



COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION

1205 CITY HALL, ATLANTA GEORGIA 30305

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall

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THE POOR'S ANGRY VOICES— A WARNING AND A THERAPY

JACK JONES



PROTEST—"Shouting at a public official . . . is a demonstration that the poor and minorities have . . . power to challenge the 'big chief.' "

Times drawing

"The Negro built this nation; let's burn it to the ground!" thundered a delegate to a recent convention of the poor in Fontana.

"We have found the only way to move the power structure," cried another, "is to tell them what will

Times staff writer Jones's principal assignments are in the civil rights, welfare and poverty fields.

happen if they don't meet our demands. The truth was proved in Watts."

These cries of outrage, heard time and time again whenever the rebellious poor or less privileged gather, certainly are discomfiting to members of an

affluent society. They expose the latent distrust and hatred of the so-called "power structure"; they ring with undertones of terror and possible anarchy. But viewed with an awareness of other protest movements of history, they reflect the not abnormal outcry of a people suddenly offered a chance to vent their frustrations.

Some of the very people who have been the recent targets of vituperative attacks by the unsophisticated and uneducated regard those outbursts as healthy.

The Shriver Incident

Sargent Shriver, who directs the antipoverty war that has had much to do with releasing the angry

place for gang leaders; and the WSO newspaper may fairly be called inflammatory in its constant and exaggerated preaching against the police for alleged brutality.

In the SCLC offices, many of the staff members wear buttons bearing the legend "Anybody But Daley," and many of the local rights leaders joining hands with Dr. King are people who spend their lives trying to undermine the Daley machine politically.

In these surroundings, Dr. King's non-violence becomes, at the best, confusing—to the white community and to the Negroes. Dr. King came into the city and took over a rights movement in which many of the activists had carelessly talked brutality and violence for too long. That talk had its effect and is still having it.

Thus the riot clarified the argument over black power. The rioters knew that riot is the negation of civil order, but they have now found it is also the dissolution of all power, political, moral and economic. The trophy of riot is destruction; but, when Dr. King rightly tells the residents of the ghetto that they have little stake in this society, he cannot easily convince them they should not destroy it. That is the logic of events, and it has caught Dr. King out, along with the rest of Chicago.

Riot's triumph is death. Almost miraculously, there was little death in the riot here. Two—or three persons—died, killed by stray bullets. One was a man from Mississippi and the other was a 14-year-old girl whose baby was stillborn as the mother died.

Considering the amount of shooting for three days, this toll is small. There were snipers everywhere. Wednesday night there was random shooting from the windows of a high rise city housing project, some of it aimed by neighbors at neighbors. Thursday night there was a spectacular gun battle between the residents of another high rise and the police. There were gun battles up and down streets. The mere number of weapons being used on both sides seemed incredible.

Has the white community started now to arm itself against such another battle? No one will guess. Police officials keep a tight lip on the subject, saying they do not want to indulge in psychological warfare. The youth gangs, both Negro and white, are superbly armed, but there is no evidence that they were conducting the gun battles. One is left with the uncomfortable notion that the citizens in general are well supplied with the instruments of death, and that the temperature of violence has risen sharply all over the city as a result of the riot.

It is certain that the riot has frightened both

Negroes and whites. The wide publicity given locally to the youth gangs—most of it enormously exaggerated—has terrified the old Negro leadership and many of the Negro church and community leaders. The same publicity, and the violence of the riot, have produced a noticeable rise of hostility among whites against the Negroes and against the civil rights drive. The politicians, even if they had decided to make some concessions to Dr. King toward racial integration, are now severely constricted by their constituencies.

Innuendo and Rumor

In the search for causes of the riot, meanwhile, everyone seems to be trying to ignore the solution to the great problems. They continue to rely on accusation, innuendo and even rumor as an excuse for not doing what must be done. The youth gangs are blamed, and there is talk of subversive groups, without any reflection that in a well-ordered society a subversive group has not much of a chance, but that in a riotous situation it has every advantage.

The politicians are blaming Dr. King for stirring up trouble, but they know he is voicing real grievances; they just cannot believe there is not some kind of conspiracy at work, but they have little evidence for one. It may be said fairly that they despise the man who has troubled their consciences.

Dr. King blames the politicians for raising Negro hopes and then not fulfilling them, but he himself has been singularly maladroit in finding ways to cooperate with them while allowing them to save face. He has deliberately ignored the fact that the politicians are elected by the white majority as well as by Negroes, and that the majority ranges from timidly liberal to solidly reactionary, that it can be led, but not pushed.

Hard as Marshmallows

Perhaps the only people who found their views and themselves justified in the riot were the teenage gang leaders who will tell you bluntly that all the adult leaders on both sides are empty, greedy and devious, and about as hard as marshmallows.

If the people of the ghetto are looking for a purpose and the youths are looking for a hero—as one suspects they are—an honest man would have to tell them to look elsewhere; for the rocks and bullets and clubs that destroyed windows and buildings also demolished a whole structure of plaster saints, black and white.

Without the saints, we are left with human beings to deal with the gut issues. The heroes remain to be made out of the violence and chaos.

OTIS CHANDLER
PUBLISHER

Los Angeles Times

no acknowledgment necessary

THE CHICAGO RIOTS

VIOLENCE WITHOUT A PLOT

D. J. R. BRUCKNER

*Then, not that man do more, or stop pity; but that he
be wider in living; that all his cities fly a clean flag . . .*

Poet Kenneth Patchen



CHICAGO

The worst aspect of a riot is that it causes an over-reaction in the community; the people panic. Revolutionaries have understood this since the ancient world and have sometimes used it to their own advantage.

There are signs of serious over-reaction in Chicago to the riots that ripped up the West Side from July 12 to July 15.

Part of the panic is purely self-protective, of course. Political, economic and religious leaders of the community discovered in the midst of violence that they have less control than they would like, or indeed than they should have; and they found

D. J. R. Bruckner is chief of The Times news bureau in Chicago.

they have less information than they need, to act.

Civil rights leaders on the whole discovered much the same thing.

However, if a riot has any benefit, it lies in this, that it brilliantly illuminates, for a moment, the logic of events: extreme violence tends to force the hands of people, and suddenly theoretical positions and legal principles all look quite different.

What happened in Chicago is not very mysterious if one looks simply at it.

Search for a Plot

A number of city officials and police officers, however, are responding to the demands of the white majority in the city, and are looking for a plot or conspiracy, whether it be one concocted by youth gangs or Communist-inspired groups, or by political hotheads.

A lot of investigators are scurrying around looking for this alleged plot, and, God help us, they may even find one. Any little old mangy plot, however crazy or ineffectual, will serve very well to salve the conscience of the city.

The fact is that the riot was aimless. There is an instructive comparison available to this city. Last month there was a considerable riot in the city's Puerto Rican community. Compared with the violence on the Negro West Side, the Puerto Ricans' riot was a model of order and purpose.

Theirs was a violent demonstration against a breakdown of communication. There was a certain happiness about it at times, as when the crowds lifted a man who had been bitten by a police dog to their shoulders and paraded him through the streets as a hero.

The Puerto Ricans are at least a community among themselves. After their riot their leaders attended public hearings and aired their grievances, and these were the same grievances one could hear any Puerto Rican on the streets talking about.

Total Unhappiness

What struck one about the riot among the Negroes was the total dissolution of a neighborhood of perhaps 350,000 people; the hatred not only against the white power structure, but against one another; the factions that battled against one another; the total unhappiness of it. This was not a happy riot, and even some of the boasting leaders of the teenage gangs admitted they were afraid. Afterwards, no one could fully define the grievances of the community.

The riot was started by an altercation over the turning off of a fire hydrant. One's white neighbors who live out on the lakefront do not accept this explanation at all, but it is true. In the West Side ghetto a major riot can be caused by the turning off of a wrench; no plot is needed and no reign of terror by gangs.

Field workers from two city commissions working in the slums, others working for the YMCA, crusad-

ing pastors and some police all know that riots have almost broken out several times in recent weeks over mere rumors, the transfer of a favorite priest from his parish, or an arrest.

This is not to minimize the organized aspect of the riot. There are gangs and they are a serious problem, and there are some revolutionary groups in the ghetto. But life in the ghetto is normally violent and brutal; it does not take much to set off a riot. The white man outside the ghetto can scarcely realize the power of a rumor on the West Side, for instance; his mind cannot take it in. He really does not know the life of the poor, Negro or white, or how suspicious that life is.

At 3 a.m. July 14, in the midst of the riot, a reporter was attacked by a large rat on a West Side street corner. Two teen-age Negro boys, returning, they said, from a riot foray, beat off this beast with a baseball bat and a board, explaining they were happy enough to fight rats which are, on the whole, worse than white newsmen.

Filled With Rats

The slums are filled with rats; rats are the manifest evidence of the inhumanity out there. They are everywhere, along with the debris of demolished buildings, the dirt in the streets, the cheap bars. People grow up among the rats and live with them.

The West Side is mostly the home of the Negro poor. In this it differs vastly from the South Side where perhaps 450,000 Negroes live; many of them live well, some live magnificently. On the West Side even childhood has degenerated into gang warfare, extortion, intimidation, physical punishment and even occasional murder. Adult life is merely an extension of this violence. In such conditions one does not have to explain riots by plots.

Mayor Richard J. Daley, during the riot, said there were "outsiders" promoting the riot. Perhaps there were. But all those arrested lived on the West Side and police did not find the outsiders. Angry with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the mayor demanded to know from him "whether other cities have no problems." Perhaps they have, and Dr. King is indeed an outsider. But last summer the mayor was faced with the problem of nuns staging a sit-in on the world's busiest intersection to protest the slums, and they were not outsiders.

The mayor's pouting is not dignified; it is childish. But it reflects the attitude of the white majority which still elects him and which resents being jostled.

In race relations in this city, the bulk of the white people treats the mayor like a servant who is hired to bribe the minorities into civic order. Thus a riot produces a sudden munificence from city hall, of hydrant sprinklers and swimming pools and housing projects.

