

*file
race relations*

February 13, 1967

Mr. Jerome S. Hardy
TIME Incorporated
TIME & LIFE Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

Dear Jerry:

It will be golfing weather down this way before long so start plans for a return match.

Enclosed with this letter you will find a press release issued on the ribbon cutting day of Paschals' million dollar motor hotel here in Atlanta. This event would not contain news appeal to warrant a LIFE story were it not for the fact that the undertaking was conceived, financed, and completed by members of the negro community here in Atlanta. Negro banks and insurance companies put up the two million dollars. Negro architects and engineers together with a negro construction company put up the structure. Negro decorators took over the finished building and furnished the rooms, the night clubs, the eating facilities, etc. Obviously, negro management operates it.

Atlanta has been the recognized leader of all the American cities in the matter of workable race relations. There was the exception some weeks back which was the proven result of direct provocation by two or three individuals. It in no way represented the "race climate" of Atlanta.

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recruit, train, and hire the hard-core unemployed. When the private sector is unable to provide employment to those who are both able and willing to work, then in a free society the government must of necessity assume the responsibility and act as the employer of last resort or must assure adequate income levels for those who are unable to work.

Emergency Work Program

This Convocation calls upon the Federal Government to develop an emergency work program to provide jobs and new training opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed consistent with the following principles:

--The Federal Government must enlist the cooperation of government at all levels and of private industry to assure that meaningful, productive work is available to everyone willing and able to work.

--To create socially useful jobs, the emergency work program should concentrate on the huge backlog of employment needs in parks, streets, slums, countryside, schools, colleges, libraries, and hospitals. To this end an emergency work program should be initiated and should have as its first goal putting at least one million of the presently unemployed into productive work at the earliest possible moment.

--The program must provide meaningful jobs--not dead-end, make work projects--so that the employment experience gained adds to the capabilities and broadens the opportunities of the employees to become productive members of the permanent work force of our nation.

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--Basic education, training, and counseling must be an integral part of the program to assure extended opportunities for upward job mobility and to improve employee productivity. Funds for training, education, and counseling should be made available to private industry as well as to public and private nonprofit agencies.

--Funds for employment should be made available to local and state governments, nonprofit institutions, and Federal agencies able to demonstrate their ability to use labor productively without reducing existing levels of employment or undercutting existing labor standards or wages which prevail for comparable work or services in the area but are not less than the Federal minimum wage.

--Such a program should seek to qualify new employees to become part of the regular work force and that normal performance standards are met.

--The operation of the program should be keyed to specific, localized unemployment problems and focused initially on those areas where the need is most apparent.

Private Employment Assistance and Investment

All representatives of the private sector in this Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens. We pledge full-scale private endeavor through creative job-training and employment,

managerial assistance, and basic investment in all phases of urban development.

The alternatives to a massive and concerted drive by the private sector are clear. They include the burden of wasted human and physical potential, the deterioration of the healthy environment basic to the successful operation of any business, and the dangers of permanent alienation from our society of millions of citizens.

We propose to initiate an all-out attack on the unemployment problem through the following steps:

--In cooperation with government, to move systematically and directly into the ghettos and barrios to seek out the unemployed and under-employed and enlist them in basic and positive private training and employment programs. We will re-evaluate our current testing procedures and employment standards so as to modify or eliminate those practices and requirements that unnecessarily bar many persons from gainful employment by business or access to union membership.

--To create a closer relationship between private employers and public training and emergency employment programs to widen career opportunities for our disadvantaged citizens. To this end, we will proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in depressed urban areas that might well be the joint venture of business, labor and local government.

--To develop new training and related programs to facilitate the early entry of under-qualified persons into industrial and commercial employment.

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--To develop large-scale programs to motivate the young to continue their education. Working closely with educators, we will redouble our efforts to provide part-time employment, training, and other incentives for young men and women. We also pledge our active support to making quality education readily accessible to deprived as well as advantaged young people.

--To expand on-the-job training programs to enhance the career advancement prospects of all employees, with particular emphasis on those who now must work at the lowest level of job classifications because of educational and skill deficiencies.

We pledge to mobilize the managerial resources and experience of the private sector in every way possible. We will expand part-time and full-time assistance to small business development. We will strive to help residents of these areas both to raise their level of managerial know-how and to obtain private and public investment funds for development. We will work more closely with public agencies to assist in the management of public projects. We will encourage more leaders in the private sector to get directly and personally involved in urban problems so that they may gain a deeper understanding of these problems and be of greater assistance.

We pledge our best efforts to develop means by which major private investment may be attracted to the renovation of deteriorating neighborhoods in our cities. We will explore and encourage governmental incentives to expedite private investment. We will develop new methods of combining

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investment and managerial assistance so that the residents may achieve a leadership position in the development of their areas .

Housing, Reconstruction, and Education

This Convocation calls upon the nation to take bold and immediate action to fulfill the national need to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" with guarantees of equal access to all housing, new and existing. The Urban Coalition shall, as its next order of business, address itself to the development of a broad program of urban reconstruction and advocacy of appropriate public and private action to move toward these objectives, including the goal of rehabilitation and construction of at least a million housing units for lower-income families annually.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to create educational programs that will equip all young Americans for full and productive participation in our society to the full potential of their abilities. This will require concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement. Early childhood education must be made universal. Work and study programs must be greatly expanded to enlist those young people who now drop out of school. Financial barriers that now deny to youngsters from low-income families the opportunity for higher education must be eliminated. Current programs must be increased sufficiently to wipe out adult illiteracy within five years.

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This Convocation calls upon local government, business, labor, religions, and civil rights groups to create counterpart local coalitions where they do not exist to support and supplement this declaration of principles.

This Convocation calls upon all Americans to apply the same determination to these programs that they have to past emergencies. We are confident that, given this commitment, our society has the ingenuity to allocate its resources and devise the techniques necessary to rebuild cities and still meet our other national obligations without impairing our financial integrity. Out of past emergencies, we have drawn strength and progress. Out of the present urban crisis we can build cities that are places, not of disorder and despair, but of hope and opportunity. The task we set for ourselves will not be easy, but the needs are massive and urgent, and the hour is late. We pledge ourselves to this goal for as long as it takes to accomplish it. We ask the help of the Congress and the Nation.

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This statement was unanimously adopted by members of the Steering Committee and their representatives at a meeting Wednesday, August 23, 1967. Mr. Roy Ash and Mr. Theodore Schlesinger were unable to attend or to be represented.

I G

August 7, 1967

Mr. Stanley Milton Tudor
P. O. Box 93
Lowell, Michigan

Dear Mr. Tudor:

I certainly appreciate your taking the time to write me regarding the recent CBS newscast you saw of what is going on in Atlanta.

Regardless of all you do and the sincere concern of all citizens, it is no assurance that trouble will not occur.

I am most grateful for your commendation of our efforts.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:eo

Stanley M. and Olive Tudor

P. O. BOX 93

Phone TW 7-7147

LOWELL, MICHIGAN

Autm
& Jack

Aug. 4-1967

Mayor Allen - Atlanta, Ga;

Dear Mr. Mayor, on T. V. I saw a group of colored people seeking to prevent rioting in your fine city, I take off my hat to that body of Negroes, and I hope the white people there will meet them half way, and try to help each side through understanding and a spirit of fairness Christian love.

I am an old Kentuckian (white) whose life was saved by a Negro, many years ago. I am also a student of Bible prophecy, and through the study of the Bible, I am able to understand this wave of violence, that is sweeping across the earth. I wish it was possible for me to visit your city and speak to a mixed group of white and colored. We have arrived at that time in earth's history where we will either live together in peace, or we shall die together in great numbers.

Please give a copy of my little folder to the white and also the colored. yours truly

Stanley Milton Tudor

Box 93 Lowell, Michigan

8
m

August 7, 1967

Mr. John T. Williams
3420 Sheridan Drive
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Williams:

I certainly appreciate your taking the time to write me regarding the recent CBS newscast you saw of what is going on in Atlanta.

Regardless of all you do and the sincere concern of all citizens, it is no assurance that trouble will not occur.

I am most grateful for your commendation of our efforts.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:eo

3420 Sheridan Drive
Durham, N.C.
August 4, 1967

The Mayor
Atlanta
Georgia

alvin
& thurk

Dear Sir:

CBS News gave coverage tonight to the efforts of certain of your negro citizens directed towards the prevention of riots of the type which have occurred in certain northern cities. These men are to be commended for their apparent wisdom in realizing the inevitable effects of such riots and for their initiative and actions towards preventing such a riot.

Undoubtedly you are aware of the efforts of these people and perhaps your administration has had a hand in bringing it about. Regardless of the way in which it has come about, the actions of these men are worthy of recognition in such a way as to give them credit in hopes

it will serve to encourage their continued efforts and leadership development in this direction and also serve as a worthy example to be followed by the many citizens of their race in other cities, the majority of whom I am sure look with disfavor on such behavior.

Perhaps your Chief of Police, who is a member of the President's Commission to investigate the cause of past riots, can be influential in calling National attention to this approach. Unfortunately, the news media appear disinclined towards promoting good efforts and seem to like to dwell on the bad.

I hope the efforts of these negro citizens of Atlanta, which justifies my confidence in the southern negro, will be able to sustain your city from trouble when "Stokely" returns.

Yours respectfully,
John F. Williams

racial

July 20, 1967

Mr. E. M. Laws
137 Griffin Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Laws:

This is in further reply to your letter of July 18th,
specifically concerning your previous correspondence.

Your first letter of June 14th informed me of your
activities, and required no answer. Your second
letter of July 6th was promptly answered on my behalf
by Mr. Collier Gladin on July 12th.

I have asked Mr. Dan Sweat, Mr. Collier Gladin and
Mr. John Robinson to assist on behalf of the city in
coordinating your efforts.

If there is any additional information you require at this
time, please advise.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.

IAJr:am
cc: Messrs. Sweat, Gladin
and Robinson

Allen

July 19, 1967

Mr. E. M. Laws
137 Griffin Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Laws:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 18th regarding the Coordinating Committee which you have organized and the future meetings with city officials.

I am asking Mr. John Robinson of my staff to contact you regarding the plans that should be made. It would be helpful if you would give Mr. Robinson a list of the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee. I am asking him to serve as my coordinator with your committee.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

CC: Mr. Dan Sweat

Mr. John Robinson

July 19, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. John Robinson

FROM: Mrs. Ann Moses

Dear John:

As you will recall, this is the Committee that the Mayor told Mr. Laws to formulate at that meeting.

I think it would be wise for you to go talk to him, get a list of the Committee and some general topics they wish to discuss, and then let me know how you want to work out such a meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ann Moses,
Executive Secretary

AM/br

CC: Mr. Dan Sweat

July 18, 1967

Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor City Of Atlanta
City Hall
68 Mitchell Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mayor Allen:

At a meeting held in the auditorium of the GTEA Building, 201 Ashby Street, N.W., attended by fifty five citizens of the Nash-Bans Area, reference was made to the fact that I, organizer of the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee, had written you two letters and have not received a reply from either.

In one letter, an invitation was extended to you to appear before the above named group for the purpose of describing in some detail, the manner and extent to which you wish the committee to cooperate and assist in the proposed Urban Renewal Development under consideration for the Nash-Bans Community.

The committee represents every church in the community. Also, every parent whose child is in attendance at E.A. Ware, English Avenue, or M.M. Bethune Schools, is represented by the P.T.A. of each of the three Schools. In addition, Business, Fraternal, Civic and Professional Organizations are also represented.

The purpose of this letter, however, is focused on the future. Therefore, we would appreciate a communication from you indicating the earliest possible date when you and other appropriate city officials could meet with this committee.

A special meeting of the committee will be called immediately upon receipt of a communication from you indicating your availability to appear before its members.

Respectfully yours,

E. M. Laws
E. M. Laws

EM:lkw

June 14, 1967

*Dan Sweet or Callie Glendon
Please see me
D*

Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen:

The duties and obligations associated with the closing of school and assisting in the United Negro College Fund Campaign, are my explanations for the delay in formerly acknowledging my acceptance of the assignment you have me at the Cosmopolitan A.M.E. Church, Tuesday night, June 6, 1967.

This comes to inform you that I have already had two meetings with a small group of concerned citizens, representing religious, fraternal, civic and business organizations. Another meeting is scheduled for early next week.

In due course, I shall submit to you the names and identify the interests and connections of the persons selected.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. Laws

E. M. Laws
137 Griffin St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mayor Allen

The Social Power of the Negro

by James P. Comer

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reserved.



The concept of "black power" is an inflammatory one. It was introduced in an atmosphere of militancy (during James Meredith's march through Mississippi last June) and in many quarters it has been equated with violence and riots. As a result the term distresses white friends of the Negro, frightens and angers others and causes many Negroes who are fearful of white disapproval to reject the concept without considering its rationale and its merits. The fact is that a form of black power may be absolutely essential. The experience of Negro Americans, supported by numerous historical and psychological studies, suggests that the profound needs of the poorest and most alienated Negroes cannot be met—and that there can therefore be no end to racial unrest—except through the influence of a unified, organized Negro community with genuine political and economic power.

Why are Negro efforts to achieve greater unity and power considered unnecessary and even dangerous by so many people, Negro as well as white, friends as well as enemies? I believe it is because the functions of group power—and hence the consequences of political and economic impotence—are not understood by most Americans. The "melting pot" myth has obscured the critical role of group power in the adjustment of white immigrant groups in this country.

