS THAT GOLDWATER CANNOT WIN THE ELECTION. HE CAN WIN IT AND HE CAN BE HELPED TO WIN IT IF ENOUGH WRONG MOVES ARE MADE. IT IS OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE WE TAKE COUNSEL AT EARLIEST MOMENT TO ENSURE THAT WITHOUT MODIFYING ANY ESSENTIAL POSITION WE DO NOTHING TO PRODUCE VOTES FOR GOLDWATER. NONE OF US WILL KNOWINGLY JEOPARDIZE THE PROSPECTS WE HAVE GAINED BY SUCH MASSIVE SACRIFICES AND WE CAN BEST ENSURE AGAINST SUCH DANGERS BY CLOSE AND PRECISE AGREEMENT AMONG OUR ORGANIZATIONS. I WILL CALL YOU WITHIN NEXT THREE DAYS TO CLEAR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DATE AND PLACE. CORDIALLY.

LEADERS OF RIGHTS GROUPS MEET

LEADERS of the major civil rights organization have agreed upon a program calling for increased political action, curtailment of mass

demonstrations, and "justice and equality as well as law and order" in racially tense situations.

The program was developed at a meeting in New York City in NAACP headquarters, July 29, in response to a call issued by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, on July 22. The call cited the need for such a conference to meet "the sternest challenge we have yet seen."

Attending the conference were Whitney M. Young, executive director of the National Urban League; Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James L. Farmer, national director, the Congress of Racial Equality; A. Philip Randolph, chairman, Negro American Labor Council; John Lewis, chairman, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee; and Mr. Wilkins.

Also Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the 1963 March on Washington; and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees Union.

The program developed by the conference was embodied in two statements—one dealing with the political situation and demonstrations and the other with "the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas."

Mr. Farmer and Mr. Lewis refrained from signing the statements on the ground that such action required approval of the governing boards of the organizations they represented.

The statements were read by Mr. Wilkins to a jam-packed news conference immediately following the adjournment of the leadership meeting. Reporters of press, radio and television queried the leaders at length, all of whom were present except Mr. Farmer who had to leave before meeting with the press.

The full texts of the two statements follow:

POLITICAL ACTION

We believe that developments since July 2, the date President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, warrant analysis by the organized civil rights groups and by all thoughtful unaffiliated civil rights advocates.

We call upon our members and supporters to utilize the months ahead to enlist voters, to expand the enforcement of the new Civil Rights Act and to win new friends and new supporters for the civil rights cause which is not alone our cause, but the cause of America. Without the freedoms inherent in this cause neither we nor our country will be free.

Our own estimate of the present situation is that it presents such a serious threat to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act and to subsequent expansion of civil rights gains that we recommend a voluntary, temporary alteration in strategy and procedure.

Now we propose a temporary change of emphasis and tactic, because

we sincerely believe that the major energy of the civil rights forces should be used to encourage the Negro people, North and South, to register and to vote. The greatest need in this period is for political action.

We, therefore, propose, and call upon our members voluntarily to observe a broad curtailment, if not total, moratorium of all mass marches, mass picketing and mass demonstrations until after Election Day, next November 3.

Such a move is not without precedent, since each of our organizations, at one time or another, in one local struggle or another, has voluntarily agreed to call off demonstrations for varying periods of time in order to make progress toward a goal.

In our view the election contest which is shapping up is a more imperative reason for a moratorium on demonstrations than any local or state condition that has confronted our forces heretofore.

We see the whole climate of liberal democracy in the United States, the climate in which government has been brought properly into the service and protection of the people, threatened.

The platform adopted under the Goldwater forces at the Republican convention in San Francisco is a states' rights platform, chosen at the very time Mississippi was exhibiting to a shocked nation the callous repression, the violence and death which mark the operation of the states' rights theory in the human rights field.

The proponents of liberalizing the civil rights plank of the platform to include specific mention of the obligation of the Federal government were hooted down.