Pervasive Conception

This conception of the mayor's office is so pervasive that even many Negroes have come to believe it, and the leading Negro politicians, who are part of Daley's Democratic Party machine, actually enforce it.

But the gifts of city hall hide the basic problem about the Negro ghetto. The problem is that most of the people in the ghetto simply do not share in any way in the life of the city. Their alienation is an enormous spiritual wall built up of uncountable

and ancient indignities; it is the wall of the city.

The problem is to break down the wall. Dr. King, when he opened his civil rights drive here two days before hell broke loose, thought he had at least part of the machinery to break down the wall.

But the riot, which illuminated society's flaws, also illuminated some serious weaknesses in Dr. King and his approach. The first thing that became evident was that in Chicago Dr. King, the patron saint of non-violence, was leading a collection of local civil rights groups whose leaders include a few pretty violent people.

This problem results from a structural weakness in the King method. Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference suffers from a lack of troops and thus it is plagued by indiscriminate recruitment when it enters a city. In a big city like Chicago, where there are 900,000 Negroes and only a percentage of these favor Dr. King, the flaw can be fatal.

Little Influence

Dr. King very quickly discovered he had little influence in the West Side community. When he walked the streets on the first night of riot pleading for non-violence some young Negroes laughed at him. When his aides showed films this past spring of the Watts riots to illustrate the danger of violence, some youths applauded. Youth gang leaders who met with Dr. King as the riots subsided on the night of July 15 said they might turn to non-violence and again they might not.

Some of these gang leaders told a reporter they had met several times with SCLC officials long before the riots, but Dr. King had no program for them, so the youths gave up on him. One of them called him a "hit-and-run messiah."

His prestige suffered enormously in the Chicago riots. The Sunday before the uproar started, he had stood in Soldier Field and debated non-violence as against "black power" with none other than Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality, the preacher of black power.

The riot cooled that philosophical argument permanently, one gathers. For the riot has turned not only the whites against Dr. King, but the Negro power structure as well; and his civil rights movement here is in immediate danger of passing into the hands of the old-time politicians. Dr. King finds himself in the position of either becoming the high priest of all the poor and only the poor, or getting out, quickly.

In either case, he has been pushed—violently if you will—in the direction of the McKissick position, that Negro rights must involve Negro political power. Further, no matter how much Dr. King protests that his Chicago drive is not partisan and not violent, the riot exposed clearly that many of the people around him are very partisan and a few are violent.

Violent and Non-Violent

One of his top aides, the Rev. James Bevel, told almost 50,000 people at the July 10 rally that "we want the violent and the non-violent to join with us." That seems pretty straightforward.

Among the persons attending a conference with the mayor the day before the riots started was Chester Robinson of the West Side Organization, a local civil rights group.

Robinson is not personally a violent man, but his headquarters has become a convenient gathering

voices by financing community action programs seeking to involve the poor in the solution of their own difficulties, was shouted down in April when he attempted to address a conference called by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. At the time, he said a handful of "professional demonstrators" were trying to make trouble. His attitude now, at least for publication, is that such confrontations are a positive thing. "It's time," he says, "that the poor speak up for their needs."

Joe P. Maldonado, executive director of the county's antipoverty vehicle, the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, who also has been subjected to insulting personal abuse, shares this opinion in essence.

Governmental Confusion

Infuriated by governmental confusion and political machinations which seem to dull the promise of anti-poverty programs, the poor strike out at anybody who represents the "power structure." Their more vocal members appear determined to take over and make changes themselves.

Speaking of certain manifestations of the so-called revolt of the poor, James E. Ludlam, president of the Welfare Planning Council, a traditional agency, told anti poverty board members that a vocal minority "grounded in militancy and conflict" was trying to capture control of antipoverty programs. He said these militant elements are given to threats of violence, disruption of meetings and "infiltration and subversion of staff decisions."

But the Rev. William Hervey, director of the Department of Metropolitan Mission for the Los Angeles Presbytery, responds that militancy is necessary in the fight against "man's most dehumanizing enemy—poverty."

Old weapons cannot be used to fight a new war, argues Mr. Hervey, referring to the traditional welfare agencies. He agrees that many of those castigated by Ludlam are "grounded in militancy and involved in conflict," but he could not agree that their actions were totally negative.

One of the intriguing prospects in all this is that some of today's revolutionists, like others of history, will become part of the "power structure" themselves once they gain control. Then, presumably, they will regard themselves as "responsible" and will find themselves facing the fury of new revolutionaries.

One man who believes the often-irresponsible accusations by the poor are a necessary part of progress is Dr. J. Alfred Cannon, a UCLA neuropsychiatrist who works with a group called People in Community Action.

Dr. Cannon, a Negro, says, "Anytime you have a group of people who are relative strangers, one way they have of testing each other might be through initial demands or angry confrontations. It's a way of finding out how genuine the other person is.

"Often this kind of confrontation . . . paves the way for more constructive, gentle exchanges.

"Shouting at a public official . . . is a demonstration that the poor and minorities have the strength and power to be able to challenge the 'big chief.' This is very important, because they can see their effectiveness in some kind of action. It leads to a sense of worthwhileness and adequacy . . . and a potency which the poor generally don't have."

'Feeling of Participation'

This is the beginning, says Dr. Cannon, "of the poor man's feeling of participation in his own destiny, a very important strut in his health."

Bitterness over the failure of the war on poverty to deliver immediate results, and disillusionment over the administration of welfare programs have triggered a statewide—even a nationwide—effort by the poor to organize.

With the backing of the University of California Extension, the Sears Foundation, and two privately organized advisory agencies—the California Foundation for Economic Opportunity and the California Center for Community Development—a first California Convention of the Poor was held in Oakland in February.

This led to the June convention in Fontana, attended by representatives of slum tenant councils, welfare recipient groups and community action movements around the state.

Out of the Fontana convention, Dr. Jacobus TenBroeck, a UC political science professor and former chairman of the State Social Welfare Board, emerged with the task of giving some organizational sophistication to the more than 20 Welfare Rights Organizations which are loosely joined in this movement. A convention is planned this fall to develop a legislative program, clearly aimed at mounting a lobby for changes in welfare and other laws affecting the poor.

Welfare Recipients

Remarkably, in view of widespread conviction among the general public that most welfare recipients wouldn't work if they could, some of the loudest protests in recent Welfare Rights Organization demonstrations were that the present system "makes it impossible for us to work our way off welfare."

"If you don't have poor people in on the solutions," says Dr. TenBroeck, "you misgauge what the problems and their attitudes are.

"They flail, they shout, they are quite unreasonable," concedes Dr. TenBroeck. "This is therapy and steam-valving. Unless you provide some way to let off their futility, we're sitting on a lid we ought not to sit on—as you see in Watts.

"It's not a matter of whether we enjoy it—but whether we're going to make it possible for those who are deprived to cease to be deprived.

"They want the rest of us to slide into the background as they get on their feet and get organized. And that's the way it should be."

June 19, 1968

Mr. Frank Roughton
Institute of Communicative Arts
of the Methodist Church
1279 Oxford Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mr. Roughton:

I have received from Mayor Ivan Allen your letter addressed to him of June 17th regarding your suggestion for a symphonic drama on the struggle of the Negro in America, with construction for same of an amphitheatre, as a memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This has been brought to my attention in my capacity as chairman of our Aldermanic King Memorial Committee.

At the outset, I would like to express appreciation for your interest in this matter and to tell you that I feel your idea is most appropriate and would be extremely meaningful. Actually, one of Mrs. King's suggestions for incorporation in the memorial we are planning was along this line.

As you have probably learned from the various news media, our committee - and subsequently the Board of Aldermen - has taken a position supporting a living, productive memorial as in contrast to something like a statue or a street naming; and we have called on the federal government to assist in the development of a national memorial with several working facilities in the area of Dr. King's birthplace and mother church around Auburn Avenue and Boulevard. We also have an ordinance before our Zoning Committee referred to it by the Board of Aldermen at its meeting Monday which would call for designation of this area as an "historic district", which is our first step in order to preserve the character of some of the neighborhood and to protect it from other developments until we are in a position to make actual acquisition. It is my opinion that in the near future we will probably work

Mr. Frank Roughton

-2-

June 19, 1968

toward the establishment of a prestige national board of trustees, as suggested by Mrs. King, which board would probably have the responsibility of deciding on specific facilities to be incorporated in the development.

At the next meeting of our committee I will bring your communication to their attention and will keep you advised as to our progress.

Sincerely,



Sam Massell, Jr.

SMJr:nd

cc: Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr. ✓
(Attn: Mr. Dan Sweat)

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P R E F A C E

In attempting to analyse where the movement is going, certain questions have arisen as to the future roles played by white personnel. In order to make this issue clearer, we have written a few paragraphs, stemming from our observations and experiences, which serve as a preview to a broader study on the subject.

The answers to these questions lead us to believe that the form of white participation, as practiced in the past, is now obsolete. Some of the reasons are as follows:

The inability of whites to relate to the cultural aspects of Black society; attitudes that whites, consciously or unconsciously, bring to Black communities about themselves (western superiority) and about Black people (paternalism); inability to shatter white-sponsored community myths of Black inferiority and self-negation; inability to combat the views of the Black community that white organizers, being "white", control Black organizers as puppets; insensitivity of both Black and white workers towards the hostility of the Black community on the issue of interracial "relationships" (sex); the unwillingness of whites to deal with the roots of racism which lie within the white community; whites, though individual "liberal", are symbols of oppression to the Black community -- due to the collective power that whites have over Black lives.

Because of these reasons, which force us to view America through the eyes of victims, we advocate a conscious change in the role of whites, which will be in tune with the developing self-consciousness and self-assertion of the Afro-american people.

In the past, we have been accused of being
have a certain amount of sympathy with the
make this issue of race a less important one.