When immigrants were faced with discrimination, exploitation and abuse, they turned in on themselves. Sustained psychologically by the bonds of their cultural heritage, they maintained family, religious, and social institutions that had great stabilizing force. The institutions in turn fostered group unity. Family stability and group unity—plus access to political machinery, jobs in

industry and opportunities on the frontier—led to group power: immigrants voted, gained political influence, held public office, owned land and operated businesses. Group power and influence expanded individual opportunities and facilitated individual achievement, and within one or two generations most immigrants enjoyed the benefits of first-class American citizenship.

The Negro experience has been very different. The traumatic effects of separation from Africa, slavery, and the denial of political and economic opportunities after the abolition of slavery created divisive psychological and social forces in the Negro community. Coordinated group action, which was certainly appropriate for a despised minority, has been too little evident; Negroes have seldom moved cohesively and effectively against discrimination and exploitation. These abuses led to the creation of an impoverished, undereducated, and alienated group—a sizable minority among Negroes, disproportionately large compared with other ethnic groups. This troubled minority has a self-defeating "style" of life that leads to repeated failure, and its plight and its reaction to that plight are at the core of the continuing racial conflict in the U.S. Only a meaningful and powerful Negro community can help members of this group realize their potential, and thus alleviate racial unrest. The importance of "black power" becomes comprehensible in the light of the interrelation of disunity, impotence, and alienation.

The roots of Negro division are of African origin. It is important to realize that the slave contingents brought out of Africa were not from a single ethnic group. They were from a number of groups and from many different tribes with different languages, customs, traditions, and ways of life. Some were farmers, some hunters and gatherers, some traders. There were old animosities, and these were exacerbated by the dynamics of the slave trade itself. (Today these same tribal animosities are evident, as in Nigeria, where centuries-old conflict among the Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba tribes threatens to disrupt the nation. A significant number of slaves came from these very tribes.)

The cohesive potential of the captives was low to begin with, and the breakup of kinship groupings, which in Africa had defined people's roles and relations, decreased it further. Presumably if the Africans had been settled in a free land, they would in time have organized to build a new society meeting their own needs. Instead they were organized to meet the needs of their masters. The slaves were scattered in small groups (the average holding was only between two and five slaves) that were isolated from one another. The small number and mixed origins of each plantation's slaves made the maintenance of any oral tradition, and thus of any tribal or racial identity and pride, impossible. Moreover, any grouping that was potentially cohesive because of family, kinship, or tribal connections was deliberately divided or tightly controlled to prevent rebellion. Having absolute power, the master could buy and sell, could decree cohabitation, punishment or death, could provide food, shelter, and clothing as he saw fit. The system was engraved



in law and maintained by the religious and political authorities and the armed forces; the high visibility of the slaves and the lack of places to hide made escape almost inconceivable.

The powerless position of the slave was traumatic, as Stanley M. Elkins showed in his study of Negro slavery. The male was not the respected provider, the protector and head of his household. The female was not rearing her child to take his place in a rewarding society, nor could she count on protection from her spouse or any responsible male. The reward for hard work was not material goods and the recognition of one's fellow men but only recognition from the master as a faithful but inferior being. The master—"the man"—became the necessary object of the slave's emotional investment, the person whose approval he needed. The slave could love or hate or have ambivalent feelings about the relationship, but it was the most important relationship of his life.

In this situation self-esteem depended on closeness or similarity to the master, not on personal or group power and achievement, and it was gained in ways that tended to divide the Negro population. House slaves looked down on field hands, "mixed-bloods" on "pure blacks," slaves with rich and important masters on slaves whose masters had less prestige. There was cleavage between the "troublemakers" who promoted revolt and sabotage and the "good slaves" who betrayed them, and between slave Negroes and free ones. The development of positive identity as a Negro was scarcely possible.

It is often assumed that with the end of the Civil War the situation of the free Negroes was about the same as that of immigrants landing in America. In reality it was quite different. Negroes emerging from slavery entered a society at a peak of racial antagonism. They had long since been stripped of their African heritage; in their years in America they had been unable to create much of a record of their own; they were deeply marked by the degrading experience of slavery. Most significant, they were denied the weapons they needed to become part of American life: economic and political opportunities. No longer of any value to their former masters, they were now direct competitors of the poor whites. The conditions of life imposed by the "Black codes" of the immediate post-war period were in many ways as harsh as slavery had been. In the first two years after the end of the war many Negroes suffered violence and death at the hands of unrestrained whites; there was starvation and extreme dislocation.

In 1867 the Reconstruction Acts put the South under military occupation and gave freedmen in the 11 Southern states the right to vote. (In the North, on the other hand, Negroes continued to be barred from the polls in all but nine states, either by specific racial qualifications or by prohibitive taxation. Until the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, only some 5 per cent of the Northern Negroes could vote.) The Reconstruction Acts also provided some military and legal protection, educational opportunities, and health care. Reconstruction did not, however, make enough land available to Negroes to create an adequate power base. The plantation system meant that large numbers of Negroes remained under tight control and were vulnerable

to economic reprisals. Although Negroes could outvote whites in some states and did in fact control the Louisiana and South Carolina legislatures, the franchise did not lead to real power.

This lack of power was largely due to the Negro's economic vulnerability, but the group divisions that had developed during slavery also played a part. It was the "mixed-bloods" and the house slaves of middle- and upper-class whites who had acquired some education and skills under slavery; now many of these people became Negro leaders. They often had emotional ties to whites and a need to please them, and they advanced the cause of the Negroes as a group most gingerly. Moreover, not understanding the causes of the apathy, lack of achievement, and asocial behavior of some of their fellows, many of them found their Negro identity a source of shame rather than psychological support, and they were ready to subordinate the needs of the group to personal gains that would give them as much social and psychological distance from their people as possible. The result was that Negro leaders, with some notable exceptions, often became the tools of white leaders. Throughout the Reconstruction period meaningful Negro power was being destroyed, and long before the last Negro disappeared from Southern legislatures Negroes were powerless.

Under such circumstances Negro economic and educational progress was severely inhibited. Negro-owned businesses were largely dependent on the impoverished Negro community and were operated by people who had little education or experience and who found it difficult to secure financing; they could not compete with white businesses. Negroes were largely untrained for anything but farm labor or domestic

work, and a white social structure maintaining itself through physical force and economic exploitation was not likely to provide the necessary educational opportunities. Minimal facilities, personnel and funds were provided for the "Negro schools" that were established, and only the most talented Negroes were able—if they were lucky—to obtain an education comparable to that available to whites.

As John Hope Franklin describes it in *Reconstruction after the Civil War*, the Reconstruction was ineffective for the vast majority of Negroes, and it lasted only a short time: Federal troops had left most Southern states by 1870. While Negroes were still struggling for a first foothold, national political developments made it advisable to placate Southern leaders, and the Federal troops were recalled from the last three Southern states in 1877. There was a brief period of restraint, but it soon gave way to violence and terror on a large scale. Threats and violence drove Negroes away from the polls. Racist sheriffs, legislators, and judges came into office. Segregation laws were passed, buttressed by court decisions and law enforcement practices, and erected into an institution that rivaled slavery in its effectiveness in excluding Negroes from public affairs—business, the labor movement, government, and public education.

At the time—and in later years—white people often pointed to the most depressed and unstable Negro and in effect made his improvement in education and behavior a condition for the granting of equal opportunities to all Negroes. What kind of people made up this most disadvantaged segment of the Negro community? I believe it can be shown that these were the Negroes who had lived under the most traumatic and disorganized conditions as slaves. Family life had been prohibited, discouraged or allowed to exist only under precarious conditions, with no recourse from sale, separation, or sexual violation. Some of these people had been treated as breeding stock or work animals; many had experienced brutal and sadistic physical and sexual assaults. In many cases the practice of religion was forbidden, so that even self-respect as "a child of God" was denied them.

Except for running away (and more tried to escape than has generally been realized) there was nothing these slaves could do but adopt various defense mechanisms. They responded in various ways, as is poignantly recorded in a collection of firsthand accounts obtained by Benjamin A. Botkin. Many did as little work as they could without being punished, thus developing work habits that were not conducive to success after slavery. Many sabotaged the master's tools and other property, thus evolving a disrespect for property in general. Some resorted to a massive denial of the reality of their lives and took refuge in apathy, thus creating the slow-moving, slow-thinking stereotype of the Southern Negro. Others resorted instead to boisterous "acting out" behavior and limited their interests to the fulfillment of such basic needs as food and sex.

After slavery these patterns of be-



havior persisted. The members of this severely traumatized group did not value family life. Moreover, for economic reasons and by force of custom the family often lacked a male head, or at least a legal husband and father. Among these people irresponsibility, poor work habits, disregard for conventional standards, and anger toward whites expressed in violence toward one another combined to form a way of life—a style—that caused them to be rejected and despised by whites and other Negroes alike. They were bound to fail in the larger world.

When they did fail, they turned in on their own subculture, which accordingly became self-reinforcing. Children born into it learned its way of life. Isolated and also insulated from outside influences, they had little opportunity to change. The values, behavior patterns and sense of alienation transmitted within this segment of the population from generation to generation account for the bulk of the illegitimacy, crime, and other types of asocial behavior that are present in disproportionate amounts in the Negro community today. This troubled subgroup has always been a minority, but its behavior constitutes many white people's concept of "typical" Negro behavior and even tarnishes the image many other Negroes have of themselves. Over the years defensive Negro leaders have regularly blamed the depressed subgroup for creating a bad image; the members of the subgroup have blamed the leaders for "selling out." There has been just enough truth in both accusations to keep them alive, accentuating division and perpetuating conflicts, and impeding the development of group consciousness, cooperation, power, and mutual gains.

It is surprising, considering the harsh

conditions of slavery, that there were any Negroes who made a reasonable adjustment to freedom. Many had come from Africa with a set of values that included hard work and stability of family and tribal life. (I suspect, but I have not been able to demonstrate, that in Africa many of these had been farmers rather than hunters and gatherers.) As slaves many of them found the support and rewards required to maintain such values through their intense involvement in religion. From this group, after slavery, came the God-fearing, hardworking, law-abiding domestics and laborers who prepared their children for responsible living, in many cases making extreme personal sacrifices to send them to trade school or college. (The significance of this church-oriented background in motivating educational effort and success even today is indicated by some preliminary findings of a compensatory education program for which I am a consultant. Of 125 Negro students picked for the program from 10 southeastern states solely on the basis of academic promise, 95 per cent have parents who are regular churchgoers, deeply involved as organizers and leaders in church affairs.)

For a less religious group of Negroes the discovery of meaning, fulfillment, and a sense of worth lay in a different direction. Their creative talents brought recognition in the arts, created the blues and jazz, and opened the entertainment industry to Negroes. Athletic excellence provided another kind of achievement. Slowly, from among the religious, the creative, and the athletic, a new, educated, and talented middle class began to emerge that had less need of white approval than the Negroes who had managed to get ahead in earlier days. Large numbers of Ne-

groes should have risen into the middle class by way of these relatively stable groups, but because of the lack of Negro political and economic power and the barriers of racial prejudice many could not. Those whose aspirations were frustrated often reacted destructively by turning to the depressed Negro subgroup and its way of life; the subculture of failure shaped by slavery gained new recruits and was perpetuated by a white society's obstacles to acceptance and achievement.

In the past 10 years or so the "Negro revolt"—the intensified legal actions, nonviolent demonstrations, court decisions, and legislation—and changing economic conditions have brought rapid and significant gains for middle-class Negroes. The mass of low-income Negroes have made little progress, however; many have been aroused by civil rights talk but few have benefited. Of all Negro families, 40 per cent are classified as "poor" according to Social Security Administration criteria. (The figure for white families is 11 per cent.) Low-income Negroes have menial jobs or are unemployed; they live in segregated neighborhoods and are exploited by landlords and storekeepers; they are often the victims of crime and of the violent, displaced frustrations of their friends and neighbors. The urban riots of the past few years have been the reaction of a small segment of this population to the frustrations of its daily existence.



Why is it that so many Negroes have been unable to take advantage of the Negro revolt as the immigrants did of opportunities offered them? The major reason is that the requirements for economic success have been raised. The virtually free land on the frontier is gone. The unskilled and semiskilled jobs that were available to white immigrants are scarce today, and many unions controlled by lower-middle-class whites bar Negroes to keep the jobs for their present members. The law does not help here because Negroes are underrepresented in municipal and state legislative bodies as well as in Congress. Negroes hold few policy-making positions in industry and Negro small businesses are a negligible source of employment.

Employment opportunities exist, of course—for highly skilled workers and technicians. These jobs require education and training that many Negroes, along with many white workers, lack. The training takes time and requires motivation, and it must be based on satisfactory education through high school. Most poor Negroes lack that education, and many young Negroes are not getting it today. There are Negro children who are performing adequately in elementary school but who will fail by the time they reach high school, either because their schools are inadequate or because their homes and subculture will simply not sustain their efforts in later years.

It is not enough to provide a "head start"; studies have shown that gains made as the result of the new preschool enrichment programs are lost, in most cases, by the third grade. Retraining programs for workers and programs for high school dropouts are palliative measures that have limited value. Some of the jobs for which people are being

trained will not exist in a few years. Many students drop out of the dropout programs. Other students have such self-defeating values and behavior that they will not be employable even if they complete the programs.

A number of investigators (Daniel P. Moynihan is one) have pointed to the structure of the poorer Negro family as the key to Negro problems. They point to an important area but miss the crux of the problem. Certainly the lack of a stable family deprives many Negro children of psychological security and of the values and behavior patterns they need in order to achieve success. Certainly many low-income Negro families lack a father. Even if it were possible to legislate the father back into the home, however, the grim picture is unchanged if his own values and conduct are not compatible with achievement. A father frustrated by society often reacts by mistreating his children. Even adequate parents despair and are helpless in a subculture that leads their children astray. The point of intervention must be the subculture that impinges on the family and influences its values and style of behavior and even its structure.