The platform as adopted called for "maximum restraint" of Federal "intrusions into matters more productively left to the individual."

We believe racism has been injected into the campaign by the Goldwater forces. The Senator himself maintains his position that civil rights matters should be left to the states—clear enough language for any Negro American.

RACIAL CONFLICTS

We wish to register our serious concern with the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas. We would like to once again go on record as strongly opposing looting, vandalism or any type of criminal activities and urge the cooperation and support of local leaders toward the elimination of this type of activity which damages both the community and the civil rights movement.

On the other hand we wish to draw a sharp distinction between the above named activity and legitimate protest effort by denied and desperate citizens seeking relief.

In meeting these situations we call for more socially sensitive police action, for machinery for continuing communication and local civilian review.

We suggest that leadership must seek in these situations justice and equality as well as law and order. Responsible Negro leadership needs desperately responsive white leadership as it relates to jobs, improved housing and educational opportunities.

The established civil rights organization has by word, deed and constitution consistently rejected the participation of extremist groups such as communists.

NAACP HITS RIOTERS

THE outbreak of violence in Harlem on Saturday, July 18, and in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn two days later, has been strongly condemned, but a share of the blame is attributed to the apathetic attitude of city officials toward the needs and problems of Negro citizens.

The Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, president of the New York branch of the NAACP, made this charge in a statement to the press Thursday, July 23.

The disorders which erupted in the two communities, Mr. Hildebrand said, did not originate with the "senseless slaying" of 15-year-old James Powell by a white off-duty police officer. That incident, Mr. Hildebrand asserted, "merely triggered long smoldering and justified resentments stemming from gross neglect of the needs of the people imprisoned in these ghettos."

The Powell boy was shot to death Thursday, July 16, by Police Lieut. Thomas Gilligan. According to Lieut. Gilligan, who has received several citations for bravery, the Negro lad moved toward him with a knife and refused to drop it when commanded to do so. Witnesses, however, gave sworn statements to the NAACP that the slightly built youngster did not have a knife during the confrontation with the 200-pound, six-foot policeman.

Mr. Hildebrand, who pastors Bethel A.M.E. Church in Harlem, lashed out at both the rioters and the police who tried to contain them.

"No responsible community leadership condones the rioting, the reckless provocation of police officers, the destruction of property, and the looting," said Mr. Hildebrand, addressing the rioters. "We condemn such actions and we sternly warn those guilty of such acts that they are betraying their own people and the cause of racial justice everywhere."

Then hitting at the indiscriminate clubbing of innocent people who were not involved in the mayhem, by the predominantly white police contingent, Mr. Hildebrand said, there is an "urgent need to curb the reckless and panicky violence which characterized so much of the police activity during the disorders.

"Bluntly stated," he declared, "there has been a loss of confidence in the Police Department from the Commissioner down to the officer on the beat."

Mr. Hildebrand also struck out at Mayor Robert Wagner's continued support of Police Commissioner Michael Murphy and a nine-point program which the Mayor says he will institute to head off further racial incidents.

It will take more than police action or the Mayor's "pious promises," Mr. Hildebrand asserted, "to quell the resentments fostered by contemptuous disregard of basic human needs."

The Mayor should "recognize this fact and move swiftly to prevent further deterioration in police-community relations," said the NAACP official.

"The roots of this deterioration," Mr. Hildebrand continued, "lie in the failure of the city to comprehend fully the desperate plight of the Negro in New York City.

"The city has neglected to move consistently and promptly to improve relations between the community and the Police Department, to provide decent housing at rents the people can afford to pay, to upgrade the educational system including school integration, to inspire hope for a better life among Negro youth, and to eliminate discrimination in employment," declared Mr. Hildebrand.

"The NAACP has time and time again brought these needs to the attention of city officials but conditions remain basically unchanged. There have been promises but scant action. Action can no longer be delayed," he asserted.