In concluding, we state that our position does not stem from
"hatred" or "racism" against white people, but from a conscien-
tious effort to develop the best methods of solving our national
problem.

The myth that the Negro is somehow incapable of liberating himself, is lazy, etc. came out of the American experience. In the books that children read, whites are always "good" (good symbols are white), Blacks are "evil" are seen as "savages" in movies, their language is referred to as a "dialect", and Black people in this country are supposedly descended from savages.

Any white person who comes into the Movement has these concepts in his mind about Black people, if only subconsciously. He cannot escape them because the whole society has geared his subconscious in that direction.

Miss America coming from Mississippi has a chance to represent all of America, but a Black person from neither Mississippi or New York will ever represent America. So that white people coming into the Movement cannot relate to the Black experience, cannot relate to the word "black", cannot relate to the "Nitty Gritty", cannot relate to the experience that brought such a word into being, cannot relate to chitterlings, hog's head cheese, pig feet, ham hocks, and cannot relate to slavery, because these things are not a part of their experience. They also cannot relate to the Black religious experience, nor to the Black church unless, of course, this church has taken on white manifestations.

Negroes in this country have never been allowed to organize themselves because of white interference. As a result of this, the stereotype has been reinforced that Blacks cannot organize themselves. The white psychology that Blacks have to be watched, also reinforces this stereotype. Blacks, in fact, feel intimidated by the presence of whites, because of their knowledge of the power that whites have over their lives. One white person can come into a meeting of Black people and change the complexion of that meeting, whereas one Black person would not change the complexion of that meeting unless he was an

obvious Uncle Tom. People would immediately start talking about "brotherhood", "love", etc.; race would not be discussed.

If people must express themselves freely, there has to be a climate in which they can do this. If Blacks feel intimidated by whites, then they are not liable to vent the rage that they feel about whites in the presence of whites---especially not the Black people whom we are trying to organize, i. e., the broad masses of Black people. A climate has to be created whereby Blacks can express themselves. The reason that whites must be excluded is not that one is anti-white, but because the efforts that one is trying to achieve cannot succeed because whites have an intimidating effect. Oft times the intimidating effect is in direct proportion to the amount of degradation that Black people have suffered at the hands of white people.

It must be offered that white people who desire change in this country should go, where that problem (of racism) is most manifest. That problem is not in the Black community. The white people should go into white communities where the whites have created power for the express of denying Blacks human dignity and self-determination. Whites who come into the Black community with ideas of change seem to want to absolve the power structure of its responsibility of what it is doing, and saying that change can only come through Black unity, which is only the worst kind of paternalism. This is not to say that whites have not had an important role in the Movement. In the case of Mississippi, their role was very key in that they helped give Blacks the right to organize, but that role is now over, and it should be. People now have the right to picket, the right to give out leaflets, the right to vote, the right to demonstrate, the right to print.

These things which revolve around the right to organize have been accomplished mainly because of the entrance of white people into Mississippi, in the summer of '64. Since these goals have now been

accomplished, their (whites) role in the Movement has now ended. What does it mean if Black people, once having the right to organize, are not allowed to organize themselves? It means that Black's ideas about inferiority are being reinforced. Shouldn't people be able to organize themselves? Blacks should be given this right. Further (white participation) means in the eyes of the Black community that whites are the "brains" behind the Movement and Blacks cannot function without whites. This only serves to perpetuate existing attitudes within the existing society, i. e., Blacks are "dumb", "unable to take care of business", etc. Whites are "smart", the "brains" behind everything.

How do Blacks relate to other Blacks as such? How do we react to Willie Mays as against Mickey Mantle? What is our response to Mays hitting a home-run against Mantle performing the same deed? Is our interest in baseball ordered by our appreciation of the artistry of the game, or is it ordered by the participation of Negroes in Baseball? One has to come to the conclusion that it is because of Black participation in baseball. Negroes still identify with the Dodgers because of Jackie Robinson's efforts with the Dodgers. Negroes would instinctively champion all-Black teams if they opposed all-white or predominately white teams. The same principle operates for the Movement as it does for baseball: a mystique must be created whereby Negroes can identify with the Movement.

Thus an all-Black project is needed in order for the people to free themselves. This has to exist from the beginning. This relates to what can be called "coalition politics". There is no doubt in our minds that some whites are just as disgusted with this system as we are. But it is meaningless to talk about coalition if there is no one to align ourselves with, because of the lack of organization in the white communities. There can be no talk of "hooking-up" unless

Black people organize Blacks and white people organize whites. If these conditions are met, then perhaps at some later date- and if we are going in the same direction- talks about exchange of personnel, coalition, and other meaningful alliances can be discussed.

In the beginning of the Movement, we had fallen into a trap whereby we thought that our problems revolved around the right to eat at certain lunch counters or the right to vote, or to organize our communities. We have seen, however, that the problem is much deeper. The problem of this country, as we had seen it, concerned old Blacks and old whites (and therefore) if decisions were left to the young people, then solutions would be arrived at. But this negates the history of Black people and whites. We have dealt stringently with the problem of "Uncle Tom", but we have not yet gotten around to Simon Legree. We must ask ourselves who is the real villain? Uncle Tom or Simon Legree? Everybody knows Uncle Tom, but who knows Simon Legree?

So what we have now (in SNCC) is a closed society. A clique. Black people cannot relate to SNCC, because of its unrealistic, non racial atmosphere; denying their experiences of America as a racist society. In contrast, SCLC has a staff that at least maintains a Black facade. The front office is virtually all-Black, but nobody accuses SCLC of being 'racist'.

If we are to proceed towards true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people... We must form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories. One illustrating example, is the SNCC "Freedom Primer". Blacks cannot relate to that book psychologically, because white people wrote it and, therefore it presents a white viewpoint.

To proceed further, let us make some comparisons between the

Black Movement of the (early) 1900's and the Movement of the 1960's -- the NAACP with SNCC. Whites subverted the Niagra Movement which, at the outset, was an all-Black Movement. The name of the new organization was also very revealing, in that it presupposed that Blacks have to be advanced to the level of whites. We are now aware that the NAACP has grown reactionary, is controlled by the power-structure itself, and stands as one of the main roadblocks to black freedom. SNCC, by allowing the whites to remain in the organization, can have its efforts subverted in the same manner, i. e., through having them play important roles such as community organizers, etc. Indigenous leadership cannot be built with whites in the positions they now hold.

These facts do not mean that whites cannot help. They can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level.

The charge may be made that we are "racists", but whites who are sensitive to our problems will realize that we must determine our own destiny. If persons insist on remaining because of their longevity, or because they have feelings that we are indebted to them. We, as Black people, must re-evaluate our history, our ideas of self, the world, Africa and her contributions to mankind. We must take the credit for our contributions to this society and to the world. Credit will be given to white people where it is due, but surely our contributions must be given credit. These myths (of inferiority and "savagery") must be broken by Black people, so that no mistake can be made about who is accomplishing what for whom. This is one way to break the myths.

As to the charge of "Black racism", as against white supremacy: we can say that the racial makeup of any organization does not make it racist, i. e., supreme court makeup of all white judges, Black

churches and Black businesses being all Black.

The naming of the newspaper, "Nitty-Gritty", which served to polarize the feelings of race, illustrated in a very graphic manner the attitudes that whites have towards cultural aspects of our society. The whites were opposed to the name and Blacks were affirmative on the issue. The alternative was the "Atlanta Voice" surely such a name could not speak to the needs of grass-roots Black people.

Black people can say to the "Nitty-Gritty": I can see myself there. Can say to Mays hitting a home run: I see myself there. Can say to the Atlanta Project: I see myself there!

One point I would like to emphasize is the failure on the part of conscious whites and Blacks in dealing with the American reality in terms of differences. We are beginning to emphasize the analysis of the differences between Black and white people.

There has been an escapist attitude on the part of SNCC of looking at the problem as if race did not matter. This negates the special history of Black people in this country, mainly the slavery period and the inhuman forms of segregation we have been forced to suffer. Another important point is that most Blacks and whites tend to view Blacks in the light of the myth that the power structure has created and perpetrated in this country. Black people are considered as "citizens" along the same lines as white people in this country, when in reality, Black people are a semi-colonialized people, victims of a domestic colonialism. Our introduction into this country occurred during the same time as the partition of Africa and Asia by the European powers, so that the American institution of slavery was, too, a form of Western Colonialism. Therefore Black people in this country act in the same way as do other colonial peoples to their environment and experience, but the myths of America labels them citizens which is an unreal attitude.

Also, one of the main blocks in terms of Black self-recognition and self-identification in this country has been interference from the dominant white society. From the 1900's to the present time Afro-American writers and thinkers have had to contend with the encroachment of white intellectuals upon their culture and upon their thoughts. Not only did the white intellectuals encroach upon their thought and culture

but they brought to it their whole American

background of racism and paternalism so that Black culture was portrayed as something being base, second-rate or below the culture of the United States, which was considered "serious" or "real". One graphic example of this is modern Afro-American music. This music which is rooted in the whole experience of our people in this country was not even named by Black people. Modern Afro-American music is named "jazz", which is a term that is derived from white American society. It is white slang for sexual intercourse; so that our music which may be called the mainstram of our culture was looked upon as being base and second-rate or dirty and containing sensuousness, sexuality and other exoticisms. This however says more about the white American psyche than it does about aspects of Afro-American culture.