How, then, does one break the circle? Many white children who found their immigrant family and subculture out of step with the dominant American culture and with their own desires were able to break away and establish a sense of belonging to a group outside their own—if the pull was strong enough. Some children in the depressed Negro group do this too. A specific pull is often needed: some individual or institution that sets a goal or acts as a model.

The trouble is that racial prejudice and alienation from the white and Negro middle class often mean that there

is little pull from the dominant culture on lower-class Negro children. In my work in schools in disadvantaged areas as a consultant from the Child Study Center at Yale I have found that many Negro children perceive the outside culture as a separate white man's world. Once they are 12 or 14 years old—the age at which a firm sense of racial identity is established—many Negroes have a need to shut out the white man's world and its values and institutions and also to reject "white Negroes," or the Negro middle class. Since these children see their problems as being racial ones, they are more likely to learn how to cope with these problems from a middle-class Negro who extends himself than from a white person, no matter how honest and free of hostility and guilt the white person may be.



Unfortunately the Negro community is not now set up to offer its disadvantaged members a set of standards and a psychological refuge in the way the white immigrant subcultures did. There is no Negro institution beyond the family that is enough in harmony with the total American culture to transmit its behavioral principles and is meaningful enough to Negroes to effect adherence to those principles and sufficiently accepted by divergent elements of the Negro community to act as a cohesive force. The church comes closest to performing this function, but Negroes belong to an exceptional number of different denominations, and in many cases the denominations are divided and antagonistic. The same degree of division is found in the major fraternal and civic organizations and even in civil rights groups.

There is a special reason for some of the sharp divisions in Negro organizations. With Negroes largely barred from business, politics and certain labor unions, the quest for power and leadership in Negro organizations has been and continues to be particularly intense, and there is a great deal of conflict. Only a few Negroes have a broad enough view of the total society to be able to identify the real sources of their difficulties. And the wide divergence of their interests often makes it difficult for them to agree on a course of action. All these factors make Negro groups vulnerable to divide-and-conquer tactics, either inadvertent or deliberate.

Viewing such disarray, altruistic white people and public and private agencies have moved into the apparent vacuum—often failing to recognize that, in spite of conflict, existing Negro institutions were meeting important psychological needs and were in close

contact with their people. Using these meaningful institutions as vehicles for delivering new social services would have strengthened the only forces capable of supporting and organizing the Negro community. Instead, the new agencies, public and private, have ignored the existing institutions and have tried to do the job themselves. The agencies often have storefront locations and hire some "indigenous" workers, but the class and racial gap is difficult to cross. The thong-sandaled, long-haired white girl doing employment counseling may be friendly and sympathetic to Negroes, but she cannot possibly tell a Negro youngster (indeed, she does not know that she should tell him): "You've got to look better than the white applicant to get the job." Moreover, a disadvantaged Negro—or any Negro—repeatedly helped by powerful white people while his own group appears powerless or unconcerned is unlikely to develop satisfactory feelings about his group or himself. The effects of an undesirable racial self-concept among many Negroes have been documented repeatedly, yet many current programs tend to perpetuate this basic problem rather than to relieve it.

A solution is suggested by the fact that many successful Negroes no longer feel the need to maintain psychological and social distance from their own people. Many of them want to help. Their presence and tangible involvement in the Negro community would tend to balance the pull—the comforts and the immediate pleasures—of the subculture. Because the functions of Negro organizations have been largely preempted by white agencies, however, no Negro institution is available through which such people can work to overcome a century of intra-Negro class alienation.

Recently a few Negroes have begun to consider a plan that could meet some of the practical needs, as well as the spiritual and psychological needs, of the Negro community. In Cleveland, New York, Los Angeles, and some smaller cities new leaders are emerging who propose to increase Negro cohesiveness and self-respect through self-help enterprises: cooperatives that would reconstruct slums or operate apartment buildings and businesses providing goods and services at fair prices. Ideally these enterprises would be owned by people who mean something to the Negro community—Negro athletes, entertainers, artists, professionals, and government workers—and by Negro churches, fraternal groups, and civil rights organizations. The owners would share control of the enterprises with the people of the community.

Such undertakings would be far more than investment opportunities for well-to-do Negroes. With the proper structure they would become permanent and tangible institutions on which the Negro community could focus without requiring a "white enemy" and intolerable conditions to unify it. Through

this mechanism Negroes who had achieved success could come in contact with the larger Negro group. Instead of the policy king, pimp, and prostitute being the models of success in the subculture, the Negro athlete, businessman, professional, and entertainer might become the models once they could be respected because they were obviously working for the Negro community. These leaders would then be in a position to encourage and promote high-level performance in school and on the job. At the same time broad measures to "institutionalize" the total Negro experience would increase racial pride, a powerful motivating force. The entire program would provide the foundation for unified political action to give the Negro community representatives who speak in its best interests.

That, after all, has been the pattern in white America. There was, and still is, Irish power, German, Polish, Italian, and Jewish power—and indeed white Anglo-Saxon Protestant power—but color obviously makes these groups less clearly identifiable than Negroes. Churches and synagogues, cultural and fraternal societies, unions, business associations, and networks of allied families and "clans" have served as centers of power that maintain group consciousness, provide jobs and develop new opportunities, and join to form pressure and voting blocs. The "nationality divisions" of the major parties and the balanced ticket are two reminders that immigrant loyalties are still not completely melted.

The idea of creating Negro enterprises and institutions is not intended as a rejection of genuinely concerned white people or as an indictment of all existing organizations. White people of good will with interest, skills,



and funds are needed and—contrary to the provocative assertions of a few Negroes—are still welcome in the Negro community. The kind of “black power” that is proposed would not promote riots; rather, by providing constructive channels for the energies released by the civil rights movement, it should diminish the violent outbursts directed against the two symbols of white power and oppression: the police and the white merchants.

To call for Negro institutions, moreover, is not to argue for segregation or discrimination. Whether we like it or not, a number of large cities are going to become predominantly Negro in a short time. The aim is to make these cities places where people can live decently and reach their highest potential with or without integration. An integrated society is the ultimate goal, but it may be a second stage in some areas. Where immediate integration is possible it should be effected, but integration takes place most easily among educated and secure people. And in the case of immediate integration an organized and supportive Negro community would help its members to maintain a sense of adequacy in a situation in which repeated reminders of the white head start often make Negroes feel all the more inferior.

The power structure of white society—industry, banks, the press, government—can continue, either inadvertently or deliberately, to maintain the divisions in the Negro community and keep it powerless. Social and economic statistics and psychological studies indicate that this would be a mistake. For many reasons the ranks of the alienated are growing. No existing program seems able to meet the needs of the most troubled and troublesome group. It is generally agreed that massive, immediate action is required. The form of that action should be attuned, however, to the historically determined need for Negro political and economic power that will facilitate Negro progress and give Negroes a reasonable degree of control over their own destiny.

James P. Comer is a fellow in psychiatry at the Yale School of Medicine. He received a bachelor's degree from Indiana University in 1956 and was graduated from the Howard University College of Medicine in 1960. Following two years as a fellow in public health at Howard, he took a master's degree in public health at the University of Michigan in 1964. He joined the psychiatric residency program at Yale the same year.

“My interest in race relations,” he says, “developed at an early age, in part from both troublesome and satisfying experiences as a Negro youngster in a low-income family in a racially integrated community.”

He adds that work as a volunteer in an agency concerned with social rehabilitation of families with problems influenced his decision “to train in psychiatry and to focus on preventive and social aspects.”

This article first appeared in the April 1967 Scientific American.

The photographs accompanying the article are by Joel Katz. The pictures were taken in Mississippi and Connecticut in the summers of 1964 and 1966. The Mississippi photographs are from the Scholar of the House project which won the Strong Prize in American Literature in 1965.

July 10, 1967

Reverend J. D. Grier, Jr.
596 Glen Iris Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Reverend Grier:

In reply to your wire as Call Man of Operation Breadbasket, I would suggest that you communicate with the management of the Regency Hotel concerning the areas of discrimination which you mentioned.

Should there be any matters of personal discourtesies you may wish to bring to the attention of the Community Relations Commission of the City of Atlanta, you should contact Mr. Irving Kaler. I am advising him of your wire.

If you feel that any provisions of the Civil Rights Bill have been violated, they should be reported to the Justice Department.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:am
cc: Mr. Irving Kaler

July 10, 1967

Mr. Sam J. Welsch
64 S. Park Square
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Welsch:

I appreciate your letter of July 8th and your support of my position outlined in the article in the Atlanta Constitution of July 7th.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

SAM J. WELSCH
ATTORNEY AT LAW
64 S. PARK SQUARE
MARIETTA, GEORGIA

July 8, 1967

Mayor Ivan Allen,
City Hall,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mayor:

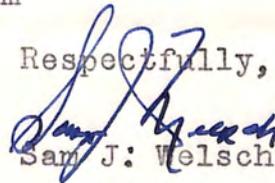
The headline, "CITY (ATLANTA) WILL NOT BE INTIMIDATED BY VIOLENCE, MAYOR (ALLEN) WARNS", as published on the front page of The Atlanta Constitution, July 7, 1967, was accepted quite favorably by the public in this area.

The crying need of this day and generation is for the leaders of Government, be it City, County, State, or National, to resist lawlessness and violence courageously, regardless of whether any such violence be brought about by the white, black, yellow, or purple, or by a mixture of any of them.

I do wish so sincerely that the President of the United States would take a firm, positive stand against lawlessness, riots, and violence in this country.

With my very best wishes, I am

Respectfully,


Sam J. Welsch

SJW/s
cc:

Honorable L. B. Johnson,
President,
Washington, D. C.

July 11, 1967

l-5^u

Mrs. L. H. Pound
675 Amsterdam Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mrs. Pound:

I certainly appreciate your taking the time to write me expressing your views.

May I assure you that they will receive my thoughtful consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

July 10, 1967

Mrs. Nicolette G. Flesser
9 Journal Way
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flesser:

Many thanks for your letters stating your views about the way things are going now. We appreciate hearing from the public, especially Atlantians.

I hope you had an opportunity to see the Mayor on television on Thursday after his address to the West End Kiwanis Club. If not, please try to read the newspaper article in Friday morning's Constitution. Maybe the tide is turning.

Sincerely,

George A. Royal

GAR:eo

JUL 10 1967

Dear Mayor Allen:

I suppose my opinions do not rate much with you good folks at City Hall. Also, having a cold this Am - I guess I'm grouchy. However, several customers have come into the shop - all with curling lips - and opinionated - about your talk to the West End white voters, yesterday. I myself heard you over and over on TV and Radio - my reactions were, alas, the same as the early customers this morning. Honey, you talk very valient to some folks - and from the other side of your mouth, when the Negroes lay down the law.

The Adam's Clothing store was the victim of the Red-Hoods last Monday. Had we been open we also would have been hit. I am glad we were talking with the birds in the country because if anyone - I mean anyone - had called me what they called the manager of Adam's Clothing, it would have been defending my honor to have planted a bullet right between the eyes of the Communist's taking over in our Country. I'm a very good shot.

None of these rioters, including Carmichael, STAY in jail. Their cases are immediately set back months. Bonds, in some cases are not even posted - big deal! Now people notice these things. Business people are getting fed up with intimidation - threats and mayhem. Voters are too. What a sad situation.

Matter of fact, I hear, by the grapevine downtown here, that Fulton County, Metro Atlanta, can and will, have a negro Mayor whenever they get through using you. So?

Sincerely



Nicolette G. Flesser

JUL 10 1967

Dear George:

I guess I'll always think of you as very nice. The enclosed letter, to the Mayor, is a sort of little personal straight talk - in my own fashion - which is open-book, self enterprising and liberty loving. Amen. You can tear it up - or let the Mayor cuss, reading it.

We have been bugged by several members of Black Power. Since I'm alone in the shop often - they stalk in - want the rest room - jobs (ha, that's a laugh) or hats - none of which we have to offer, thank the Lord. BUT if we did have a private rest room it would not be open to the public. I have civil rights too. Insist that I do! And intend to stand up for 'em. I can point out the three nigras who tore up my Mamma's little talisman statue - with an iron pipe. No use trying to prosecute them because it's a disadvantage to be white these days - white people have taxation without representation. Big money keeps being paid out to hush the blackmailers threatening riots. Tax money - you see? And somehow this riles me. It really does. I think lots of people are getting riled with the imbalance. Now I have told Nick I intend to stubbornly stay in business. I really like a challenge. I just take a stand and intend to back it - with my life if necessary. It's the principle of the thing.

I called the Police Department to ask about crime prevention. What should a beat-up, skinny 61 year old female do when threatened? "Put in a buzzer" I was told. "Call the Police" - I was told? And stand by while rioters raise hell? Not me. I'm not in' a Colt - 32. I couldn't swat a fly but I could mess up wild dogs.

Love and kisses

Nicetta

July 11, 1967

Miss Estelle Strauss
1237 Poplar Grove Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Miss Strauss:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter
of July 10th and the copy of your letter to
Senator Russell.