ROCHESTER NAACP AIDS IN BRINGING PEACE TO RIOT-TORN CITY

WHEN four days of rioting broke out in two predominantly Negro communities in Rochester, N. Y., on July 24, the local NAACP branch, assisted by national office staff members from New York City, stepped in to help bring the disorders to an end.

NAACP adult and youth council leaders went on television and radio, and into the streets of Ward 3 and Ward 7 to appeal to rioters to halt the destruction and looting of businesses and to obey the curfew imposed by the City Manager.

Moving to make the city aware of the underlying causes which touched off the disturbances, and to take some positive action toward eliminating these factors, the NAACP also met Mayor Frank T. Lamb, City Manager Porter W. Homer, and several civic, political and religious leaders.

The NAACP's efforts in attempting to bring to an end the rioting—which erupted when a policeman arrested a young Negro for disorderly conduct at a street party near Joseph and Nassau Streets in Ward 7—began when Robert F. Morrison, Rochester NAACP president, went on television and radio Saturday.

In his statement, Mr. Morrison denounced the wanton destruction and looting and urged all citizens to cease the disturbances, and to observe the curfew. Mr. Morrison promised that the NAACP would do everything in

its power to improve conditions which helped precipitate the disorders.

Sunday, after meeting with the branch executive committee, Mr. Morrison, Thomas Allen, NAACP field secretary for the New York-New England area, and Laplois Ashford, national NAACP youth secretary, met with 30 community leaders and ministers. At the conclusion of the meeting the group issued a statement saying that they would attempt to secure food and medical supplies for the innocent victims of the rioting. The group also said it would attempt to set up a unified program of action with local churches, the NAACP and other community organizations.

Earlier that day, the NAACP officials held a press conference. Several radio stations took that portion of a statement read by Mr. Morrison deploring the violence and broadcast it periodically. Also NAACP youth council members were called upon to record one-minute spot announcements appealing to youngsters involved in the disorders to stop.

The meeting with the Mayor and the City Manager took place Monday afternoon. The conference was cut short because the two were called out to a meeting with Gov. Rockefeller who had come to review the riot areas. The NAACP leaders and the city officials were not, therefore, able to deal with specific issues. However, plans were made for further meetings after the disturbances had quieted.

For the next two days, Mr. Morrison, the national office staffers, and members of the branch took their appeal for peace into the streets and homes in the strife-torn areas where they met the people face to face.





Scott L. Henderson

CLUB JOINS UP—*The Thursday Evening Whist Club, Richmond, Virginia, with its president Elbahowe Lewis (R) receiving NAACP life membership plaque from branch president E. L. Slade, Jr. Members looking on, rear, are Fred Cooper, Melvin Burford, Wendell Cheatham, Harry Martin, Frederick Cooper; front, Eddie Mims, Jr., Oscar Howard, George Lewis, Junius Carter, William Johnson, George Johnson and Arthur Baker.*



Scott L. Henderson

CLUB JOINS UP—*The Thursday Evening Whist Club, Richmond, Virginia, with its president Elbahowe Lewis (R) receiving NAACP life membership plaque from branch president E. L. Slade, Jr. Members looking on, rear, are Fred Cooper, Melvin Burford, Wendell Cheatham, Harry Martin, Frederick Cooper; front, Eddie Mims, Jr., Oscar Howard, George Lewis, Junius Carter, William Johnson, George Johnson and Arthur Baker.*



JOINS CRUSADE—Morton Alexander (C), son of Henry Alexander, president of Alco 35th Drug Co., Chicago, Ill., presents check for his company's life membership in the NAACP to life membership committee member Roosevelt L. Robertson (R) as Supreme Life Insurance Company's president Earl B. Dickerson, consultant to the committee, approves the presentation.

shop to disseminate information concerning job opportunities, training programs, apprenticeship programs, summer employment and Welfare employment programs.