One of the criticisms of white militants and radicals is that when we view the masses of white people we view the overall reality of America, we view the racism, the bigotry, and the distortion of personality, we view man's inhumanity to man; we view in reality 180 million racists. The sensitive white intellectual and radical who is fighting to bring about change is conscious of this fact, but does not have the courage to admit this. When he admits this reality, then he must also admit his involvement because he is a part of the collective white America. It is only to the extent that he recognizes this that he will be able to change this reality. Another concern is how does the white radical view the Black Community and how does he view the poor white community in terms of organizing. So far, we have found that most white radicals have sought to escape the horrible reality of America by going

into the Black Community and attempting to organize Black people while neglecting the organization of their own people's racist communities. How can one clean up someone else's yard when one's own yard is untidy? Again we feel that SNCC and the civil rights movement in general is in many aspects similar to the anti-colonial situations in the African and Asian countries. We have the whites in the Movement corresponding to the white civil servants and missionaries in the colonial countries who have worked with the colonial people for a long period of time and have developed a paternalistic attitude toward them. The reality of the colonial people taking over their own lives and controlling their own destiny must be faced. Having to move aside and letting this natural process of growth and development taking place must be faced. These views should not be equated with outside influence or outside agitation but should be viewed as the natural process of growth and development within a movement; so that the move by the Black militants in SNCC in this direction should be viewed as a turn towards self-determination.

It is very ironic and curious how aware whites in this country can champion anti-colonialism in other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but when Black people move towards similar goals of self-determination in this country they are viewed as racists and anti-white by these same progressive whites. In proceeding further, it can be said that this attitude derives from the overall point of view of the white psyche as it concerns the black people. This attitude stems from the era of the slave revolts when every white man

was a potential deputy or sheriff or guardian of the State. Because when Black people got together among themselves to work out their problems, it became a threat to white people, because such meetings were potential slave revolts. It can be maintained that this attitude or way of thinking has perpetuated itself to this current period and that it is part of the psyche of white people in this country whatever their political persuasion might be. It is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts. There have been examples of whites who stated that they can deal with black fellows on an individual basis but become threatened or menaced by the presence of groups of Blacks. It can be maintained that this attitude is held by the majority of progressive whites in this country.

It is a very grave error to mistake Black self-assertion for racism or Black supremacy. Black people in this country more so than the colonial peoples of the world know what it means to be victims of racism, bigotry, and slavery. Realizing our predicament from these inhuman attitudes it would be ridiculous for us to turn around and perpetuate the same reactionary outlook on other people. We more than anyone else realize the importance of achieving the type of society, the type of world whereby people can be viewed as human beings. The means of reaching these goals must be, however, from the point of view of respecting the differences between peoples and cultures and not pretending that everyone is the same and the refusal to respect differences is one of the reasons that the world is exploding today. Also expanding upon the differences among peoples and the respect it should be accorded:

if one looks at "integration" and progress then one is really perpetuating the myth of white supremacy. One is saying that Blacks have nothing to contribute, and should be willing to assimilate into the mainstream of Great white civilization, i.e. the west.

A through re-examination must be made by black people concerning the contributions that we have made in shaping this country. If this re-examination and re-evaluation is not made, and Black people are not given their proper due and respect, then the antagonisms and contradictions are going to become more and more glaring, more and more intense until a national explosion may result.

When people attempt to move from these conclusions it would be faulty reasoning to say they are ordered by racism, because, in this country and in the west, Racism has functioned as a type of white nationalism when dealing with Black people. We all know the havoc that this has created throughout the world and particularly among non-white people in this country.

Therefore any re-evaluation that we must make will, for the most part, deal with identification. Who are Black people; what are Black people; what is their relationship to America and the World?

It must be repeated that the whole myth of "Negro Citizenship", perpetuated by the White Power Elite, has confused the thinking of radical and progressive blacks and whites in this country. The broad masses of Black people react to American Society in the same manner as colonial peoples react to the west in Africa, and Latin American, and have the same relationship - that of the colonized towards the colonizer.

In an attempt to resolve an internal crises that is now confronting SNCC, the Black-White issue (which is causing eruptions that are seriously hampering our struggle for self- determination) must now be dealt with.

In an analysis of our history in this country, we have been forced to come to the conclusion that 400 years of oppression and slavery suffered in this country by our Black forebears parallels in a very graphic way the oppression and colonization suffered by the African people. The questions can be rightfully asked, what part did the white colonizers play in the liberation of independent African Nations; who were the agitators for African independence? Answers to those questions compel us to believe that our struggle for liberation and self- determination can only be carried out effectively by Black people.

The necessity of dealing with the question of identity is of prime importance in our own struggle. The systematic destruction of our links to Africa, the cultural cut-off of Blacks in this country from Blacks in Africa are not situations that conscious Black people in this country are willing to accept. Nor are conscious Black people in this country willing to accept an educational system that teaches all aspects of western civilization and dismisses our Afro-American contribution with one week of inadequate information (Negro History Week) and deals with Africa not at all. Black people are not willing to align themselves with a western culture that daily emasculates our beauty, our pride and our manhood. It follows that white people being part of western civilization in a way that Black people could never be are totally inadequate to deal with Black identity which is key

to our struggle for self-determination.

When it comes to the question of organizing Black people, we must insist that the people who come in contact with the Black masses are not white people who, no matter what their liberal leanings are, are not equipped to dispel the myths of western superiority. White people only serve to perpetuate these myths; rather, organizing must be done by Black people are able to see the beauty of themselves, are able to see the important cultural contributions of Afro-Americans, are able to see that this country was built upon the blood and backs of our Black ancestors.

In an attempt to find a solution to our dilemma, we propose that our organization (SNCC) should be Black staffed, Black controlled and Black financed. We do not want to fall into a similar dilemma that other Civil Rights organizations have fallen. If we continue to rely upon white financial support we will find ourselves entwined in the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country. It is also important that a Black organization (devoid of cultism) be projected to our people so that it can be demonstrated that such organizations are viable.

More and more we see Black people in this country being used as a tool of the white liberal establishment. Liberal whites have not begun to address themselves to the real problems of Black people in this country; witness their bewilderment, fear and anxiety when Nationalism is mentioned concerning Black people. An analysis of their (white liberal) reaction to the word alone (Nationalism) reveals a very meaningful attitude of whites of any ideological persuasion towards Blacks in this country. It means that previous solutions to Black problems

in this country have been made in the interests of those whites dealing with those problems and not in the best interests of Black people in this country have been made in the interests of those whites dealing with those problems and not in the best interest of Black people in this country. Whites can only subvert our true search and struggle for self-determination, self-identification, and liberation in this country. Re-evaluation of the white and Black roles must NOW take place so that whites no longer designate roles that Black people play but rather Black people define white people's roles.

To long have we allowed white people to interpret the importance and meaning of the cultural aspects of our society. We have allowed them to tell us what was good about our Afro-American music, art and literature. How many Black critics do we have on the "jazz" scene? How can a white person who is not a part of the Black psyche (except in the oppressor's role) interpret the meaning of the Blues to us who are manifestations of the songs themselves?

It must also be pointed out that on whatever level of contact that Blacks and whites come together, that meeting or confrontation is not on the level of the Blacks but always on the level of whites. This only means that our everyday contact with whites is a reinforcement of the myth of white supremacy. Whites are the ones who must try to raise themselves to our humanistic level. We are not, after all, the ones who are responsible for a genocidal war in Vietnam; we are not the ones who are responsible for Neo-Colonialism in Africa and Latin America; we are not the ones who held a people in animalistic bondage over 400 years.

We reject the American Dream as defined by white people

4

and must work to construct an American reality defined
by Afro-Americans.

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND A PLAN OF ACTION FOR ATLANTANS
CONCERNED ABOUT RIOTS, THEIR CAUSES
AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

We, the undersigned Atlantans, are deeply concerned about the riots which have occurred in our nation with increasing frequency and with mounting violence!

We are concerned about the consequences of continued rioting and believe that the deterioration of human relations could do greater damage than the loss of material things if we fail to bring an end to the riots and the conditions which spawn them.

We commend to every thoughtful citizen who believes in law and order and in human progress the recently released Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Whether one would agree absolutely with its methodology or the conclusions of the commission, we believe the report contains food for thought and suggestions for action which merit consideration. The report is a good point of reference and basis for discussion and action.

We are convinced that neither studies nor resolutions nor good intentions alone will suffice. We believe that all of the religious leaders of metropolitan Atlanta should act now to bring an end to conditions in our midst which create despair, contribute to human degradation and fuel violence.

We, therefore, commit ourselves to assist in the task of transforming our urban area that, insofar as our abilities and resources permit, we shall endeavor to respond to this urban crisis and help create a city where there is personal safety for all persons and property and where there is reason for hope and opportunity for individual growth and dignity for every citizen.

To do this, there are many things which we believe must be done.

There must be a pooling of all resources — a coordinated effort by rich and poor, by affluent and depressed citizens, by leaders in religion and education, in business and the professions, in industry and labor, in government, and in all walks of life — to meet our citizens needs in the following areas:

Police Protection Every citizen is entitled to be secure in his person and property and to fair treatment by law enforcement officials; and, in turn, each citizen has a duty to obey the law and support and cooperate with police officials.

Education

Every citizen must have the opportunity for equal educational opportunity - knowledge of one's rights and duties, education for employment, and for living - the essentials to a society of law and order and human progress.

Housing

Every citizen must have access to decent housing. This goal adopted long ago has not been achieved, and there is yet to be obtained a climate in which every person will have equal opportunity for housing that he can afford.

Employment

There must be training for new jobs and retaining for other jobs in our changing technology, and there must be an end to discrimination against qualified persons based on sex, race, age or handicap.

As we see it, we must create new attitudes even more than we need to create new programs, but both are needed! To establish new attitudes we must begin with ourselves, our families, our churches and synagogues.

Therefore, we commit ourselves to an effort to:

1. Carry on mutual interchanges in our churches with ministers and layman of all races discussing these critical areas of concern.
2. Preach and give courses within our own churches dealing with these areas.
3. Adopt and carry out special projects which contribute to the betterment of conditions in each of the foregoing areas, and encourage such things as positive support for day care centers, low cost housing corporations, health clinics, and training employment programs.

In order to develop wide acceptance of our stated purpose and our plan of action, we respectfully urge Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. to issue invitations to Atlanta's political, economic and religious leaders, and to citizens representative of all areas of our urban community to attend a meeting sponsored by the undersigned with the Mayor serving as host. The purpose of the meeting will be to achieve in the Atlanta urban

area an agreement on our stated purpose, and to arrange for a coordinated use of all possible resources. We seek a true and new commitment and to develop a simple connectional structure to carry out this commitment.