I certainly appreciate receiving your views
and your generous comments.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

1237 Poplar Grove Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30306

Senator Richard Russell
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As a taxpayer, citizen and merchant in the free enterprise system of this country, I would like to inform you of existing conditions in this city. And since you are a representative of the people and in a position to clarify the underlying circumstances which I am about to relay to you. I call this to your attention:

- 1) An organization exists in Atlanta called the Southern Christian Leadership Council. Members of the S.C.L.C. Operation Breadbasket will call on merchants primarily with business in Negroe areas, interview Negroe employees without permission of the owner and question the owner about personal financial conditions.
- 2.) The representative of the aforementioned group proceeds to threaten the owner that if certain conditions are not adhered to, his place of business will be picketed and boycotted.
- 3.) Most of these independents are one (1) store owners with solely Negroe employees. The main threat of this group is that a woman Negroe cashier must also be employed with hours and wages stipulated by the organization. This type of intimidation cannot exist in a free, enterprising country as ours. These conditions bring back memories of Nazism and more recently Mafia tactics one reads about.

I beg and implore you to inform me if there are any existing

laws (federal, state, or local) to protect the independent merchant from this type of persecution. Most of these businesses are not in a position to comply with such outrageous demands.

All of us are trying to as hard as possible support the Economic Opportunity Program and all other local, state, and federal organizations of the said type by hiring solely Negroes and as many as our businesses can absorb. What more can we do?

I anxiously await reply and sincerely hope you will find the time to investigate this problem which has become a traumatic experience for all the independent merchants whose majority of trade are the Negroes.

Sincerely yours,

MEMORANDUM

TO: Honorable Ivan Allen Jr., Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia

FROM: Hosea L. Williams, John Evans and Rev. Shopshire,
Spokesmen for CODCO

SUBJECT: Requests of CODCO

DATE: June 30, 1967

I. SANITATION

1. garbage collection twice weekly
2. trash collection once a week
3. streets swept at least once a week

II. STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF MINIMUM HOUSING CODE STANDARDS

1. property owners owning houses in areas zoned for one-family dwellings shall not be allowed to redesign these houses into two and more family dwellings, rooming, boarding or apartment houses
2. All property owners (residential, business or commercial) shall be required to maintain their property and surroundings in first class order whether occupied or unoccupied. All violators should be prosecuted immediately to the fullest extent of the law.
3. There shall be a strict enforcement of one-family per house in areas zoned as such.

III. RECREATION

1. Lights for baseball diamond and tennis court for the Bessie Branham Recreation Park.
2. An adequate number of recreation supervisors (hired from the community) to organize and supervise outdoor activity in the much over-crowded Bessie Branham Park (the present staff is insufficient for proper supervision of outside activity)
3. Adequate equipment for the Bessie Branham Park for a well-rounded outdoor recreational program for both youth and adults.

4. Wesley Park
 - a. An adequate number of recreation supervisors (hired from the community) to organize and supervise outdoor activity in the much over-crowded Wesley Park (the present staff is insufficient for proper supervision of outside activity)
 - b. Adequate equipment for the Wesley Park for a well-rounded outdoor recreational program for both youth and adults.
 - c. Landscape around swimming pool
 - d. Double the pool facilities.
5. DeKalb Memorial Park
 - a. An adequate number of recreation supervisors (hired from the community) to organize and supervise outdoor activity in the much over-crowded DeKalb Memorial Park (the present staff is insufficient for proper supervision of outside activity)
 - b. Adequate equipment for the DeKalb Memorial Park for a well-rounded outdoor recreational program for both youth and adults.
6. A new park from Rodgers back to Warren, from Boulevard to Memorial which would include the following (30 acres of land)
 - a. swimming pool
 - b. branch field house

IV. REZONING PRACTICES CHANGED

1. Rezoning petitions should be considered by the City Council on a quarterly basis
2. Petitions rejected by the City Council shall not be resubmittable within a 12-month period.
3. A petition of 2/3 of homeowners within a radius of eight blocks would be required in order to approve rezoning from residential to commercial or apartments
4. Property should not be advertised for commercial use unless already rezoned and approved by the city council as such.

5. A petition signed by 2/3 of the homeowners within a radius of eight blocks should be required to rezone any one-family dwelling area for any other purpose.
6. A petition of 2/3 of the homeowners within 8 blocks should be required to secure a special use permit for any residential area
7. Rezoning petitions requireing approval of 2/3 of the homeowners within a eight block radius must be made know to all homeowners in the area by U.S. mail thirty days prior to presentation to the City Council.

V. POLICE PROTECTION

1. Streets must be better patrolled for speeders.
2. Police patrol should not be confined to just thoroughfares
3. Response to emergency calls be made more prompt ..
4. Complaints of law violations made to the police department be investigated immediately and the source not be made known. Also a detailed report of the investigation shall be filed in the police records.

VI. SEWAGE

VII. PAVING

1. Oakview from Boulevard Drive, N.E. to Boulevard Drive, N.E.
2. Dixie Street from Memorial Drive to Wyman
(The Mayor should tour these streets

VIII. ENCLOSE THE EDGEWOOD CREEK

IX. HOUSING

1. The city should condemn and acquire the Wesley Homes and the other housing projects and all the residential slum housing. It should then build a low-rent housing project with adequate recreational facilities.

X. SHOPPING CENTER

INSPECTION TOUR ROUTE
Kirkwood/East Lake/Blue Heaven
June 30, 1967

Go down Delano Drive, to Rockyford Road

Turn left on Rockyford

Open Ditch (about 158 Rockyford
237 Vacant House Open
Just up the street house with hole on top

Go to Wisteria and turn right

Go to Murry Hill and turn right

Big house about 248

Go to Sisson and turn right

Go into Hill Crest turn left

At corner on left side open ditch

Go to Oakview turn right

Go to Boulevard Drive and cross on Oakview

On right rooming house
On left shopping center site
City used to cut grass and brush along side of street

Go to Cottage Grove and Lakeview turn left

Trash surrounding Boulevard
Oakview needs paving

Turn left on East Lake Terrace

Shopping center site
Special permit site

Turn left and go to top of hill

Property along 2281 is being allowed to run down so rezoning can
be applied for

Go to 2525 Memorial Drive--mass rezoning
Go to East Lake (Rezoned for filling station)

Turn left on East Lake

Go to 150 East Lake (Rezoned for Apartments)

Go to Boulevard and turn left

Go to Saunders turn right
Run down house at # 37
Burned house on corner of Halmand St.

Turn left on Hallmand

Go to Warren turn right

Go to College Avenue turn right

Go to Locus turn right
Go to 1st House on left

Go to Trotti turn right

Go back to Warren turn left

Go to Boulevard Drive turn right

Go to Hutchison turn right

Go to LaFrance turn right

Go to Mason
Little shopping center filthy

Turn right on Mayson

Go to Amanda turn left
See apartments

Follow Street on around to Wesley

Turn left on Wesley

Turn left at First Street
See park and pool

Return to Wesley and turn left

Go to Forte Street
Stop at open branch

Turn around

Go back to Wesley turn left
Stop at "cell block"

Go to Marona Street turn left

June 29, 1967

Mr. Wm. F. Buchanan
Edenfield, Heyman & Sizemore
310 Fulton Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Buchanan:

Thank you for your letter of June 27th and for
your kind remarks.

I'll try to follow your advice . . . sometimes
you have to shoot them on the ground.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

Handwritten initials/signature

LAW OFFICES
EDENFIELD, HEYMAN & SIZEMORE

310 FULTON FEDERAL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

HERMAN HEYMAN
NEWELL EDENFIELD
LAMAR W. SIZEMORE
ROBERT G. YOUNG
TERRY P. MCKENNA
ROBERT E. HICKS
WILLIAM H. MAJOR
W. DAN GREER
MAURICE N. MALOOF
JOSEPH LEFKOFF
BENJAMIN H. OEHLERT III

WILLIAM F. BUCHANAN
OF COUNSEL

June 27, 1967

ARTHUR HEYMAN
(1867-1951)

TELEPHONE
521-2268

Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ivan:

I want to congratulate you on your refusal to obey the demands made at the whim of the self-appointed Negro leader in the Kirkwood district, who claims to be a preacher, to wit, Hosea Williams. He has never been elected by the people to any office. You are the Mayor of Atlanta. If there is any discrepancy in street work, garbage collection, or sewage disposal you have the heads of departments whose duty it is to investigate these matters and in the proper time, correct them.

When Hosea Williams refuses to show the heads of city departments the reasons behind his complaints he is acting in a highly capricious and dictatorial manner.

I phoned your office once before and requested that you be told that it was my opinion that you made a mistake every time you went to a Negro mass meeting which is organized for the purpose of stating their wrath against the city government for any reason.

Any citizen should know to go to the City Hall to make his complaint and I think it humiliates you and your office when you go to a Negro YMCA, church, or school to talk to Negro or white people or Israeli, Arabs, or Egyptians about their dissatisfaction with the performance of some head of department in their community. You merely expose yourself to some smart-aleck Negro who gets up and makes a firey speech condemning you and the administration of the city government, and at such a meeting common sense and good judgment are thrown out the window.

Ivan, I was raised on the other side of the tracks, with Negroes. I have known them for over seventy years. The more you give them, the more they demand. There is no end to their wanting.

Mayor Ivan Allen
June 27, 1967
Page Two

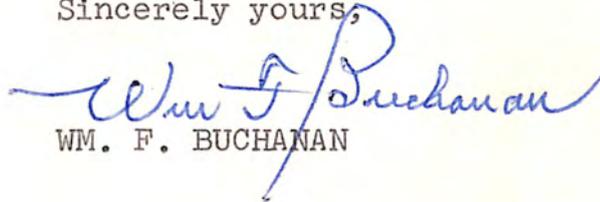
At one time they would ask, but now they simply demand or else threaten the government.

The Police Department is organized to handle these young hoodlums, and it is a mistake for you to expose yourself to these organized riots.

I once worked for the Sanitary Department; so did my father and my grandfather. Atlanta's Sanitary Department has continued, and today is giving the best service that Atlanta has received in my lifetime, and I wasn't born yesterday.

With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



WM. F. BUCHANAN

WFB:ld

June 27, 1967



MEMORANDUM

TO: George

Mr. B. M. Huggins, 377-4315, called today regarding the Y.S.D. Boys Club in Kirkwood. Mr. Huggins advised he is the owner of a building at 75 Norwood Ave., N.E. and the Boys Club rents this building from him. He advised that since these Negro boys had moved into the building they had broken out the windows and the building was in deplorable condition. He also stated that they do not have any garbage cans but dump the garbage in a ditch in back of the building. The Sanitary Dept. could not be expected to get up this garbage.

He submits this only as information that in a short period of time they have ruined a good building and has no bearing on neglect of city services.

elaine

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5

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back market distribu-
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unwillingness to heed
warnings of some
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women are taking
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demand for it is so
their own doctors,
profession in gen-
sibly even the fed-
ment do not dare to
"d the medication,"
said.

Puerto Rico

Class testing of the
e in Puerto Rico
ication of safety
om that experi-
dropout rate of
l was more than
t year, the mag-
nt, and no sys-
up is possible.
incus, pill pio-
as saying, "Per-
20 per cent of
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British Medical
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contraceptives, its

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Take Control, Stokely Tells Boston Rally

Boston, (AP)—Stokely Carmichael led a march through the streets of Boston's heavily Negro Roxbury section yesterday and told Negroes they must take control of the land and stores in their areas.

"We will control things in our communities by any means necessary," he told a rally in Franklin Park.

"If hunky [the white man] gets his store bombed out every Friday or Saturday," Carmichael said, "he's going to have to sell it to us."

He also told the crowd that the only way to stop "racist aggression" by police "is by armed resistance." He did not elaborate but said, "as long as injustice prevails, there will be no peace."

Boston's Acting Mayor Barry T. Hynes had criticized Carmichael's visit, saying he "incites violence wherever he goes" and warned that violence would not be tolerated. Roxbury was the scene of Negro rioting the weekend of June 2-4.

There was only one minor incident yesterday. Police arrested a white man who was carrying a sign reading, "I fight poverty, I work." He scuffled with a small group of Negroes and was charged with breach of the peace.

Carmichael was expected to return to Atlanta, where he was released from jail Saturday after posting a \$1,000 appeal bond.



Associated Press
Frankie Hayes
his father, Frank.
Frankie died of Le-
disease he though
beaten. Story on P

Donovan More G

Schools Superintendent
childhood programs, white
in the city schools.

Stressing the special r
the depressed areas of th
Donovan said a "very
strengthening" of the p
would be forthcoming.

But he reserved deta-
program and its financ
press conference later
Board of Education
ters in Brooklyn.

On WABC-TV's "The
tendent of Schools Rep
novan said yesterday
three major problems o
schools are money, a t
shortage and the lack of
room space.

Local schools will rece
ned state aid only if th
Legislature accepts the city

Black Anarchy in America

Black Intellectuals taking over

Black Muslims destroying,

Mugging, Rapeing, Murdering

Dope addicts and Cozy shift

Parades on the rampage

All on help and relief

They pay no taxes.

They demand handouts.

They exact tribute from every (Tom) Reeper in Harlem.

You either pay or get beat up. Carnivals, Beasts, Animals

Parent Teacher Association

June 26, 1967

Mr. Scott Nixon
SFC Building
Augusta, Georgia 30902

Dear Mr. Nixon:

In reply to your kind letter of June 25th, I think you put the cart before the horse. The Negro citizen earned and deserved full American citizenship many years ago. The fact that he has been denied these rights and privileges through the years is the reason for our problems today.

It is not going to be easy to correct the mistakes of the past hundred years, but some how or other, we will do it.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

SCOTT NIXON

SFC Building
June 25th., '67

AUGUSTA
30902

Mr. Ivan Allen, Mayor
City of Atlanta,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mayor Allen:

All of us here in the State of Georgia regret the events that have occurred in your City especially when you were one of the avant garde who championed the Negro cause when the hysteria had its beginning.