PASADENA is still fighting the problem of de facto school segregation. Superintendent of schools Robert Jenkins' latest plan relating to the local school desegregation problem was found to be wholly inadequate as a means of reducing or reversing racial segregation in the Pasadena elementary schools.

The plan 'misabeled' a "Two way integration plan" would allow



J. B. Harren

MASONS GIVE NAACP \$3000—Some 100 members of the Prince Hall Masonic Lodges of Tarheelia are shown as they marched on the platform at Raleigh, N. C., on NAACP "Mothers Day" freedom rally to present a check for \$3000, with a promise: "There's more where that came from."

parents presently sending their children to such schools as Cleveland, Washington, Lincoln and Jackson, to send them to a school outside their segregated districts IF seat space was found to be available at other nearby non-segregated schools. Likewise parents (and this means white parents) who now send their children to schools where practically no minority group children attend, could send their children to one of the presently segregated schools such as Lincoln, Cleveland etc., IF space was available.

Studies indicate that only about 200 vacancies could be expected to be available at schools outside the presently segregated districts.

School authorities in RIVERSIDE are beginning to identify and study some of the problems of disadvantaged youth. Of the 35 elementary and secondary public schools in Riverside, 3 of the elementary schools are predominantly minority group populated and the rest have minority group enrollments ranging from .9 per cent to 55.2 per cent. In September of 1963, the local NAACP urged the school board to make some definite progress in alleviating an unwholesome situation. After a series of meetings the following recommendations were enacted:

Florida: The FORT LAUDERDALE branch is vigorously supporting



MRS. MARY WHEELER, *Winston-Salem, N. C.*, president *Beta Alpha Chapter Iota Phi Lambda Sorority*, receives *NAACP life membership plaque* from *Chas. McLean, NAACP field secretary*. Chapter members and visiting delegates present are, from *L. Mesdames Dorothy Miller, Louise King, Bessie Jackson, Ossie Mitchell, national president of the sorority; Bertie Robinson, Juanita Penn and Josie Simmons.*

the urban renewal project for the area of northwest Fort Lauderdale. The branch has distributed handbills and placed placards in the windows of local stores calling attention to the nature of the enemies of the renewal project—most active being the John Birch Society. The handbill lists ten reasons why the Negroes should support the urban renewal project.

Missouri: In June the *ST. LOUIS* branch payed tribute to two deceased freedom fighters, Henry Winfield Wheeler and Medgar Evers. Church, fraternal, labor and other organizations attended the memorial services held in the *St. Paul AME Church* at the corner of *Hamilton and Julian Avenue.*

New Jersey: Roy Wilkins was a recent speaker at the *BURLINGTON COUNTY* branch.



Cecil Layne

ENLISTMENT FOR LIFE—Mrs. Mabel Fitts-Taylor is shown being presented with a plaque denoting her life membership in the NAACP. Presentation is being made by Morris DeLisser, NAACP life membership secretary. Mrs. Fitts-Taylor is International Associate Matron, Order of Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliation, New York jurisdiction.

After speaking on the civil rights bill, then pending in Congress, he spoke on the welfare of migrant farm workers, a problem especially acute in Burlington county.

New York: The JAMAICA branch has started a nationwide drive calling for action against Mississippi bonds and notes. The campaign is based upon a resolution passed by the delegates at the 55th annual convention of the NAACP held in Washington, D. C.

Oklahoma: U. Simpson Tate reports that Oklahoma City and Tulsa



Cecil Layne

UNITED THEY STAND—After giving \$500 to the fight for civil rights, the members of the United Piedmont Society of New York City show their recently awarded life membership plaque as they pose with Morris DeLisser (center, standing), life membership secretary. Seated, from L, are Mesdames J. Barrett, R. Winston, L. Brown, M. Kerr, and M. Morgan. Standing, Mesdames L. Peoples, R. Winston, G. Hamlett, N. Bynum, Mr. DeLisser, President Harry Boyd, Lawrence Hamlett, Mesdames L. Hamlett and G. Smalles.

now have city ordinances in support of public accommodations for all regardless of race.