We, by signing this resolution, do declare ourselves to be an inter-faith committee, and authorize our designated representatives to visit the Mayor of the City of Atlanta and other local leaders of this area for the following purposes:

1. To offer the full support of ourselves as representatives of the religious community of the urban area for coordinated effort in meeting the needs of every individual.
2. To fund a luncheon for leaders and representatives of both races at which time we could hear from Mayor Allen his suggestions as to how all available resources might be coordinated to achieve our objectives.
3. To support a call for broader ministerial and lay leadership in subsequent meetings and projects.
4. And to offer ourselves for service on any Council or Committee dealing with these critical areas.

Finally, we invite all citizens to join with us in a commitment to our statement of purpose and our plan of action, and we ask the help of Almighty God in this endeavor to transform and redeem our entire urban area.

Signed on This Day, Tuesday 2nd of April, 1968

**LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
ON
CIVIL RIGHTS**



DS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St., New York 10018, phone BRyant 9-1400

November 3, 1967

Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen:

I think the most recent MEMO of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights may be of interest to you, so I enclose a copy.

As you may know, the Conference is a coalition of 112 national organizations. Since these include many of the civil rights, religious, labor, and fraternal organizations that participate in the Urban Coalition, it occurred to me that you might like to be kept informed of the activities our groups engage in, and of the kind of legislative issues they support in advancing our goal of full "civil rights for all Americans through government action at the national level."

Accordingly, we are adding your name to our mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Aronson, Secretary

Enclosures

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
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BISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
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CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
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COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN JURISDICTION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
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LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
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UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
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UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

**LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
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2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St., New York 10018, phone BRyant 9-1400

**THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS:
WHAT IT IS AND DOES**

It Speaks For Millions

In the last 17 years the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has become a unique spokesman: the voice for 112 national organizations when they join together to urge new civil rights laws upon Congress and when they press for strong enforcement of existing laws.

The Conference is a coalition of major civil rights, labor, religious, civic and fraternal groups whose strength lies in its unity. When the Conference comes out in support of a pending bill or urges a course of action upon the government, it speaks on behalf of millions of Americans of all races, creeds, religions, and ethnic groups and from all walks of life.

Its Purpose

In its statement of purpose, the Conference declares itself as "a voluntary, nonpartisan association of autonomous national organizations seeking to advance

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civil rights for all Americans through government action at the national level. By civil rights we mean not only the establishment and enforcement of rights in law, but also the realization of social and economic conditions in which alone the fulfillment of these rights is possible."

How the Conference Began

The Leadership Conference was formed in 1950 by national organizations whose leaders felt that while they often spoke and acted separately, there were many occasions when they could make a greater impact upon official Washington and the general public if they joined together in support of specific issues.

The Conference merged two existing groups: the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, headed by A. Philip Randolph, and the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization headed by Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson. All three men continue to play important roles in the Conference: Mr. Wilkins is Chairman, Mr. Randolph is a member of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Aronson is Secretary.

How the Conference Grew

From the first, the Conference undertook to

unite its groups behind specific civil rights bills. As it grew in numbers it grew in influence. The Conference has coordinated all the national campaigns for major civil rights bills. Its greatest successes were the series of civil rights laws passed by Congress since 1957. The most notable laws in this group were the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

But the Conference does not work just to add laws to statute books. Its organizations know laws are worth little unless they are adequately enforced. It campaigns untiringly for adequate funds to keep existing programs going and for adequate enforcement.

How the Conference Operates

The Conference functions through three main Committees: the Executive Committee which sets policy for the organization; the Legislative Committee, under the Chairmanship of Clarence Mitchell, which plans strategy for pending bills; and the Committee on Compliance and Enforcement, under James Hamilton of the National Council of Churches, which works to see that the laws are administered strongly and effectively.

How the Conference Keeps Its Groups Informed

The Conference tries to keep in constant touch

with its organizations. It sends them regular MEMOs that set forth the immediate legislative situation and suggest what groups can do to help mobilize support for a bill or a course of action. It publishes analyses of bills, pamphlets, papers on what still needs to be done to achieve full equality.

Not Civil Rights Alone

Over the years the Conference has broadened its concerns. It realizes that the fight for full equality and the War on Poverty are interconnected. In addition to campaigning for civil rights bills it has also worked for passage of an adequate minimum wage law; for reapportioned state legislatures so that they represent more truly all the people in a state; for broad educational opportunity; for adequate food distribution to the country's poor; for home rule for the District of Columbia; for school desegregation.

These are only a few of its campaigns. The Conference remains today firm in its belief that progress in civil rights is the concern of every American, not the interest of any one group. It believes, in Roy

Wilkins' words, that "we are all tied together" and that the future for America must be an integrated future; a nation in which all men and women share equally in its burdens and its benefits. Its motto is still:

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"

**LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE
ON
CIVIL RIGHTS**



ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St., New York 10018, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO NO. 21-67
October 27, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations
FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A SOCIAL SECURITY BILL THAT PUNISHES THE POOR

What began as an attempt by Congress to modernize the Social Security Act has, in the bill the House approved, resulted in several proposals that seem both backward and punitive.

Some of the House proposals come close to taking the long discredited view that the proper way to handle welfare is to insult the people who need it and try to push or scare them off the rolls.

When Newburgh, New York, in 1962, proposed to cut off assistance to recipients who refuse to take any jobs offered to them, it was excoriated throughout the nation for its medieval attitude. Yet the House-passed bill (H. R. 12080) has a provision that would authorize much that sort of treatment to dependent mothers and their children.

When Louisiana sought to cut off aid to mothers who gave birth to illegitimate children after going on relief, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare ruled the plan invalid. Yet the House, by placing a ceiling on aid to needy children seems to be trying, indirectly, to put its own limits on births.

The social security amendments are now before the Senate and it is here that we must concentrate our efforts for improvements in the 32-year-old statute that will make it responsive to the present needs of American society.

A Loophole for Hospitals

In one of our recent MEMOs (No. 19-67, October 9), we sounded the alarm in regard to an amendment that was not in the House-passed measure but was to be proposed as an addition to the bill during current consideration of it by the Senate

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
BISHOP'S COMMITTEE FOR THE SPANISH SPEAKING B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN JURISDICTION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES
UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

Finance Committee. This was the amendment offered by Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) that would enable patients to receive Federal medical benefits in hospitals that are not in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We pointed out, then, the obvious danger this poses to adequate enforcement of Title VI of the Act, the section that enables the Federal government to cut off funds to any Federally-assisted program that discriminates.

A Compromise Effected

As this MEMO is written, a compromise appears to have been worked out between HEW and Senator Talmadge. Patients in non-complying hospitals would still be reimbursed, although the percentage of reimbursement no longer appears to be fixed. But instead of allowing such reimbursements for a period running from the start of Medicare in 1966 to December 31, 1968, the compromise would move the cutoff date for such treatment to December 31, 1967.

While this is an improvement, the amendment still opens a loophole in Title VI enforcement and should still be opposed.

New Burdens on the Poor

While the Talmadge amendment is the one that deals most specifically with a matter of civil rights, other proposals in the House bill would fall so heavily upon the urban poor and their large minority groups, that it seems incumbent upon the Leadership Conference to oppose them.

At the last meeting of the Washington representatives there was unanimous agreement that in addition to opposing the Talmadge amendment, the Conference should express its opposition to three others:

1. Compulsory Work and Training Programs

States would be required to set up work and training programs and adults and children over 16, who are not in school, would be required to participate or face the loss of assistance. To mothers getting help under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, this provision would come as a blow. They would be forced to take jobs or training even though, in many cases, there was no adequate day-care for their children and even though it was more important for them to stay home and care for their youngsters.

What's more, there are no assurances that the training would be thorough or lead to anything. It could very well force them, in the end, to work in dead-end jobs for low wages. And certainly forcing people to either work or lose the help they need for themselves and their children returns welfare to about the level of the mid-Victorian poorhouses.

2. Limits on Aid to Children

The House bill would limit assistance under the AFDC program to only the percentage of children in broken homes, as related to all children under 21 in each state, that was receiving help in January 1967. For instance, if three percent of the

minor children in a state were in broken homes and on AFDC in January, the state could not get Federal funds for more than three percent in subsequent years, no matter how large an increase there might be in the number of poor, fatherless youngsters living in it.

Hardest hit by this proposal would, again, be the people least able to bear the burdens it would impose -- the migrants coming from the rural South to the cities. For those states in which such migrants usually settle, the choice would be bleak: either to assume the increased costs of caring for the destitute or to simply ignore them and invite further chaos.

3. Benefits

The House bill would increase social security benefits by only 12 1/2 percent and raises the minimum benefit from the present \$44 to only \$50. This is clearly insufficient to meet the needs of individuals and families whose incomes are already being eroded by inflation. The Administration proposal calls for a 15 percent across-the-board increase and a 59 percent increase in the minimum to \$70.

While many groups within the Leadership Conference feel even this increase is insufficient, they are willing to endorse it as the minimum amount. The Conference consensus covers the amendments outlined thus far.

There are other amendments in the bill that individual groups in the Leadership Conference oppose. One particularly, is the drastic restriction the House bill imposes on the new Medicaid (Title XIX) program of medical care for the needy. Income limits would be established at one-third over the AFDC payments level which would actually cut off from Medicaid eligibility welfare recipients in some states. The bill also permits states to cutback on the range of medical care services provided, including the possibility of providing neither hospital nor physician services if other less essential services are provided instead.

What Needs To Be Done

We urge all our participating organizations to join in opposing at least: the Talmadge amendment on hospitals; the mandatory work-training provisions and the freeze on the percentage of dependent children who can be helped. We should strongly urge substantially larger increases in social security benefits, both across the board and in the minimum payments.