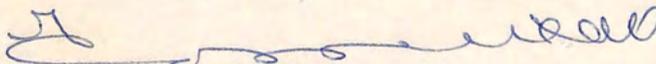
It is a pity that those who have been the leaders in this movement to give the Negro all he asks for and more besides, overlooked the simple fact of nature that when privileges are extended that are not earned whether, they be Negro, white, children or soldiers their demands are never satiated.

Children learn early in life that a little yelling gets one thing and its repetition gets more so, that is what you have today: the old spoiled child technique. All of us respect authority that remains firm and never deviates.

Here is Augusta, we have been free of such and many are smug in the feeling it won't happen here however, I contend things could erupt over night should the proper agitator appear on the scene.

I am sorry that your chickens of appeasement have come home to roost.

Cordially,



Scott Nixon

(Former member of City Council)

(" Chairman Richmond County Commission)

I solicit your re-action to my comments!

Mr. C. L. Greene, Jr.
City Services Coordinator
Nash-Washington City Service Center
Atlanta, Georgia

June 13, 1967

TO: Mr. Johnny H. Robinson

FROM: C. L. Greene, Jr.

Met with Mrs. Mary L. Avery - 300 Sunset Avenue, N. W. at 10 a.m. Discussed City Services and also Urban Renewal. Mrs. Avery was one of whom posed questions, etc. at Cosmopolitan Church meeting June 6, 1967. After our discussion she seems to be in a more receptive mood and has requested my attendance at a meeting to be held Wednesday evening, June 28, 1967 with Urban Renewal map for a more detailed study. She feels the Mayor is sincere and was laboring under a handicap on June 6, 1967 due to the whole diverse opinions. She further feels smaller meetings would be an advantage where reasonableness, and calm might prevail.

C. L. Greene, Jr.

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C. L. Greene, Jr.

CITY OF ATLANTA



CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303

Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

IVAN ALLEN, JR., MAYOR

R. EARL LANDERS, Administrative Assistant
MRS. ANN M. MOSES, Executive Secretary
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Director of Governmental Liaison

June 19, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO : IAJr.
FROM : AM

As a result of the wire from Lester McCann, in which he outlined the circumstances when he was refused admittance to the Health Club of the Downtown, YMCA, I talked with Mr. Joseph Bransby, who furnished the following information.

He said that the Downtown Y was 85% integrated, but that the Health Club and swimming pool had not been. He said that they were honest with all people in telling them that it was against their policy to admit negroes to these two areas. The Executive Committee was meeting Tuesday afternoon (6/20) to discuss policy on these two sensitive areas. He advised that the General Membership dues are \$50.00 a year, which includes the swimming pool (although they have never had any Negroes seeking to use it) and the Health Club was \$100.

He further said that McCann was the first Negro to ever appear at this club with a membership card from another club (Hollywood, Calif.) He said they explained to Mr. McCain that all YMCA cards offer reciprocal facilities based on local practices, and that the health club was not open to Negroes.

He said they received a call from SNICK on Tuesday, and had set up an appointment Wednesday afternoon to discuss this with SNICK and Mr. McCann, and they never showed up.

He also said he would advise this office of any decisions made Tuesday by the Metropolitan Executive Committee, Jefferson Davis, Chairman.

l e h

April 20, 1967

Mr. Jon Braude
4136 Rose Hill Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45229

Dear Mr. Braude:

As Mayor Allen is out of the City I would like to refer to your letter of May 19th.

There have been no racial incidents since the disturbances you referred to in September.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ann Moses
Executive Secretary

AM/br

DR. ALBERT M. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

DR. C. MILES SMITH
TREASURER

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859-1/2 HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

524-8054

February 20, 1967

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

Dear Mr. Allen:

I would like to express my appreciation to you for your interest in the resolutions of our Housing Conference. These resolutions represent many hours of consultation with leading citizens of this community and a desired goal to be accomplished.

We are referring copies to Mr. Cecil Alexander, Chairman, Housing Resources Committee and to Mr. Irving Kaler, Chairman, Community Relations Commission.

Sincerely yours,



Albert M. Davis, MD
President

AMD:ts

cc: Mr. Cecil Alexander
Mr. Irving Kaler



DR. ALBERT M. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

DR. C. MILES SMITH
TREASURER

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524-8054

ATLANTA BRANCH N A A C P

Citywide Housing Conference

Paschal Motor Hotel

Saturday, February 11, 1967

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, it has been confirmed clearly by reports and discussions of consultants, and participants of this conference that existing housing in Metropolitan Atlanta, and future planning by private and governmental agencies is basically segregated,

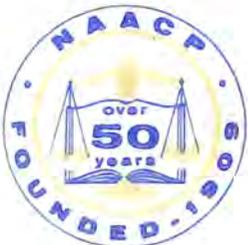
WHEREAS, Federal and other public funds are employed in the development of a major portion of such housing, and

WHEREAS, The Atlanta Housing Authority and other authorities are in control of most of the residential rental units,

WHEREAS, There is no clearly stated public policy on housing bias by Atlanta and other municipalities

BE IT RESOLVED THAT, This Citywide Housing Conference of the NAACP request and call for the following to be implemented:

1. That the newly created mayor's Housing Resources Committee request the Atlanta Board of Alderman to pass an "Open Housing Occupancy" Ordinance.
2. NAACP be directed to re-convene this conference in an expanded manner within 30 days.
3. Request that the Georgia Assembly pass a tax abatement law to provide more housing in the state of Georgia.
4. Request Mayor and Board of Alderman to reduce term of Atlanta Housing Authority members from 10 years to 5 years as in other cities of the country, and to increase the representation of Negroes on the authority.



Page 2
Citywide Housing Conference
Atlanta Branch NAACP
February 11, 1967

5. Request rezoning of excessive land for industrial use to residential.
6. Expansion of Community stabilization programs such as one by AFSC, with direct help from city and county governments.
7. Request monthly report from Mayor's office on all programs and agencies dealing with housing.
8. Request information on current status of Model Cities' program.
9. Request that citizens of all ethnic groups be included in the planning and implementation of all housing and renewal programs.
10. Oppose the use of city, state and/ or federal funds for the perpetuation of segregation in housing.
11. Request Atlanta Housing Authority eliminate all patterns of segregation.
 - a. Central application office for all people.
 - b. Elimination of segregation within each housing unit.
12. Request that additional public housing construction sites include areas other than the Southwest and Northwest sections.

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

POST OFFICE BOX 897

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

March 1, 1967

JESSE HILL, JR.
ACTUARY

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

Dear Mayor Allen:

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference urgently requests that your office launch a full scale investigation of the deaths of an entire family of the Perry Homes Housing Project in Atlanta. Death occurred Thursday, bodies were discovered Saturday.

The victims were Mrs. Josie Marie Callier, a daughter age 9 and two sons, ages 6 and 7. We have reports of possible negligence on the part of the Atlanta Housing Authority. We have reports that there have been at least 4 other incidents of a faulty gas system causing deaths of tenants. Including one case where one victim reported a faulty gas condition in his apartment, before he became a fatal victim.

Very truly yours,
ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE


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

satt?

March 3, 1967

Mr. Jesse Hill
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
P. O. Box 897
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Jesse:

May I acknowledge receipt of your letter on behalf of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference regarding the four deaths in Perry Homes.

A thorough investigation is being made of this by the Atlanta Housing Authority, the insurance company, the Coroner, and the Atlanta Police Department. I will follow the investigation closely to its conclusion, and I am immediately asking for the report from the Atlanta Police Department.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.

IAJr:am

EDWIN L. STERNE
CHAIRMAN

GEORGE S. CRAFT
VICE CHAIRMAN

J. B. BLAYTON

JOHN O. CHILES

FRANK G. ETHERIDGE



M. B. SATTERFIELD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND SECRETARY

CARLTON GARRETT
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE

GILBERT H. BOGGS
DIRECTOR OF HOUSING

GEORGE R. SANDER
TECHNICAL DIRECTOR

824 HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JACKSON 3-6074

March 9, 1967

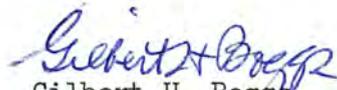
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attention: Captain G. A. Royal

Dear Captain Royal:

In accordance with your request of yesterday, I am enclosing a copy of the report on the occurrence at Perry Homes about which you inquired.

Sincerely,


Gilbert H. Boggs
Director of Housing

GHB:dm

Enclosure

*read
send copy to
Jessie Hill*

*read to
Jessie Hill
3/10/67
am*

REPORT OF ATLANTA HOUSING AUTHORITY CONCERNING DEATH OF MRS. JESSIE MAE COLLIER AND CHILDREN AT THE PERRY HOMES HOUSING PROJECT

The first information the Housing Authority received as to the above occurrence came from a telephone conversation between a maintenance mechanic at Perry Homes and the Manager on Sunday morning, February 26. The Manager, Mr. Arthur F. Smith, had been called out of church to be given the information that the tenants residing in Apartment 726, 2186 Clarrisa Drive, N. W., had been found dead in the apartment. The police had broken into the premises late Saturday night, but had not notified any Housing Authority personnel at the time the occurrence was discovered. The Manager in turn telephoned the Executive Director and it was arranged for the Assistant Technical Director, Mr. Ernest Bathke, to proceed to Perry Homes for an on-the-spot inspection. Mr. Bathke reached the site at about two o'clock Sunday afternoon in company with the Manager, the assistant to the Maintenance Superintendent and a maintenance mechanic, who entered the apartment.

The gas heater located in the living room is vented through a plaster partition and connected to a transite vent located underneath the stairway on a diagonal and connected at the upper end to a vent from the gas water heater, thence to a vertical vent through the roof. The transite vent had become disconnected from the pipe leading through the wall from the heater. The heater may have been exhausting fumes into the apartment at this point. The space heater appeared to be clean and in good condition and this was later confirmed by a detailed examination. The plaster immediately surrounding the opening in the partition had a broken edge rather than a smooth appearance. All other features of the gas system were in good condition. The only evidence of carbon deposit in the room was on a paper bag located on a shelf nearby the vent pipe. There was no evidence of carbon on the windows or walls within the apartment.

The records of the project Maintenance Department were examined and it was determined that in line with instructions from the Central Office to all projects requiring an annual inspection of all heating equipment prior to the heating season, this apartment was inspected on October 20, 1966, and the gas space heater readied for operation. This inspection was conducted by a maintenance group of three persons. Everything was in order except that one glass in the front of the space heater was missing and was replaced. This heating inspection routine also includes cleaning and adjusting the space heater and vacuuming the vent system where necessary. The maintenance log also shows no requests made for service in this apartment subsequent to the October 20 inspection. Since this occurrence, space heaters in all the other apartments in the project have been inspected again and are in good condition.

March 8, 1967

ALL-CITIZENS
REGISTRATION COMMITTEE334 AUBURN AVENUE, NORTHEAST
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 - TELEPHONE 522-1420

March 8, 1967

Honorable Lewis R. Slaton
Solicitor Superior Court
Fulton County
136 Pryor S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Slaton:

Pursuant to telephone conversations with your office and Mr. Paul Ginsberg the representative of your office assigned to consult with us, and pursuant to instructions of your office, we hereby formally request an Inquiry by the Grand Jury into the deaths of tenants of the Perry Homes Housing Project due to carbon monoxide poisoning. Following the suggestions of your office, We have checked Police Department and Coroner reports. We have asked Mayor Ivan Allen to also request reports. After reviewing the reports in the Mayor's office and the Coroner's office, as compared to information brought to our attention by concerned citizens of the Perry Homes Community we suggest the following:

1. That appropriate officials of the Atlanta Housing Authority be questioned regarding possible negligence in the maintenance of heating system of Perry Homes Apartments.
2. Call in the entire employee staff of Perry Homes for questioning, including employees now terminated but were employed on or after January 1, 1965. We have been informed that Mr. Claude Bates complained on more than one occasion about sickening fumes to the Perry Homes Management Office, without corrective action. Mr. and Mrs. Claude Bates were fatal victims of carbon monoxide poisoning on February 3, 1965.
3. Suggest that Mr. Charles Kemp, brother of Mrs. Josie Callier, victim, whose body was discovered Saturday, February 25 (died Thursday, February 23rd), along with three children all dead, cause given as carbon monoxide poisoning. Mr. Kemp lives in Perry Homes and he has information that allegedly suggests questionable motives and conduct of ex-husband of victim regarding deaths.
4. Suggest ex-husband Eddie Callier be questioned. He reportedly previously visited family every Thursday or Friday.

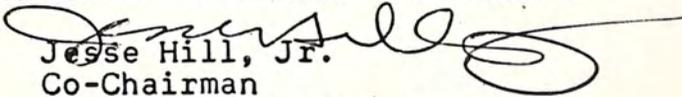
Page 2
Honorable Lewis R. Slaton
3-8-67

He is suppose to have visited ex-wife on her job Thursday where they had an argument. Same Eddie Callier has retained Attorney Joe Salem for purpose of filing suit against the Atlanta Housing Authority.

Our interest here is that somehow too many people appear to consider Negro homicides very lightly. The death of this family is an Atlanta tragedy and every effort should be made to prevent future occurrence. If it was caused by negligence, the case should bring shame to all of us and is "City-Scandal." If there is "foul play" the guilty should be brought to justice.

We have made an extensive personal investigation and would be happy to appear before the grand jury, especially to make suggested reforms for preventive safety measures.

Very truly yours,
ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE


Jesse Hill, Jr.
Co-Chairman
Ald. Q. V. Williamson
Co-Chairman
Rev. Samuel W. Williams
Co-Chairman

cc: Assistant Solicitor Paul Ginsberg
Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
J. B. Blayton, Sr.