Pennsylvania: The PHILADELPHIA branch has launched a two-prong attack on job discrimination, with a concentration on four stores and a railroad for the initial assault.



PDK LIFE MEMBER—*The Phi Delta Kappa Sorority recently gave an NAACP life membership, through the Atlantic City, N. J., branch to its past national basileus, Mrs. Delilah Pierce. Pictured from L are Mrs. Helen Maxwell, Mrs. Delilah Pierce, president Atlantic City branch; Atty. Maceo Turner; Mrs. Hilda Bryant; eastern regional director PDK; and Mrs. Mabel Bouldin, supreme basileus.*

The Pottstown Branch of the NAACP had a book on their activities on display at the 55th annual Convention of the NAACP, Washington, June 22-27, in the lobby of the Gramercy Inn. *This book was taken by someone by mistake.* The book is the personal property of a branch member and was loaned to the branch for its display. Therefore the branch is asking that the person who has the book will please return it, C.O.D., to Mrs. Millicent Marable, R. D. #1, Douglassville, Pennsylvania.



J. B. Harren

TARHEELIA YOUTH OFFICERS—*Officers of the North Carolina State Youth Councils and College Chapters: from L. Morris Johnson, treasurer; Constance Sprangle, 2nd vice-president; Kelly Alexander, state conference president; Rev. W. E. Banks, youth advisor; Sylvia Crudup, secretary; Betsy Washington, assistant secretary; and Quentin Baker, president.*



College and School News

Sixty-fifth commencement exercises were held at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY on June 1, with the Honorable George L. P. Weaver, assistant secretary of labor, as the commencement speaker.

Diplomas were given to 80 candidates for B.A. degrees, 47 for B.S. degrees, and five for B.D.

Wendell P. Russell, who was acting dean of the college, has now been named dean.

LeRoi Jones, poet, critic and award-winning playwright, will be lecturer in theater arts in COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY's program in the arts for the 1964-65 academic year. He will teach a course in playwrighting.

More than 100 lawyers seeking to protect the legal rights of integration demonstrators and of Negro voters in Deep South took an intensive

training program at Columbia last June. The training program was sponsored by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., in collaboration with several other groups concerned with civil rights.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of FISK UNIVERSITY, has been awarded an honorary LL.D. degree by the University of Notre Dame. Dr. Wright was one of 25 outstanding persons, including two cardinals of the Catholic Church, to receive the honors during dedication ceremonies for Notre Dame's new Memorial Library.

Dr. Allison Davis, professor of human development at the University of Chicago, was commencement speaker at BLUEFIELD STATE COLLEGE on June 1.

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Bluefield has received a grant of \$3,880 from the National Science Foundation. The matching grant is earmarked for technical science division and is based on a proposal submitted by Robert O'Brien, division chairman.

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE awarded degrees to 183 seniors from New England on June 14. Masters degrees were awarded to 90 candidates, and an honorary degree to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was the commencement speaker.

Economist and author, Gunnar Mural delivered the 1964 commencement address at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.).

Ninety-ninth commencement exercises were held at SHAW UNIVERSITY in May, with the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., undersecretary of commerce, as the commencement speaker.

Theodore L. Jones, Miles '48, has accepted the position of mathematics instructor in the summer basic skills workshop of MILES COLLEGE. The basic skills workshop is designed for high school graduates in an effort to make them better prepared for college work.

Six distinguished Negro spokesmen and educators spoke on the theme of "The American Negro in Transition, 1964" at THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN in July. In ad-

dition, the series' special events included an exhibit of paintings by Hale A. Woodruff, professor of art education in New York University.

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JAMES HENRY DUCKREY, President
Cheyney State College

Professor John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College delivered the commencement address at the joint graduation exercises, in June, of LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY'S two Brooklyn campuses—the University Center of L.I.U. and the Brooklyn College of Pharmacy.