Please write to members of the Senate Finance Committee (list attached) and urge them to vote against these and any other amendments that would lead us backward, plunge millions of poor people into despair and play into the hands of cynics who say Congress is unable to meet the pressing needs of our communities.

But please act now! To a growing and alarming extent, the War on Poverty appears to be shifting into a War on the Poor.

SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE

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Albert Gore (Tenn.)
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)
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Jesse Hill

521-0518

4

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

POST OFFICE BOX 897

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

May 17, 1967

JESSE HILL, JR.
ACTUARY

Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen:

Thank you very much for your cooperation and consideration during the conference last week in your office with Summit representatives. Please send us a written statement of your follow-up action on outlined specifics as indicated in our discussions.

Please request for us from Mr. Elrod and Mr. Sutherland a list of all job positions of the newly built and the original City Auditorium facilities, describing the respective job qualifications, duties and salary classifications in each.

There is considerable unhappiness in the Negro community concerning the Model Cities Proposal, and the operation of Public Housing and Urban Renewal by the Atlanta Housing Authority. At this hour there is serious consideration of a delegation going to Washington to confer with Secretary Robert Weaver as a protest of what is considered bias, discrimination and violations of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In your written statement of reaction, please specify among other things what steps you have taken to implement changes or amendments in Model Cities Proposal as agreed to include Negroes on the Executive Board, and other complaints including the exclusion of Negro organizations in the Proposal.

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Page 2
May 17, 1967

We also request a statement from the Personnel Department on the status of Mr. Sterrs Johnson's application for employment in Civil Defense. Mr. Johnson has pursued employment in this Department for several years without success. We are informed that he has passed the required test, at one time we were told that he did not pass the test.

Very truly yours,
ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE



Jesse Hill, Jr., Co-Chairman
Rev. S. W. Williams, Co-Chairman
Alderman Q. V. Williamson, Co-Chairman

May 26, 1967

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Theodore Edward Smith visited the Mayor's Office on Friday, May 26th. He advised me that he represented the U. S. District Attorney and was stationed in Atlanta for the purpose of keeping the U. S. Attorney General advised as to any threats of racial disturbances. Mr. Smith requested that he be notified of any such threats.

He can be contacted as follows:

Business: Room 401, Old Post Office Building,
U. S. District Attorney's Office
Telephone: 525-2072

Residence: 636 Fair Street, Apartment #C-21
Telephone: 524-8301

R. Earl Landers

Tel: 566-5090

211-68

Immediate Release
(Tuesday, June 18, 1968)

Mayor John V. Lindsay and Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland have agreed to serve as co-chairmen of a mayors' committee in support of the Poor People's Solidarity Day March in Washington tomorrow (Wednesday, June 19).

Mayor Lindsay and Mayor Stokes released the following statement from their offices today:

"Tomorrow, June 19th, thousands of people from across this country will gather in Washington, D. C. to participate in the Poor People's Solidarity Day March.

"They will march, in peace, for the right of each citizen to be decently fed, clothed and housed.

"They will march, in peace, for the right of every citizen to work a full week and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

"They will march, in peace, for the right of every citizen to live without fear and to be judged without prejudice.

"They will march, in peace, for the hopes of us all....for that day when we will again be one Nation.

"We, the undersigned Mayors, feel it only fitting and proper that we publicly proclaim our commitment to the goals of those who march tomorrow.

"Nowhere is the violence, poverty and division against which they fight more deeply felt than in our great cities. In this sense, their cause is ours and we must support them."

Hugh J. Addonizio, Mayor, Newark, N.J.; Joseph M. Alioto, Mayor, San Francisco, Calif.; Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor, Atlanta, Ga.; Joseph M. Barr, Mayor, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Thomas P. Byrne, Mayor, St. Paul, Minn.

Jerome P. Cavanagh, Mayor, Detroit, Mich.; A. J. Cervantes, Mayor, St. Louis, Mo.; James N. Corbett, Jr., Tucson, Ariz.; Thomas G. Currigan, Mayor, Denver, Colo.; Thomas D'Alesandro, Mayor, Baltimore, Md.

Bruno Giordano, Mayor, Stamford, Conn.; Milton H. Graham, Mayor, Phoenix, Ariz.; Richard G. Hatcher, Mayor, Gary, Ind.; John V. Lindsay, Mayor, New York, N.Y.; Henry W. Maier, Milwaukee, Wisc.

Arthur Naftalin, Mayor, Minneapolis, Minn.; Frank A. Sedita, Buffalo, N.Y.; Carl B. Stokes, Mayor, Cleveland, Ohio; Antonina P. Uccello, Mayor, Hartford, Conn.; Walter E. Washington, Mayor, District of Columbia; Kevin H. White, Mayor, Boston, Mass.; Samuel W. Yorty, Mayor, Los Angeles, Calif.

June 18, 1968

Mr. Frank Roughton
Institute of Communicative Arts
of the Methodist Church
1279 Oxford Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mr. Roughton:

May I acknowledge receipt of your letter on
behalf of the Institute of Communicative Arts.

I am forwarding your letter to the Honorable
Sam Massell, Jr., Chairman of the City's
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Com-
mittee. I am sure this committee will give
proper consideration to your suggestion of a
continuing memorial to Dr. King.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:lp

CC: Honorable Sam Massell, Jr.
Mr. Dan Sweat



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 2, 1966

Dear Mayor:

I am pleased to send you a copy of the Report of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." This report is a product of more than one year of intensive study by hundreds of individuals and organizations from all walks of life who responded to President Johnson's call for a White House Conference to help formulate specific steps to help the Negro American move "beyond opportunity to achievement."

The report was recently presented to the President by the Honorary Chairman of the Conference, Mr. A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Chairman of the Conference, Mr. Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company.

The 29 member Council to the Conference and the 2500 delegates stressed the formulation of action recommendations in four specific areas: 1. Economic security and welfare; 2. Education; 3. Housing; and 4. Administration of Justice.

President Johnson has announced that all Federal departments and agencies will evaluate these proposals most carefully and submit to him specific recommendations for carrying forward the Administration's commitment of promoting equal rights and equal opportunity for every American.

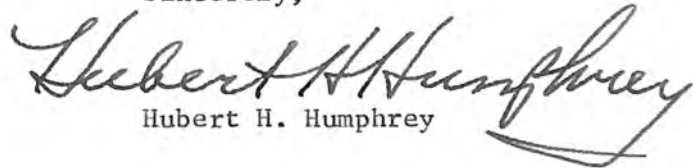
You will note, however, that much of the responsibility for implementing these recommendations also rests with our states and local communities. This is as it should be -- meaningful, visible change in the lives of people cannot take place in any other manner.

I, therefore, urge your careful analysis and study of this report. Many of the recommendations will hopefully be relevant to problems you may face in your community. If you have questions about any portion of the report or its recommendations, please feel free to seek from me additional clarification or assistance. And I am especially hopeful that you will from time to time let me know what steps you may be taking in achieving the objectives discussed in the report.

As stated by the President, we are seeking "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and a result." I believe this report is a historic blue-print for action to help our nation achieve this goal.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE "TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"

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

NOTICE

The enclosed Report of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" is being distributed to all who were invited to the Conference, Members of Congress, news media, private and Federal Government agencies.

Additional copies of the Report may be purchased for \$1.25 per copy from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

An order for additional copies must be accompanied by a check or money order payable to the Superintendent of Documents.

September 16, 1966

Mr. Charles A. Fitzgerald, President
Tucker Midget Football Conference, Inc.
P. O. Box 67
Tucker, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fitzgerald:

I was very pleased to learn of the plans you and Ralph Long are making for a football game at Wesley Avenue.

I am familiar with the fine work of Mr. Long and Aaron Watson. Probably the main reason we have not had any racial disturbances in that neighborhood is because of the positive program of participation that these two men carry out in their community.

I see no problems at all with your bringing a team into the Wesley area and I would endorse such a commendable attempt to develop friendship between the races in this manner.

Mr. Dan Sweat, my assistant, has worked with Mr. Long and Mr. Watson on other projects and I am sure he would be happy to work with you if there is anything my office can do to help make this project a success.

I am sure that Mr. Sweat will be interested from another standpoint since he lives in your community and has a son playing on the Smoke Rise team. You may call him at 522-4463, Ext. 280. His home number is 938-0197.

Congratulations and good luck with your fine program.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:fy

TUCKER MIDGET FOOTBALL CONFERENCE, INC.

P. O. BOX 67 • TUCKER, GA. • TELEPHONE 938-4888

"Bringing the Wonderful World of Football to Boys and Girls"

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<i>Idlewood</i>	OTIS HOLMES	938-3768
<i>Tucker Park</i>	CHARLES KING	938-3450
<i>Briarlake</i>	BOB HENDRIX	938-2510
<i>Midvale</i>	GUY WARREN	938-7479
<i>Rehobeth Baptist</i>	BILL HICKSON	443-6000
<i>Warren</i>	JIM BRIDGES	938-0089

September 12, 1966

The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor of the City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen:

This letter is written to acquaint you with a worth while project for negro boys in the city of Atlanta.

Since January, Mr. Ralph Long, Principal of Wesley School, Mr. Aaron Watson, Athletic Director of Wesley, and myself have been meeting making plans for a football program for boys 8 thru 13 year of age living in the various communities of Atlanta.

King & Spalding Company, has incorporated our group under the name "Youth Sports Activities of Atlanta, Incorporated", as you can see on the attached blank letterhead.

In meeting with Mr. Long and Mr. Watson and others they have brought in, I have been impressed by their desire to do for their young people even though it means taking much of their spare time. I believe in football as a builder of character and believe what these men are doing is very worth while.

My group in Tucker is also engaged in similar work with our youth and have eleven years experience at it. This fall our two groups are trying to arrange some way to bring our two teams together in a gester of friendship. Our thought is to start out with a game in the Wesley area, with us bringing our group in a bus. We want to provide a bridge, small in the beginning, for a better understanding between our young people. I know of no better way than athletics.

Continued.....