IAJ

March 20, 1967

Dr. A. M. Davis
President
Atlanta Branch
NAACP
859-1/2 Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Davis:

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 17th, and I will be glad to give consideration to the recommendations made therein.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.

IAJr:am

DR. ALBERT M. DAVIS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

DR. C. MILES SMITH
TREASURER

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859-1/2 HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

524-8054

March 17, 1967

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

Dear Mayor Allen:

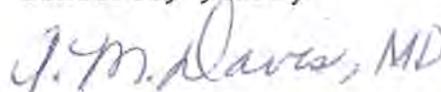
I would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your positive reaction to the resolutions of the NAACP Housing Conference. We are in the process of implementing these resolutions as it relates to the various departments of our city government.

We have noted since you have been mayor that your appointments from the negro community to committees and commissions have been categorized by a certain posture of individuals. The Executive Committee of the NAACP directed me to express their serious concern over this progressively growing pattern. We acknowledge that this is your privilege, but we would also indicate for your information that many appointments of personalities that do not relate or, in many instances, are unacceptable to the populace. The membership of the Housing Resources Committee is an excellent example of the problem that creates our concern. By far, the majority of these men, though intellectuals, are either not active in the community or know little about the total problem of housing.

The NAACP requests that you seriously consider our valid expression in this situation and in the future select individuals who honestly represent the people of our progressive city.

I personally would like to express the appreciation of our organization to you for your unselfish interest and actions on the problems relative to this community.

Sincerely yours,



A. M. Davis, MD
President



AMD:ts

File

esh

January 10, 1967

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

Dear Sir:

We request that you use your influence as mayor of this progressive city to assist in implementing the enclosed resolution.

Sincerely yours,

A. M. Davis, MD

A. M. Davis, MD
President Atlanta Branch NAACP

In the proposed allocation of funds resulting from the eighteen million dollar bond issue submitted to the tax paying citizens by the Board of Education in the early spring of 1966 an amount sufficient to build a Junior High School in Vine City formed a part of a contractual agreement. It was the impression that if the bond issue was successfully passed a Junior High School would be built in Vine City. In what appears to represent a breach of contract, the Board of Education has decided to build said Junior High School on a tract of land bounded on the east by Griffin, on the west by Chestnut, on the north by Thurmond, and on the south by Spencer streets, which area is approximately a mile from Vine City, and in a community where there are less than twenty-five school age children.

The citizens living in this area include many of whom are retired and unemployable, others are approaching the status of unemployability, and still others are beyond the long term age limit. These citizens have invested their life savings in what they had hoped to be their permanent homes. The amount of money offered them by the Board of Education for their homes will not enable them to relocate and purchase homes substantially similar to those they now occupy.

In the light of the situation described above, the citizens in the area under consideration have organized themselves into a Home Owners Resistance Campaign. They are calling upon and would welcome the support of organizations, and concerned individual citizens to assist them in this struggle to retain possession and occupancy of their homes.

Many organizations and public spirited citizens have joined them in this struggle by adopting unanimously resolutions in support of their effort, including the Atlanta Chapter of Frontiers International, The

Greater Atlanta Baptist Alliance, The A. M. E. Ministers Union, The Ministerial Fellowship of the C. M. E. Church, The West Side Voters League, The Membership of the First Congregational Church, and the Butler Street Baptist Church.

Dr. William H. Borders of the Wheat Street Baptist Church is the Coordinator of the resistance campaign and Resident Bishop P. Randolph Shy is Associate Coordinator.

In consideration of the alarming circumstances that these home owners find themselves in, it is being proposed that on this Anniversary occasion the members and supporters of the Atlanta Chapter of the NAACP adopt a resolution pledging their individual and several support to the Home Owners referred to above, and that the Board of Education be requested to revise its plan of uprooting these families and build a Junior High School in a community where the children are and in keeping with its contractual agreement.

Be it resolved that the citizens of the Metropolitan Atlanta area here assembled register their concern by approving the sentiments herein expressed.

Be it further resolved that a copy of the sentiments agreed upon be sent to the Mayor of the City of Atlanta, Chairman of the Board of Aldermen, President of Atlanta Board of Education, Superintendent of Public Schools, The Atlanta Inquirer, The Atlanta Constitution, and a copy placed in our minutes for the record.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. Davis, MD
President Atlanta Branch NAACP



Racial Powder Keg: Negro-White Hostility Is Mounting in Cleveland

Continued From Page One

reason: The "long history of negotiations with, and broken promises from, the local government." Mayor Locher accuses Mr. Weaver of unfairness.

City Hall and the Cleveland business community are at odds.

The Inner City Action Committee, led by Chairman Ralph Beas of Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., was created after the 1966 Hough riots, to help the city cope with its racial problems. But after six months it severed relations with the mayor because "the city administration will not accept meaningful assistance and coordination." Mr. Locher accuses the businessmen of "playing politics with the well-being of the people of Cleveland."

City Hall and the responsible Negro leadership are at odds.

"Frequently when it's most needed, the Negro leadership just isn't there," the mayor charges. Leo Jackson, a Negro city councilman, replies with equal intensity: "Locher's a decent, honest, sincere gentleman, but you can't be a gentleman and cope with the problems of this town. You've got to be a hard-fisted, practical guy who'll take risks."

Established Negro leadership and the Negro community are at odds.

A training program sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League has flopped badly in its aim of getting Negroes into building trades jobs. Ernest C. Cooper, the Urban League director, says: "We were in the position of preparing people to be put on shelves." With this failure, the NAACP and Urban League dropped another notch in the esteem of Cleveland's Negroes. According to one civil rights specialist, "The NAACP couldn't mobilize a picket line of 10 people now."

The Negro community and the police are at odds.

Harrell Jones, a slender Negro identified by a grand jury as a leading figure in last summer's riots, but never indicted, and who now works as a building maintenance man in Hough, assesses the current mood of the ghetto as worse than a year ago. The reason: "Police have been harassing us," says Richard Wagner, a Negro. "We have no critics west of the Cuyahoga; we cannot appease those east of the Cuyahoga." Most whites live on the west side of the Cuyahoga River, which runs through the middle of Cleveland; most Negroes live on the east side.

Movement in the schools.

Still, Mr. Wagner has established a new community relations unit in the department and has opened eight new police athletic centers for slum youths. Also, there has been some movement in education. A new school board has initiated the construction of some new schools, the opening of more kindergarten, junior high and vocational classrooms, and the creation of a supplementary education center to draw white and Negro pupils for specialized instruction.

"The only bright spot I can think of is our schools," says Alan Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation.

There are other activists at work, but without much visible result. The Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs is conscientious but, says Mr. Cooper, a member, "they're involved mostly in long-range planning, not immediate action." Two wood-products trade associations have announced plans to rehabilitate a section of Hough, but the project is said to be stymied by slum landlords who have jacked up prices. Other public and private rehabilitation projects amount to a drop in the bucket.

Mayor Locher, for his part, has some plans he expects to reveal as election time approaches. He already has repaved some slum streets, installed new street lights, and hauled off the streets hundreds of junked cars. Some hope to start a citywide rat control program, collect ghetto trash weekly instead of monthly, let some contracts for play areas and "vest-pocket" parks, and augment the city's supply of housing inspectors, policemen and medical personnel.

Money problems.

But all this costs money, and the mayor is having his troubles on that score. Voters defeated a city income tax in 1963. Last year the city council enacted a tax to be effective this past Jan. 1, but disgruntled citizens have forced the levy to another ballot box test, to be held in May or June. "If the tax is defeated," says Mr. Locher, "then there will have to be a severe cutback" in his plans.

Anyway, the mayor is willing to move only so far. To him some specific recommendations for easing racial tension in Cleveland advanced by the Civil Rights Commission are "poppycock," and he is steadfastly loyal to his city officials. The Inner City Action Committee, in offering to supply the city with dollar-a-year men to man the urban renewal tangle, insisted on the removal of the city's urban renewal chief. The mayor refused.

Mr. Locher is looking to Washington for some new help. The White House is expected to announce soon a new program to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes in 19 cities, and the mayor believes Cleveland will be one. But Mr. Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation, who has been in on some of the local planning, is not enthusiastic. "It's too late," he says. "They're talking about placing 2,000 people by June, and that's only three months away."

Less than two months away is the "doomsday" pinpointed by Ahmed. He is quite correct in predicting an eclipse of the sun on May 9, but authorities say the eclipse will be partial and won't turn the Cleveland sky dark. And Ahmed's forecast of revolt may be wildly exaggerated. But other events scheduled for Cleveland soon are likely to arouse racial tempers.

Enter Martin Luther King

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. will visit Cleveland soon to help prepare for simultaneous demonstrations this summer here and in other cities. The militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is planning its search for a summer "demonstration city" to Cleveland, Oakland, Calif., and Newark, N.J. A spokesman here says it is "quite possible" that Cleveland will be the final choice.

"If CORE is to choose Cleveland its target city," says J. B. Sinner, vice chairman of the white-supremacist National States Rights Party, "we'll come to Cleveland to stage peaceful counter-demonstrations." Last summer, after a States Rights Party rally in Baltimore, the 1966 CORE demonstration city, whites and Negroes tangled in the streets.

The Ku Klux Klan is preparing for an organizational meeting in this city in a few weeks. There are reports that the American East Party intends activity here this spring. At the other end of the political spectrum,

some authorities expect Communist operatives to be active here this year; the grand jury investigating last summer's Hough riots found evidence of Communist Party participation.

Local organization is proceeding on both sides of the color line. The United Black Brotherhood (UBB), formed last fall and regarded by Police Chief Wagner as "militantly racial," is actively involved in the "dialogues in black" that present Ahmed and others to the Negro community. The supposed aim of the "dialogues" is to steer militants away from violence and toward peaceful protest.

But police say the effect is to unite Negroes under the UBB banner.

Lewis Robinson, identified by a grand jury as a leader in last summer's riots but never indicted, and now a participant in the "dialogues," says of them: "We've had factionalism. Now we want to pull all these things together." He views rioting as "pragmatic and good, a warning that drastic measures must be taken."

Harrell Jones also believes Negroes should crowd into a single group for "political" purposes. He plans to strike out on his own this month to organize such a group.

White Organizing

An organizing drive among whites is being planned by Robert Annable, chairman of the Cleveland-based National Christian Conservative Society and also head of the North American Alliance of White People. Mr. Annable, who believes that Negroes are "culturally and intellectually inferior," will begin holding rallies in May. William Murphree, president of the White Citizens Council of Ohio, subscribes to many of Mr. Annable's beliefs and also plans rallies.

The special targets of all these racial organizers, whether they admit it or not, are the youngsters of this "city of nations," most of whom live in neighborhoods that are sharply segregated along nationality as well as racial lines. Murray Hill is largely Italian, Sowinski Park largely Polish, Hough largely Negro, and so on.

As the pressures of social change have mounted, what once were youth clubs have become gangs and now, say social workers and police alike, they are turning more viciously racist. "We know that white and Negro youth gangs now are clashing," says Mr. Kandel, "and we didn't have that before."

In Collinwood, a white neighborhood next to the Negro Glenville section, a young fellow in his twenties says: "When the civil rights groups said they were going to march this summer in our neighborhood, a bunch of the guys in our club decided to form vigilante groups." The "club" he refers to is a neighborhood social club. Mrs. Hanserd of the Welfare Federation says, "We keep hearing there's a buildup of guns in the Collinwood area."

"Chain Gang" Target Practice

In Sowinski Park, northwest of the white Chain Gang territory, a white man says: "They're practicing with the guns in the basement of one member's home, shooting at paper targets they call 'niggers,'" a social worker says. "The purpose for the guns, they say, is to defend themselves against the Negroes when the riots come again this summer."

In another white section, on the western fringe of Hough, signs tacked on telephone poles and painted on buildings warn "Nigger, this is Alley Rats territory, keep your ass out," or urge "Wallace for President." This is the work of the Alley Rats gang whose members, social workers say, have attended meetings of the American Nazi Party in Detroit and Pittsburgh. The Outlaws, a Cleveland motorcycle club, is reported laying plans to attack the Checkered Cherubs, a Negro motorcycle club.

The United Black Brotherhood, whose strongholds have been found by police to contain fire bombs, has begun within the past few weeks to instruct some Negro youth groups in "guerrilla warfare." Police Chief Wagner says the UBB has made contact with the Peonerosas, a 200-member group preoccupied until recently with vandalism but now turning increasingly anti-white.

A similar turn, says the police chief, has been detected among other Negro gangs, such as the Delamores, the Devil's Disciples and the Marquis. "They're getting away from gang activity and are forming militant racial organizations," Mr. Wagner declares.

Interco Inc. Holders Vote Stock Increases

Boost in Common and Preferred, Creation of a New Preferred To Enable Further Diversifying

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

ST. LOUIS — Interco Inc. shareholders cleared the way for further diversification of the company by voting to increase authorized common by four million shares, and the existing preferred by 327,000 shares in addition to creating a new preferred issue of one million shares.

However, aside from a pending acquisition of Sam Shainberg Co., Memphis, Tenn., operator of 79 junior department stores, for 410,000 shares of the present preferred, Interco isn't seriously studying any possible acquisitions, Norfleet H. Rand, vice chairman of the board and treasurer, said after the meeting.

Since 1964, Interco has pursued an active diversification program. It operates 210 junior department stores, eight work and play clothing factories and six retail hardware stores plus its shoe manufacturing and retailing operations. "We're interested primarily in the soft goods, although we'd consider any field that looked promising," Mr. Rand said.