In 1964 the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND distributed \$7 million, the largest single distribution since its founding in 1944, to 32 member colleges and universities in 11 southern states.

A \$600,000 program to increase the discovery of talented Negro students to help qualify for college has been approved by the ANTIOCH COLLEGE'S board of trustees at its annual meeting.

A grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of \$300,000 will provide initial financing. Antioch is pledged to raise the balance through contributions to its long-range advancement program.

The Hon. Arthur Naftalin, mayor of Minneapolis, was commencement speaker at TALLADEGA COLLEGE.

Robert L. Smothers, a faculty member at Talladega since 1956, has been awarded a Ph.D. in educational psychology from the State University of Iowa.

Talladega began semester exchanges in September with the State University of Iowa, and Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio. There was an exchange of two students with each college.

LANGSTON UNIVERSITY

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DR. WILLIAM H. HALE, President

Langston University is accredited by the State Board of Education, The Association of American Colleges, The National Accrediting Commission, The United States Department of State for the Exchange of Foreign Students, and The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Thus, students attending Langston University can receive full credit in the major institutions in the United States for the work taken at the University.

The institution is open to all qualified students regardless of race, religion, nationality, sex.

The work of the college is given in the following divisions: *Division of Agriculture • Division of Arts and Sciences • Division of Education • Division of Home Economics • Division of Technical and Vocational Education.*

For application, catalog and other information, write: The Registrar, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.

A temporary exhibit commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Carl E. Akeley opened at THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY in May. It will close on December 31.

FLORIDA MEMORIAL COLLEGE awarded bachelor of science degrees to 76 students in May. The commencement address was delivered by Jerold C. Hoffberger, prominent industrialist and philanthropist.

In accordance with the final wishes of the late Louis Dargan Ervin of Jacksonville, his heirs have presented Florida Memorial College \$12,500 to make possible a student loan fund.

Two faculty members with a combined service to HAMPTON INSTITUTE of 52 years have retired. They are Miss Bernice O'Briant, professor of education and director of the

student teaching program for secondary school level, and Dr. Henry Switten, professor of music and for fifteen years chairman of the Department of Music.

Hampton has announced a reorganization of the division of technology to provide for a cooperative educational experience with industry.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, was Hampton's commencement speaker. His speech was heard by more than 2,000 people, the largest crowd in the history of the institution.

Judge Juanita Kidd Stout of the County Court of Philadelphia was speaker at the 94th annual commencement exercises of BENEDICT COLLEGE.

Ninth annual joint Benedict-Morris pastors' conference on community

life problems was held at Benedict on June 1-5. The conference was under the direction of Dr. L. C. Jenkins, Sr., of Benedict and Dr. H. E. Hardin of Morris.

The faculty of the WINSTON-SALEM STATE COLLEGE OF NURSING sponsored a two-day workshop on curriculum for student nurses June 9-10.

Fay E. Hauser, a ninth-grader at Winston-Salem's Anderson Junior High School, spent the summer as an exchange student in Bucaramanga, Colombia, South America. Miss Fay was the only Negro in a group of eleven students from the local school system.

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Lehigh and Wisconsin, have offered to finance graduate education for some twenty MORGAN STATE COLLEGE June graduates, according to President Martin D. Jenkins.

The U. S. Office of Education has awarded a \$49,842 grant to two—Dr. Nick A. Ford and Dr. Waters Turpin—Morgan professors to conduct research on improving the reading and writing skills of culturally disadvantaged freshmen students.

TOUGALOO COLLEGE has received \$200,060 as its share of funds recently distributed by the United Negro College Fund.

Dr. Dale Fiers, president of the United Christian Missionary Society, delivered the 95th commencement address at Tougaloo. One hundred graduates were granted degrees.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY conferred one hundred graduate degrees at its 95th commencement convocation on June 1. Judge W. H. Hastie, circuit judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 3rd district, was commencement speaker.