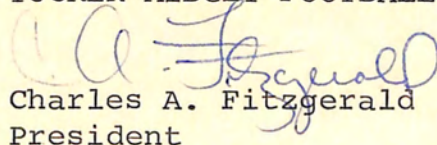
The Honorable Ivan Allen

Since this would mean bringing 33 white boys into the Wesley area, we want to make sure we go about this in the right way. I would appreciate your thoughts on this. Perhaps you could come and speak to the two groups before the game, right at the field. I truly believe this is a milestone in good relations between races but, as I said, don't want to make a mistake as we start out.

If you think it advisable we can come down to your office and discuss this. At any rate I will appreciate your suggestions and comments.

Very truly yours,

TUCKER MIDGET FOOTBALL CONFERENCE, INC.


Charles A. Fitzgerald
President

CAF:ns

cc; Mr. Ralph Long
Mr. Aaron Watson
Mr. Emmett Mize

YOUTH SPORTS ACTIVITIES OF ATLANTA, INC.

1275 FAIR STREET • ATLANTA, GA. • 775-5590

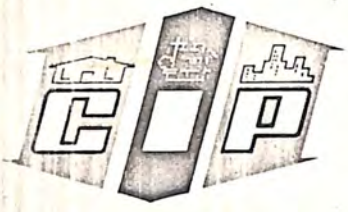
A Non-Profit Recreational Program for Boys and Girls in Atlanta

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AARON L. WATSON
CHARLES A. FITZGERALD

Officers

RALPH A. LONG, *President*
AARON L. WATSON, *Secretary-Treasurer*



CITY OF ATLANTA
COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

CITY HALL ■ 68 MITCHELL STREET, S.W. ■ ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 ■ 522-4463

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
Mayor, City of Atlanta

August 10, 1966

GEORGE L. ALDRIDGE, JR.
Director

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Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Executive Director
Council on Human Relations
of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Planning Engineer
HENRY L. ROWDEN
City Attorney
CHARLES L. DAVIS
Comptroller
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND
Executive Director, C.A.C.U.R.
RAY A. NIXON
Chief of Construction
M. B. SATTERFIELD
Exec. Dir., Atlanta Housing Authority
WILLIAM R. WOFFORD
Inspector of Buildings

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning personnel policies relative to the undertaking of the Atlanta Community Improvement Program and specifically to the employment of Negroes. Your letter offers us an opportunity to report on sound progress in this regard.

One of the clauses appearing in the contract between the City of Atlanta and the United States of America for the federal grant funds reads as follows:

"...Equal Employment Opportunity. -- In the carrying out of the work covered by this Contract, the Public Body will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The Public Body will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The Public Body agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the

OTHER MEMBERS

DIANE W. BECK
Exec. Dir., Community Council of Atlanta
GLENN E. BENNETT
Executive Director, A.R.M.P.C.
KARL A. BEVINS
Traffic Engineer
JACK C. DELIUS
Parks, General Manager
DR. J. F. HACKNEY
Dir. Pub. Health, Fulton Co.
C. H. HILDEBRAND
Fire Chief
PAUL B. IVEY
Epid. Agent
JOHN H. JACOBS
Director of Libraries
HERBERT T. JENKINS
Police Chief
ALAN F. KIEPPER
Fulton County Manager
DR. JOHN W. LETSON
Supt. of Schools
PAUL W. MILLER
Chairman, A.F.C.J.P.B.
EMORY C. PARRISH
Asst. State Hwy. Planning Engineer
THOMAS H. ROBERTS
Planning Dir., A.R.M.P.C.
DR. T. O. VINSON
Dir. Pub. Health, DeKalb Co.
PAUL L. WEIR
Water Works, Gen. Mgr.

Government setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause. The Public Body will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the Public Body, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. The Public Body will incorporate the foregoing requirements of this paragraph in all of its contracts for work covered by this Contract, other than contracts for construction and contracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials, and will require all of its contractors for such work to incorporate such requirements in all subcontracts for work covered by this Contract..."

In retaining the services of professional consultants to undertake the sundry work items contained in the format of the CIP, subsequent contracts have been executed. Each contract drawn between the City of Atlanta and the professional consultants contains the same language set forth above.

The Community Improvement Program has a permanent staff of six persons in addition to the director. All are City employees - paid by the City of Atlanta and subject to the City's personnel policies. These six persons on the permanent staff consist of two professional planners, two assistant planners, an administrative secretary and a Clerk III. The Clerk III is a Negro. He is but one of three appointments on the permanent staff made by the director since he was employed. Prior to my arrival the entire permanent staff had been selected and were on the job working. Although the positions Clerk III and Assistant Planner are sub-professional classifications, the potential for moving up to professional levels is wide open, depending on experience, education and abilities. Concerning salary ranges for these positions and any others in which you may be interested, we suggest that you address your questions to the City of Atlanta Personnel Department.

Due to the nature of the Atlanta CIP, it has been necessary for the City to employ temporary college and high school students. During the summer and early fall of 1965, the CIP staff assembled a task force of approximately 70 people to undertake a city-wide inventory of parcels of land in Atlanta and compile 38 units of information about each parcel (e.g., building conditions, ownership, land use, zoning classification, etc.). This inventory was undertaken in conjunction with the installation of the City's electronic data processing equipment. In assembling the "task force", we sought a combination of college students from the local area and high school students enrolled in the In-School Program of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., the local anti-poverty program. The Atlanta Personnel Department sent notices to all colleges in the metropolitan area and the response by the college students for approximately 40 jobs was overwhelming. White and Negro college

students applied. Recruitment, testing, screening and certification were handled through and supervised by the Atlanta Personnel Department. Selection of the 40 college students was the prerogative of the CIP staff. The result was a bi-racial group of college students which constituted a large portion of the task force. Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., provided us with 25 to 30 high school students through their In-School Program - all of whom were Negroes. Although we are not recruiting at the present time, our record speaks for itself insofar as recruiting Negroes is concerned. Our experience in employing Negroes and whites in a team effort has wrought meaningful results.

In response to your question concerning the "policy-working board", apparently you have reference here to the Board of Aldermen of the City of Atlanta. As you know, this is a 17 member board, one of whom is a Negro, Mr. Q. V. Williamson of the Third Ward.

As mentioned earlier, each of our consultants are bound by a contractual clause relative to equal opportunity in employment. To our knowledge each has offered Negroes employment and are living up to this contractual requirement. The City's contract with each consultant is not predicated on their submission of detailed payroll records or substantiated by racial composition relative to payments for work performed. Instead, each consultant bills the City based on the percentage of work he has completed in proportion to the total cost of the contract. Should you have evidence that the aforementioned equal opportunity in employment clause is being or has been violated by one of the City's consultants on work contracted for under this program, we would appreciate your forwarding it to us for investigation.

The time limit for completing all of the work items contained in the Atlanta Community Improvement Program is twenty-seven months. We are currently in the twentieth month of the program. As I mentioned in my letter to you of February 4, 1966, we have worked very closely for some time now with two citizens groups as the CIP has progressed. These are the Mayor's Citizens Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal and a CIP sub-committee of that group. Both of these groups are bi-racial. For some time now, the City along with the citizens groups mentioned above have recognized the need for broader citizen involvement, thinking and reaction to CIP findings and recommendations. Generally speaking, such citizen involvement in other cities having undertaken similar programs has awaited the completion of the entire program. Early this fall, prior to the completion of the program, the City of Atlanta is planning to conduct, on a city-wide level, and then perhaps for local neighborhood associations, civic organizations, etc., a series of four seminars on the Atlanta Community Improvement Program. These four seminars will treat the topical areas:

Mrs. Eliza Paschall

- 4 -

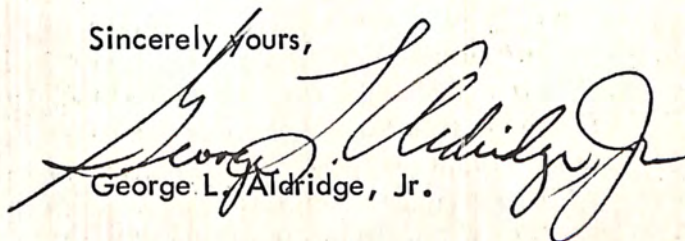
August 10, 1966

- (1) Government and law
- (2) The physical environment
- (3) The economic environment, and
- (4) The people

These seminars should serve to promote broader understanding of the City's problems, its resources, what the future holds for the City of Atlanta - and the role of Atlanta's citizens in that future.

Once again, thank you for the opportunity of reporting on what we consider a good record in bi-racial employment practices. We are looking forward to this fall and to our seminars with the citizens of Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,



George L. Aldridge, Jr.

GLA, Jr/lm

cc:

The Honorable Robert Weaver
Secretary
Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D. C.

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City of Atlanta, Georgia

The Honorable Q. V. Williamson
Alderman, Third Ward
City of Atlanta, Georgia

bc:

Rodney Cook
Dan Sweat ✓
Earl Landers
Collier Gladin
Robert Lyle

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OF

GREATER ATLANTA, INC.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

TELEPHONE 523-1581

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MRS. JOHN W. STANLEY
CHAIRMAN
MR. ZENAS SEARS
1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MR. THOMAS McPHERSON
2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN
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The Rev. EUGENE
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Mr. Q. V.
WILLIAMSON

Mrs. P. Q.
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Mrs. SARA P.
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Mr. WILEY
MONTAGUE

Mr. MORGAN
STANFORD

Mr. AL ULMER

Mrs. CLIFFORD
WILSON

August 4, 1966

Mr. George Aldridge, Jr.
Director, Community Improvement Program
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

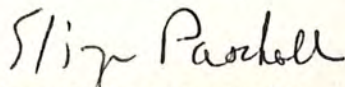
Dear Mr. Aldridge:

It is our understanding that because of the large amount of federal funds in the CIP program, the personnel policies would have to conform to the requirements of the civil rights laws. Would it be possible for you to give us information about those Negroes who are employed in a office and/or professional jobs level in connection with the CIP program - in your office, on the staff of Candeb, and Felissing, or on the staff of any other organization with which the city has contracted for any part of this program?