Sales and earnings in December and January, the first two months of the company's fiscal year, showed an improvement over the similar period a year earlier, the executive said. And there will be "an improvement" for the quarter ended Feb. 28 from the first period of fiscal 1966, when Interco earned \$3,881,227, or \$1.09 a share, on sales of \$108,639,944, excluding results of Idaho Department Store Co., acquired in February 1966.

Mr. Rand also predicted higher sales and earnings for the year ending Nov. 20, even without a contribution from Sam Shainberg Co. On a pro-forma basis for last year, for instance, Shainberg would have contributed 18 cents a share, after preferred dividends, to Interco's reported earnings of \$14,508,000, or \$3.91 a share, on sales of \$489,100,000. Results of Idaho Dept. Store Co. were included only for nine months.

March 13, 1967

Mr. Jack Sneed
Box 128426
Furman University
Greenville, South Carolina 29613

Dear Mr. Sneed:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 12th asking several questions regarding the speech you are to make about the racial climate in the East Lake community.

I am sorry that I do not have the material researched and, therefore, cannot give you a detailed answer. I have received no reports of blockbusting in that area, and since an urban renewal project is not even close, it would have no bearing either.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

March 12, 1967

Dear Mayor Allen,

I have been meaning to write for quite some time and thank you for allowing me an interview last November concerning the Governor's race. I managed to make an "A" on the paper and in the course. Not only was my trip enjoyable, but very profitable.

I am taking a course this semester in public speaking in which we are required to make several speeches. This Friday we are to make speeches on a specific racial problem. Since I live in the East Lake community, I have chosen the community transition which we are experiencing. Our professor requires research and "specific supporting data" in presenting our speeches. I realize your time is extremely limited, but I would greatly appreciate it if you could answer a few questions for me. What do you feel has been the cause of the situation? Have you seen any signs of organized "blockbusting"? Do you feel that Atlanta's tremendous use of the Urban Renewal program (which I plan to make a speech about later in the semester) has affected the trend? I often feel that the Negroes are being blamed (thus created more prejudice) for things which are not their own fault.

Any help that you could give in this area would be greatly appreciated. Thanks again for your help on my report.

Sincerely,

Jack Sneed

Jack Sneed
Box 128426
Furman University
Greenville, S.C. 29613

P.S. Congratulations on your nice write-up in the current Newsweek. They obviously got the Nation's top mayors!

March 3, 1967

Mr. Jesse Hill
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
P. O. Box 897
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Jesse:

May I acknowledge receipt of your letter on behalf of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference regarding the four deaths in Perry Homes.

A thorough investigation is being made of this by the Atlanta Housing Authority, the insurance company, the Coroner, and the Atlanta Police Department. I will follow the investigation closely to its conclusion, and I am immediately asking for the report from the Atlanta Police Department.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.

IAJr:am

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

POST OFFICE BOX 897

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

March 1, 1967

JESSE HILL, JR.
ACTUARY

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

Dear Mayor Allen:

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference urgently requests that your office launch a full scale investigation of the deaths of an entire family of the Perry Homes Housing Project in Atlanta. Death occurred Thursday, bodies were discovered Saturday.

The victims were Mrs. Josie Marie Callier, a daughter age 9 and two sons, ages 6 and 7. We have reports of possible negligence on the part of the Atlanta Housing Authority. We have reports that there have been at least 4 other incidents of a faulty gas system causing deaths of tenants. Including one case where one victim reported a faulty gas condition in his apartment, before he became a fatal victim.

Very truly yours,
ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE


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

5 att 2

The Coca-Cola Company

NEW YORK, N. Y.

COPY

ADDRESS REPLY TO
ATLANTA, GA. 30301

Mr. Jerome S. Hardy

February 13, 1967

I believe the story of this hotel would make an pictorial essay for LIFE, and if you are interested your staff will receive excellent cooperation from the Mayor's office on down. I hope the idea appeals to you.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

(Signed) J. Paul Austin

JPA/pc

Enclosure

cc The Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr. ✓

P.S. If you are enroute to Augusta, stop over in Atlanta long enough to see the place. I am sure it will be worth your time.

J.P.A.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEWSPAPER
 RADIO
 TV

PASCHALS'

CHECK THE CITY'S SKYLINE ATLANTA! A LUXURIOUS, ULTRA-MODERN, MILLION DOLLAR MOTOR HOTEL HAS RISEN TO TAKE ITS PLACE AMONG THE FINEST MOST BEAUTIFUL STRUCTURES IN THE CITY. NOW STANDING MAJESTICALLY BESIDE PASCHALS RESTAURANT AND PASCHALS' LA CAROUSEL NIGHT CLUB, IS THE ALL NEW PASCHALS' MOTOR HOTEL A 120 ROOM SEVEN STORY BUILDING THAT REPRESENTS AN INVESTMENT OF MORE THAN TWO MILLION DOLLARS AND THE REALIZATION OF A DREAM THAT BEGAN MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO.

THE PASCHAL BROTHERS DREAMED OF ONE DAY BUILDING A 'HOME AWAY FROM HOME', AN ALL ENCOMPASSING FACILITY WHERE ONE COULD FIND FOOD, DRINK, MERRIMENT, ENTERTAINMENT, AND A PLACE TO REST UP FOR MORE ALL WITHIN THE CONFINES OF ONE COMPLEX. JAMES AND ROBERT HAD EARNED EARLY IN LIFE THAT HARD WORK WAS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE REALITIES OUT OF DREAMS, AND SO THEY BEGAN WORKING 15 HOURS A DAY SEVEN DAYS A WEEK.

THEY BEGAN WITH A SMALL STORE AND A SPECIALTY. THEY TURNED THE SMALL STORE INTO A RESTAURANT AND THE SPECIALTY, ROBERT'S VERY SPECIAL RECIPE FOR FRIED CHICKEN, INTO A "GOLD MINE". FROM FIVE TABLES AND FORTY CHAIRS THE RESTAURANT EXPANDED TO TEN TABLES AND EIGHTY CHAIRS. WHEN BUSINESS CONTINUED TO IMPROVE THE PASCHALS BOUGHT THE PROPERTY ACROSS THE STREET AND BUILT A MUCH LARGER RESTAURANT, THEN A COCKTAIL LOUNGE. "LA CAROUSEL", THEY CALLED IT, AND SOON ITS WARM INTIMATE ATMOSPHERE WAS THE SETTING FOR NIGHTS OF GREAT JAZZ MUSIC FEATURING A CAROUSEL OF AMERICA'S MOST RENOWNED JAZZ ARTISTS. JIMMY SMITH, CANNONBALL ADDERLY, RAMSEY LEWIS, HORACE SILVER AND THE OTHERS FOUND A SPECIAL RAPPORT, A WARMTH, A FEELING OF COMPLETE COMFORT WHICH MADE THEM LOOK FORWARD TO PERFORMING FOR LA CAROUSEL AUDIENCES AS MUCH AS JAZZ CONNOISSEURS LOOKED FORWARD TO HEARING THEM PLAY. TODAY "LA CAROUSEL" ENJOYS THE REPUTATION OF BEING ONE OF THE LEADING NIGHT CLUBS FOR "LE JAZZ EXTRAORDINAIRE" IN THE SOUTH.

NOW CAME THE MOST AMBITIOUS PART OF THE PASCHAL BROTHERS DREAM AND THEY SOON FOUND THAT BUILDING A MOTOR LODGE WAS MORE THAN JUST MIXING MORTAR FOR BRICKS. FIRST LAND HAD TO BE PURCHASED AND THE AREA HAD TO BE REZONED. THEY NEEDED ENOUGH LAND FOR A HOTEL BIG ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE ALL THE PEOPLE THAT MIGHT VISIT FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN THAT PART OF TOWN; ALL THE PEOPLE WHO CAME INTO ATLANTA TO DO BUSINESS WITH THE SIX COLLEGES IN THE SURROUNDING AREA; ALL THE PEOPLE...SO HOUSE BY HOUSE, LOT BY LOT THE PASCHALS BOUGHT UP THE PROPERTY AROUND THEM. THEY OFTEN FOUND THEMSELVES TALKING WITH PEOPLE WHO HAD LIVED THERE ALL THEIR LIVES AND WANTED IT TO BE MADE WORTH THEIR WHILE TO GO ELSEWHERE. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT THEY'D PAY TWICE AS MUCH AS THE PROPERTY WAS WORTH IN ORDER TO BUY IT. ORIGINALLY THE PLAN CALLED FOR THE BUILDING OF 72 UNITS, BUT BY THE TIME CONSTRUCTION HAD BEGUN, COMMUNITY ENTHUSIASM WAS SO HIGH AND MONTHS-IN-ADVANCE RESERVATIONS SO NUMEROUS THAT THE PASCHALS DECIDED TO ADD TWO ADDITIONAL FLOORS, 48 ADDITIONAL UNITS.

TODAY AS THE PASCHALS LOOK AT THE FRUITS OF THEIR LABORS THEY SEE IN PASCHALS' MOTOR HOTEL EVERYTHING THEY EVER DREAMED OF AND MORE. THERE ARE 120 GUEST ROOMS AND SUITES.. ROOMS EXQUISITELY FURNISHED IN AN ULTRA MODERN DECOR..BANQUET FACILITIES FOR 350 PEOPLE..AN ADDITIONAL DINING ROOM TO ACCOMMODATE 160 PEOPLE..AN INTERIOR THAT IS BEAUTIFULLY CARPETED AND LUXURIOUSLY DRAPED..SPACIOUS ROOMS EACH WITH ALL THE CONVENIENCES: RADIO, TELEVISION, TELEPHONE, YEAR ROUND COMFORT CONDITIONING, PRIVATE BATH AND SHOWER, AND ROOM SERVICE. THE SMALLEST ROOM MEASURES 14 x 19. EACH ROOM HAS AN OUTDOOR BALCONY AND TWO DOUBLE BEDS. AUTOMATIC ELEVATORS ARE CONVENIENTLY LOCATED TO MOVE GUESTS SWIFTLY AND SAFELY TO THEIR FLOOR DESTINATION. THERE ARE THIRTY CONNECTING SUITES. EXECUTIVE SUITES AND THE BANQUET ROOM OVERLOOK A 20 x 40 FOOT SWIMMING POOL. THE POOL AND AMPLE SUNDECK FACILITIES SHOULD PROVE A DELIGHT TO SWIMMERS AND NON SWIMMERS ALIKE. THERE IS A CONVENIENT SUBTERRANEAN PARKING AREA THAT CAN EASILY ACCOMMODATE 165 CARS.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEWSPAPER
 RADIO
 TV

PASCHALS' (Cont.)

PASCHALS MOTOR HOTEL IS STRATEGICALLY LOCATED AT 830 HUNTER STREET, S.W. NEAR ATLANTA'S BUSINESS, CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, AND RECREATIONAL CENTERS. IT IS A SHORT BUS RIDE FROM DOWNTOWN ATLANTA YET FAR ENOUGH AWAY TO ESCAPE THE HUBBUB OF A THRIVING METROPOLIS. BUT ONE NEEDN'T GO DOWNTOWN TO FIND MOST ANY KIND OF GOODS OR SERVICE. NEARBY ARE GASOLINE STATIONS, A BANK, A POST OFFICE, DRUG STORE, VARIETY STORE, BARBER SHOP, BEAUTY PARLOR, MEDICAL AND LAW OFFICES, THEATERS AND REAL ESTATE AND INSURANCE CONCERNS. HISTORIC CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS ARE NOT FAR. THOSE OUT-OF TOWNERS VISITING OR ATTENDING FUNCTIONS AT ONE OF THE SIX COLLEGES THAT COMPRISE THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER WILL FIND THE DISTANCE FROM PASCHALS MOTOR HOTEL IDEAL. PARKS AND STADIUMS ARE ALSO WITHIN WALKING DISTANCE. AND SO IT IS THAT THE PASCHAL BROTHERS CAN LOOK WITH PRIDE AT WHAT THEY SEE: A FINE RESTAURANT WHERE FRIED CHICKEN IS STILL PREPARED AND WATCHED OVER BY BROTHER ROBERT; A NIGHT CLUB WHICH CATERS TO THE FINEST JAZZ MUSICIANS IN THE LAND; AND THEIR MAGNIFICENT NEW MOTOR HOTEL, ULTRA-MODERN IN EVERY RESPECT, A FACILITY THAT CAN READILY BOAST OF THE MOST EXCELLENT OF ACCOMMODATIONS, BANQUET FACILITIES, AND COMFORT; AND A LOCATION THAT IS IDEAL. BUT MORE THAN THAT THE PASCHAL BROTHERS HAVE ACHIEVED THE FEELING OF IT BEING "A HOME AWAY FROM HOME" BY THE WARM AND CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE - THE PEOPLE WHO SERVE YOU CREATE. SO CHECK THE CITY'S SKYLINE ATLANTA! THEN CHECK IN TO THE BIG BEAUTIFUL NEW PASCHALS' MOTOR HOTEL, 830 HUNTER STREET, S. W.

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November 13, 1967 2RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT NASH-BANS COORDINATING COMMITTEE
MEETING

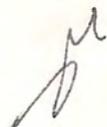
On October 13, when May Ivan Allen, Jr., accepted the list of names as recommended by Mr. E. M. Laws, for membership on the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee, and designated them as official representatives of the Nash-Bans Area, he made the following statement: "Our number one goal is to make the Nash-Bans Community a better place in which to live. Now it is up to all of us, the Committee and the City to work together to see that we achieve our purpose". No development in the area shall take place under the auspices of any department in the City Government without the delegated representatives of the Committee being brought into a consultative relationship with the proposed development in its initial stages.