Recent grants at Atlanta include \$275,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for the School of Library

Science; \$73,371 from the National Institute of Mental Health for the School of Social Work; and \$80,000 from the Area Redevelopment Administration for the School of Business Administration.

Leontine D. Carroll, assistant professor, School of Library Service, has been granted a United Negro College Fund fellowship to continue doctoral studies at the School of Library Science, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, during the academic year 1964-65.

Two Atlanta students, Evalina Williams and Crawford Johnson, have been awarded Merrill foreign study fellowships by the University. Miss Williams, a candidate for the M.A. degree in guidance and counseling, will spend a year at the University of London in the Institute of Education. Mr. Johnson, who is majoring in French, will attend the Sorbonne in Paris, France, studying the culture and literature of France.

Dr. Howard Thurman, retiring dean of BOSTON UNIVERSITY's Marsh Chapel and one of the nation's outstanding preachers, has been appointed Minister-at-Large for Boston University for the 1964-65 academic year.

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has accepted chairmanship of the 53-member National Advisory Council aiding TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE in planning a ten-year \$40 million development program.

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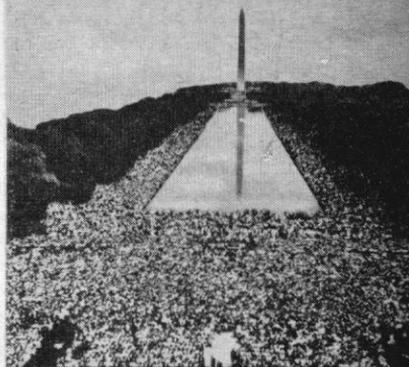
1 - 10 copies	\$1.00 each
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We have also published a booklet containing the full texts of the speeches delivered at the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, titled **SPEECHES BY THE LEADERS**.

Copies may be purchased as follows:

1 - 25 copies	35¢ each
25 - 50 copies	30¢ each
50 and over	25¢ each

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Book Reviews

ETHNIC RELATIONS

Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities. By Robin M. Williams, Jr. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964. Pp. XIV + 434. \$12.00.

A more suitable subtitle for this book would be "Selected Aspects of Ethnic Relations in American Communities." For it contains some very interesting and important conclusions, but omits discussion of some very significant aspects of ethnic relations (and even of the relations between whites and Negroes and between gentiles and Jews, the two types of ethnic relationships on which it places its principal focus).

Based on the Cornell University Studies in Intergroup Relations, conducted between 1948 and 1956, and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, this book is primarily a study in the nature and causes of prejudice. Highly statistical in nature, and employing sophisticated sociological concepts it is definitely a book for the specialist. Based on the research of numerous professors and graduate students, the book lacks focus and cohesiveness. The best portion is the chapter entitled "The Worlds of Minorities," based primarily on a dissertation entitled "The Nature of the Minority

Community" by Robert B. Johnson, a professor at New York University and the son of the noted sociologist, the late Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University.

Though summarizing materials collected between eight and sixteen years ago, the book has great relevance for today. The opening sections on prejudice refine and bring up to date the conclusions reached in Gordon Allport's masterpiece, *The Nature of Prejudice*. The author proves conclusively in this section that the so-called "authoritarian personality" has little or nothing to do with ethnic prejudice. Thus cultural tradition, and usefulness of segregation and discrimination for maintaining status and power on the part of dominant groups, emerge as the chief bulwarks of prejudice. Of considerable value is the comparative analysis of patterns of segregation and discrimination in various parts of the country, an analysis based on materials gathered in 250 cities. On the basis of a large amount of statistical data summarized in 46 tables, the author concludes that contact and interaction between members of different ethnic groups lessen prejudice, thus supporting and refining the so-called "contact hypothesis" developed earlier by other scholars. The chapter based on John-

son's work is important because it presents a scientific analysis of the variety and differentiation within the Negro community, and a provocative treatment of the attitudes of Negroes toward their minority status, and of Negro prejudice toward whites. Throughout the book Professor Williams maintains a fine eye for the variations, the exceptions, the subtle nuances, the irregularities, as well as the overall patterning in the American racial system, and of the multiplicity of factors accounting both for that overall patterning and for the variations from it.