Attached is a blank for your convenience. If your office is not the proper one to supply this information, we will appreciate your forwarding this request to the proper one. We would also like to know what point the CIP has reached and when citizens will have an opportunity to review it and react to it.

We would like to arrange a public meeting for such discussion at the appropriate time.

Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Executive Director

EP:lf

cc: The Hon. Robert Weaver, Secretary, Housing & Urban Development,
Washington, D.C.

Total number in office _____; Professional _____ Positions

Total number of Negroes in office _____; professional _____ positions

Number of Negroes in supervisory positions _____.

Salary range of white employees _____ to _____

Salary range of Negro employees _____ to _____

Are you now recruiting for any jobs?

How have you tried to recruit Negro applicants?

Number of whites on policy working Board _____ Exec. Committee _____.

Number of Negroes on policy working Board _____ Exec. Committee _____.

Signed

AFFIRMATION ATLANTA from Summit Leadership Conference

We the undersigned citizens of Atlanta, Georgia are seriously concerned about the welfare and progress of our city. We have noted with pride the substantial progress which has been made in many areas of our social, civic and economic life, particularly in the last five years. For the first time many of us feel that we are not only a part of the city, but that we have deep and significant stakes in its welfare and in its progress. We realize that while we have made progress, there are still areas in which we need to make more significant advances and these with haste. We are disturbed, however, that there appear to be elements in the city which do not have the total welfare at heart of the groups which they appear to represent. These individuals, we are afraid, believe that progress can be made through disturbing the best rather than working with the wholesome elements in our population to keep Atlanta headed in the right direction. We want all good citizens to know that while we deplore certain shortcomings to be found in our social, economic and civic life, that we do not feel that violence or breaking of laws is useful in helping us to achieve the complete human equality for which we work and for which we will continue diligently to strive. We pledge our strong cooperation with all the forces of law and order that Atlanta will become a completely open city which we desire . . . where every man regardless of his social, racial or economic status will have completely those opportunities for the good life available to any other citizen. In attestation

of these ideas, we the undersigned pledge to our fellow-men in the
City of Atlanta our most ardent efforts and our continuous help.

Samuel W. Williams
Alderman Q. V. Williamson
Co-Chairmen, Summit
Leadership Conference

Senator LeRoy Johnson

Rep. Wm. Alexander

Rep. John Greer

Rep. Grace T. Hamilton

Rep. John Hood

Mr. Benjamin T. Smith

Dr. M. L. King, Sr.

Bishop Ernest L. Hickman

Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.

Mrs. Eunice Cooper

Dr. John A. Middleton, Pres. Morris Brown

Dr. Benjamin E. Mayes, Pres., Morehouse

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Pres., Atlanta University

Dr. Albert E. Manley, Pres. Spelman

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Pres. ITC

VIOLENCE IS NOT THE WAY . . . Atlanta Branch NAACP

The events occurring in our city a few nights ago when a few people interfered with an officer of the law in the routine execution of his duty has caused some alarm and deep concern on our part as citizens in this community who take seriously our responsibility as citizens. No one can honestly deny the facts of history -- facts which show that Negro people have been and still are victims of injustices and wrongs. We are just as determined as any to work continuously and with vigor to eliminate any and all injustice in this city. We do not believe, however, that one wrong can be made right by committing another wrong. The way of violence no matter by whom perpetuated is wrong and it creates more problems than it solves. Worst of all, violence always victimizes the innocent children. This course is not wise and should not be followed by any people. There is a way to protest. The frame work is set out in our Constitution. All people should work to see:

1. That it is preserved and honored.
2. That all who live under it, live by it.

Violence or inciting to riot does neither of these. As citizens who live here and who are determined to make Atlanta a more just city we pledge our support of law and order. We call for wisdom and calmness on the part of all . . . the police and the people alike. Level heads, pure hearts when joined in a common purpose, remove fear and release untapped energies for good. Atlanta, though imperfect, is too good to

be destroyed by rashness no matter from what quarter. Those who are engaged in the struggle for human injustice anywhere in this nation must have friends. No man, no nation, no group of people can go it alone. Cooperation is the way to achieve righteous goals.

June 10, 1966

Chief Herbert T. Jenkins
Atlanta Police Department
175 Decatur Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief:

I am returning your packet of information from the Civil Rights Conference.

I am sure that it was a very highly interesting meeting and I hope that it has some positive results.

Sincerely yours,

Dan E. Sweat

DES:fy

Attachment



HERBERT T. JENKINS
Chief

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT of POLICE

Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 6, 1966

Mr. Dan E. Sweat, Jr.
Mayor's Office
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dan:

Attached hereto is my file from the White House Conference that I attended.

I attended all of the meetings and the Planning Session last fall and the regular session last week.

President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, and Attorney General Katzenbach made it abundantly clear at both meetings that the Johnson Administration was committed and dedicated in not only giving the American Negro all the rights and privileges of first class citizenship, but to also give them every possible assistance in obtaining these rights.

There were only a few hundred people attending the planning session, but about 2500 attended the general session last week.

It was a very informative and interesting meeting as well as a very interested group of individuals, as you can tell by the attached file.

Please return the file when you have finished with it.

Sincerely yours,

HTJ:gp
attach

Chief of Police



May 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.

From: Dan Sweat

Subject: Atlanta Hospitals and Civil Rights Compliance

The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare is greatly concerned about the fact that no major hospital facility in the Atlanta area has met the Civil Rights compliance requirements and as a result will run into major problems shortly after July 1.

One big problem is that HEW will not be able to allow any Medicare expenses to be incurred at Grady or the other major hospitals.

Mr. Pete Page, Regional Administrator of HEW, says that they are holding up a grant for several million dollars for a vocational rehabilitation project at Grady and that Grady has recently missed a sizable grant for Cancer research because of non-compliance.

He pointed out that he and his representatives met several weeks ago with the hospital administrators and officials but they have had no correspondence from the hospitals. Mr. Page says that he and his staff are willing to work night and day to do whatever they can to help the hospitals get in a position to meet the requirements necessary for continued participation in HEW programs.

Mayor Allen
Page Two
May 4, 1966

I don't know what we could, or should, do about the situation
but thought that you would be interested in this information.

DS:fy

cc: Mr. R. Earl Landers

Atlanta, Georgia
August 15, 1967

Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Executive Director
Community Relations Commission
1203 City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

My involvement in community activities has come to a temporary halt. There are several reasons I feel responsible for the change.

One of them is, "The Method". Unless I organize a group to protest a complaint, the complaint continues to remain. There are several issues that are very important, and will go un-attended unless there is a movement arranged to solve them.

Number two is "The Complaints". The summer recreation program is one of the biggest hoax ever casted upon the underprivileged citizens in this city. The only beneficiaries of the Atlanta Recreation Department were the staff and employees, and they were either the hired staff, aides, employees who were there to participate with the facilities. And they were either enjoying themselves or sitting down drawing pay. There were more youngsters playing in the street than there were in, or on, the premises made available by the city or organizations. While I am on the subject of organizations, the Summerhill area has at least five that are crowding out the others and duplicating programs together in the buildings that are too small for them all. This causes confusion and keeps most of the youngsters puzzled. To name a few, The Atlanta Urban League, The Jaycees, Atlanta Parks & Recreation, The Board of Education, and the E.O.A., plus the Atlanta Braves.

This would have been great, if each of them had had a separate place. But they tried to program all from one building, and this made the summer program a failure. Lets pause here and ask this question.... What is going to be done (In Summerhill where some efforts were made and in Mechanicsville where nothing was done) this fall for recreation in the community? Maybe "The Method" will have to be demonstrated again, and again, in order to get this problem solved.

I have studied this A.C.E.P. project, and I am in doubt of it before it even gets started. There will be over \$4 million dollars spent in Atlanta alone. Here is the clincher, E.O.A. additional staff to be added to the many existing (do nothing and draw plenty) members of so called qualified personnel. (Believe me, I am not retaliating because I was denied a position that required certain qualifications that I could not meet -- Even though I did qualify with equivalent). I could do a better job -- man for man than any so-called professional placed in the community. This program will pay to the professionals and not to the poverty peoples one cent. This is another E.O.A. typical way

of looking out for the so-called pros. I have another question. When will E.O.A. plan a program that will put money in the poor citizens pockets?

I may have to rely upon "The Method" again. I have met with the same E.O.A. chosen few for so long until I am sick. For each purpose the same identical few are notified, and called to meet and decide for the community. Usually the decision is already made, they come to put the community approval to it. And if it's good or bad, it is never discussed satisfactorily. That is another reason I am not so eager to continue to deceive myself and my neighborhood, and my friends.

I have accomplished more with two unknown (Big Publicity) groups than the Neighborhood Center has in two years. We shall continue together, or should I say, they shall continue. I organized a group of forgotten citizens, and before they could have the first meeting, the E.O.A. and the Atlanta Jaycees had a prepared program for them. Let them have credit. I get the everlasting glory, and God's blessings.

Unlike General Douglas McArthur, I may not return, unless I see the possibilities of getting results.

Sincerely

Edward Moody
Edward Moody

cc: The Mayor
The Vice Mayor
Mr. Delius
Dr. Letson
Director of Sun-Mac
Mr. Boisfeulet Jones

City of Atlanta

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

Memorandum

Date: August 10, 1966

From: George L. Aldridge, Jr.

To: Dan Sweat

For your information

Please make necessary reply

Advise status of the attached

Attached is an exchange of correspondence between this
office and the Council on Human Relations of Greater
Atlanta, Inc.

Office of the Mayor

ROUTE SLIP

TO: Alan Sweas

FROM: Ivan Allen, Jr.

- For your information
- Please refer to the attached correspondence and make the necessary reply.
- Advise me the status of the attached.

*Just
Bill
Carpenter -
I might write a
book sometimes*