Williams concludes: "Finally, we believe that the total body of evidence we have reviewed overwhelmingly supports the view that cooperation and solidarity among persons who differ in ethnic membership is fostered by any arrangements that produce joint action toward shared objectives. From a va-

riety of approaches and theoretical suppositions one finds suggestions that *social solidarity among individuals or groups is enhanced by recognition of the sharing of a positive and noncompetitive regard for a common object of concern.*" Williams thus stresses the importance of consensus in achieving satisfactory intergroup relations in the United States, and ignores the role of conflict in securing this eventual consensus. The latter job is masterfully performed in Killian and Griggs, *Racial Crisis in America* by the same publisher (though these authors unfortunately neglect the importance of the consensus emphasized by Williams).

In this outrageously expensive book, Prof. Williams has done a distinct service for the academic community and professional workers in the area of intergroup relations. By synthesizing the work of earlier scholars with the findings of the Cornell Studies he

The Struggle for Equality

ABOLITIONISTS AND THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

by James M. McPherson

This book illuminates the role of the Negro and his allies during a critical and revolutionary period in our history and gives an insight into the evolution of the status of the Negro in the United States. Through a comprehensive study of anti-slavery periodicals, letters, and manuscript collections, the complete story of the abolitionists is told. It describes the important and successful role the abolitionists played during and after the Civil War when they were transformed from despised fanatics into influential spokesmen for the radical wing of the Republican party.

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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

has richly contributed to our understanding of intergroup relations.

August Meier
Roosevelt University

Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917.

By Elliott M. Rudwick. Foreword by Oscar Handlin. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964. XVII + 300 pp. \$6.00.

In September 1917 the NAACP had this to say about the East St. Louis race riot:

"On the 2nd of July, 1917, the city of East St. Louis in Illinois added a foul and revolting page to the history of all the massacres of the world. On that day a mob of white men, women and children burned and destroyed at least \$400,000 worth of property belonging to both whites and Negroes; drove 6,000 Negroes out of their homes, and deliberately murdered, by shooting, burning and hanging, between one and two hundred human beings who were black."

Cause of the riot was ignorance and

bigotry and this book goes into a detail analysis of the events and attitudes of the years between 1910 and 1917 which contributed to the explosion. The author also examines the patterns in the race riots of Chicago in 1918 and Detroit in 1943 and compares them in detail with the East St. Louis riot.

Selected Poems of Leopold Sedar Senghor.

Translated and introduced by John Reed and Clive Wake. New York: Atheneum, 1964. XIX + 99 pp. \$3.95.

President Senghor of Senegal is probably the foremost intellectual in French Africa. He is an agrégé in grammar from the Sorbonne and a doctor honoris causa of the University of Paris. He is a political thinker and one of Africa's foremost poets. In his poetry he combines the cultural refinements of Europe with a deep awareness of his African heritage. This volume presents 36 of his poems, 1945-1961, from five volumes.



MISSISSIPPI LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE—*Pressures of the local community has made the Jackson, Miss., life membership committee vow, at a recent dinner in Jackson, to utilize every effort on behalf of this vital program. Outstanding committee members are Thelma Sanders (seated 3rd from L), noted businesswoman; Jess Brown (5th from L), lawyer of the year; Dr. A. D. Beittel (7th from L), president of Tougaloo; and far right, Mrs. Myrlie Evers. Standing, Charles Evers (2nd from L), NAACP Miss. field secretary; Dr. James Anderson (3rd from L), chairman; Dr. Robert Smith (6th from L), co-chairman; and at far right, William Jones, NAACP national office.*

**List of Businesses and Organizations
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