Mr. Collier B. Gladin, Director of City Planning Department, has recently employed a trained specialist in Urban Development in the person of Mr. Peter LaBree to make a study of the Nash-Bans Community in order to make a comprehensive survey and recommendations for the over-all Urban Renewal Developments in the area. In view of the fact that the proposed recommendations of Mr. LaBree should be expected to include the location of the parks, playgrounds and other recreational facilities as related to schools, churches, and the residential areas, it would seem altogether appropriate that the Atlanta Board of Education be requested to suspend any further developments in the area on the Junior High School Complex, until the over-all schedule for Urban Renewal development of the Nash-Bans Community has been finalized.

In consideration of the situation that is described above, be it resolved that a resolution be adopted at this meeting and be forwarded to the President of the Atlanta Board of Education by the Chairman of the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee requesting that the Atlanta Board of Education suspend any further development on the Junior High School Complex until Mr. LaBree's study has been made, his recommendations submitted to the Director of the City Planning Department, and an opportunity afforded the members of the Committee to be made intelligently aware of the degree and extent to which the proposed school complex shall become a part of the over-all program of development of the Nash-Bans Community.

Be it further resolved that representatives of the Board of Education, representatives of the City Planning Department, and the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee shall meet to evaluate Mr. LaBree's recommendations, in the light of the sentiments expressed by his Honor, Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., when the members of the Nash-Bans Coordinating Committee were given their official status.

Be it further resolved that, a copy of this resolution shall be forwarded to his Honor the Mayor, Mr. Collier B. Gladin, Daily and Weekly Press, and a copy recorded in our minutes.

Racial 

November 13, 1967

Mr. Mike Chanin
THE EMORY WHEEL
Alumni Memorial Office
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mike:

I have read with interest your column "The Jaundiced Eye". I congratulate you on it and I think you have done a good job in researching the facts and in presenting them.

May I offer you the following information which I do not believe you had at the time you wrote the article. The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, for a number of years, has accepted members regardless of race; and, even today, Mr. Clayton R. Yates serves as a member of the Board of Directors.

Further, your statement concerning The Commerce Club is in error, as I have personally, on several occasions, had Negroes as my guests for lunch in The Commerce Club. No objection has been voiced to my knowledge.

This information is not offered as criticism nor for correction but, merely, for you to have.

Sincerely,

Ivan Allen, Jr.

IAJr:am

CITY OF ATLANTA



November 6, 1967

CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303

Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

IVAN ALLEN, JR., MAYOR

R. EARL LANDERS, Administrative Assistant
MRS. ANN M. MOSES, Executive Secretary
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Director of Governmental Liaison

MEMORANDUM

To: Urban Coalition Steering Committee

From: Dan Sweat

The Private Employment Task Force of the National Urban Coalition has scheduled a regional conference on expanding private employment in Atlanta on December 13. The conference will last for the better part of the day and will involve nationally known business officials and others who will discuss ways their companies have helped to reduce unemployment or provide additional job opportunities and advancement for the low-income people.

As part of our local contribution to the program, it has been suggested that the slide program on employment developed by the Human Resources group be presented to the Coalition meeting. This Human Resources group is made up of representatives of the City of Atlanta, Community Council, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, and Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

The slide program has been developed over the last eighteen months period and is designed to present to the private businessman of Atlanta the picture on unemployment and programs designed to combat the problem. A preview of the slide program has been scheduled for 3:00 p. m., Wednesday, November 8, in Committee Room 1 of City Hall.

The Mayor and other members of the Local Coalition Steering Committee are being invited to attend to critique the presentation along with Bob Wood of the Merit Employers Association and one or two other concerned individuals.

I hope that your schedule will permit your attending this preview. It should last about an hour.

DS:fy

Dr. King Goes Back to Jail

HEAR REV. FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

l b

(JUST RELEASED FROM 5 DAYS IN THE BIRMINGHAM JAIL)

TUESDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 31, 1967

8:00 PM

Mt. Moriah Baptist Church
(CORNER OF FAIR & ASHBY STREETS, S. W.)

SPECIAL ATTRACTION

ATTEND

Atlanta's Best Funeral

EULOGIES FOR THE SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

EULOGIES FOR ATLANTA'S "RESPONSIBLE" NEGRO LEADERS

**Hear About the Deeds of Black Leaders the
White Folks Downtown Picked to Lead Us**

MAIL CONDOLENCES TO THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN AND SUPERINTENDENT LETSON

SPONSORED BY The Atlanta Freedom Coalition

Unified School District 410

DURHAM - HILLSBORO - LEHIGH

HILLSBORO, KANSAS 67063

DN A

NICK A. KLAASSEN, Principal
Hillsboro High School

205 South Adams
Hillsboro, Kansas 67063
October 21, 1967

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia
30300

Dear Sir:

In our junior American History class a friend and I are reporting on racial riots in major cities where they have occurred. We would deeply appreciate your view point by briefly answering the questions on the second page. If there is anything else you wish to add or comment on—newspaper articles, pamphlets, or photographs—please do so. This information will be put to its best educational use.

This information is needed as soon as possible. I would greatly appreciate any material you would send us. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely yours,

Debbie Ebel

Debbie Ebel

DN C

1. What is the relationship in your city between the Negroes and the Whites?
2. What do you think, in your opinion, is the cause of riots?
3. What effect does rioting have on your city and people?
4. Are there any moderate or extreme leaders in your city? If so, who are they.

10 - 24 - 67

→ CAPT. GEO ROYAL -
MAYOR'S OFFICE

O.P. XERO COPY

S.T.

WHAT EVER HAPPENED?
TO
VINE CITY BLACK PEOPLE?

fill
racial
mess

WHITE PEOPLE OWN OUR STORES

WHITE PEOPLE OWN THE HOUSING WE LIVE IN

POLICE BRUTALIZE OUR MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

And what does city hall do???

SIT ON ITS - YOU KNOW

STOP THE SLUM! STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!

STOP THE CHEATING IN THE STORES!

Let's Stop the Mess in Vine City

MISS MELTING TONIC III

Vine City Play Lot

corner Magnolia + Maple Streets

at 8:00PM.

There will be!

* soul music * civil rights leaders

* youth leaders * community people

DO NOT LET YOUR BLACK BROTHERS DOWN

☯ CLEAN UP ATLANTA

TONIGHT

B.P.?

B.P.?

Dear Mayor Allen ^{DNA} 28
As a former resident of Kirkwood,
And still have friends
living in that area, I

Deeply resent this type of
Advertising - I moved away
some 15 years ago, before it
even entered anyone's mind
that that area would become
a "Harlem". And furthermore
I think it is disgraceful that
it should have become
a Harlem -
Louise Busby
Rt 2, Lebanon, Pa

AUCTION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 26 - 10 A.M.

Property of
DR. WILLIAM H. WARINER

Located in 1900 block of Boulevard Drive, N. E., across from Kirkwood Theatre.



Photo above shows front of property on Boulevard Drive with driveway on right, parking lot on left. Lot has 100-foot frontage.

View at right shows rear of building and big area suitable for parking. Lot runs back 300 feet from street.



Lot fronting on Howard Street and adjoining lot at the rear. (60' x 100'.)

PRIME COMMERCIAL PROPERTY

Fronting Two Streets in Kirkwood Section
THE HARLEM OF THE SOUTH

This is a prime commercial tract with 100' by 300' lot fronting on Boulevard Drive N.E. and a second lot adjoining at the rear and facing Howard Street, 60' x 100'. Zoned commercial, it offers a fine opportunity for a funeral home, commercial development or a profitable investment in real estate. The building has a chapel which will seat 44 people, and an office. There is also a half basement. A large space at the side and rear and the Howard Street lot will accommodate over 100 cars.

Be sure to look this property over before sale day—it goes at your price!

FREE SAVINGS BOND
to Someone
Attending Sale!

LIST YOUR PROPERTY WITH US

Registered U.S. Trade Mark

J.L. TODD  **AUCTION CO.**
BROAD ST. at 6th AVE. ROME, GEORGIA

Phone 404 234-1656

LICENSED • BONDED • INSURED

All information contained in this brochure was derived from sources believed to be correct but is not guaranteed.

AUCTION

ACWORTH, GEORGIA
THURSDAY,
OCTOBER 26 - 3 P.M.

PROPERTY OF MR. E. O. TURNER
Located one mile south of Acworth on
Highway 293—about 4 miles north of
Kennesaw.



DEVELOPED COMMERCIAL PROPERTY WITH ADJOINING HOME

This is a real opportunity for you to acquire a valuable piece of highway road frontage with store buildings and a comfortable, modern home just one mile out of town and you can get it at the price you want to pay . . . at Auction!

This fine tract, irregular in shape, has a total of about 3 acres, with 350 feet on the highway and averaging 300 feet deep. There's a good business at the store and service station with comfortable living quarters in the rear. The extra store building could provide a profitable rental and you can supervise the entire operation from your own home on the adjoining property.

Be sure to look this over before sale day and see how it can fit into your plans - then be at the Auction with your bid.

- ★ **350-FOOT FRONTAGE**
- ★ **MODERN HOME**
- ★ **STORE-SERVICE STATION**
With Living Quarters
- ★ **STORE BUILDING AND
STORAGE**

**A BARGAIN BUY
AT THE PRICE
YOU SET!**

**FREE
TELEVISION SET**
To Some Lucky
Person At This Sale

LIST YOUR PROPERTY WITH US

J.L. TODD  **AUCTION CO.**
BROAD ST. at 6th AVE. ROME, GEORGIA

Registered U.S. Trade Mark

Phone 404 234-1656

LICENSED • BONDED • INSURED



COMFORTABLE, MODERN HOME

Conveniently close to the store and service station is this comfortable one-story home on a nicely landscaped and fenced lot. It contains two bedrooms, kitchen, breakfast area, living room with wall-to-wall carpet. Garage and porches. Several bearing fruit trees are in the rear.

View of the light, modern kitchen with built-in cabinets. No furnishings will be sold.



STORE-GAS STATION WITH LIVING QUARTERS

Presently leased, the store and gas station do a nice business with the owner advising that over 20,000 gallons of gas sold per month. An additional value is the convenient living quarters in the rear of the building consisting of 3 rooms with 1 1/2 baths. A meat slicer and meat scales will be the only equipment offered for sale.



STORE-AUCTION BUILDING AND ADJOINING STORAGE BUILDING

This well-built brick building, 32' x 28', has been used as an auction building but could readily be converted to a restaurant or other commercial use. The small building adjoining provides good storage for any purpose.



All information contained in this brochure was derived from sources believed to be correct but is not guaranteed.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY
NEW YORK

212-661-1600

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Handwritten initials

October 13, 1967

Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

*Enclosed
by phone
10/19*

Dear Mayor Allen:

Senator Kennedy asked me to send the enclosed letter along to you.

We, of course, have no first-hand knowledge of the facts involved, but the concern of those in the Negro community certainly appears to be genuine. I wonder if you could advise me about the matter, so that I can advise the Senator.

I am sure we have thanked you for your testimony before the Senate Finance Committee recently, but let me just add my personal thanks. I heard you testify, and I thought that your remarks were most impressive.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Peter Edelman

Peter B. Edelman
Legislative Assistant

Enclosure

COFY

SEP 7 11 30 AM '67

September 2, 1967

Senator Robert Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy:

The enclosed news clipping is submitted as supporting evidence of the provocative reaction of the representatives of the Negro Community with respect to the naming of a segregated school for your brother, the late John F. Kennedy. At a meeting held last night in the auditorium of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association in Atlanta, a resolution was passed unanimously requesting and authorizing the writer to bring this matter in this fashion to your attention. Because the building of the school on the controversial site represents an extension and perpetuation of the segregated school pattern, the home owners occupying property in the area under consideration have filed suit in the North Georgia Federal District Court. If the decision of the Court is unfavorable in this instance an appeal will be filed with the 5th Circuit Court in New Orleans and the matter may reach the Supreme Court of the United States before the matter is finally adjudicated.

With this background we would hope that you might wish to inquire of the President of the Board of Education and the superintendent of the Atlanta Schools as to whether any colored person was contacted as to the naming of the segregated school for your brother which would of course include those whose property they plan to secure through condemnation proceedings because the owners have refused to sell their property to the Board of Education. The personal and official behavior patterns of the late President Kennedy should be concrete proof that he would not be in sympathy with any type of segregated enterprise bearing his name. More than 35,000 colored people were represented in the meeting last night where this organized disfavor was registered.

I would appreciate hearing from you when you have had a chance to give attention which this matter deserves.

I am sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas

JOT:nbg

CC Senator Edward Kennedy

Enclosure

l e h

October 2, 1967

Mr. Edward S. White
Nall, Miller, Cadenhead & Dennis
2434 National Bank of Georgia Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Thank you very much for sending me the two newspaper clippings on the current racial turmoil.

I had not seen these articles and I appreciate your sending them to me.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr/br

NALL, MILLER, CADENHEAD & DENNIS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

2434 NATIONAL BANK OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

SAMUEL A. MILLER
A. PAUL CADENHEAD
DOUGLAS DENNIS
JAMES W. DORSEY
EDWARD S. WHITE
HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
DONALD M. FAIN
THEODORE G. FRANKEL
MICHAEL D. ALEMBIK
LYNN A. DOWNEY
JAMES W. MERRAE
ROBERT E. CORRY, JR.
GERALD A. FRIEDLANDER
DENNIS J. WEBB
THOMAS SCOTT CARLOCK
BAXTER L. DAVIS
PRICE S. WILLIAMS, JR.

September 29, 1967

A. WALTON NALL
COUNSEL

JACKSON 2-2200

Hand

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City Hall, 68 Mitchell Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ivan:

There are enclosed two newspaper clippings that I found of special interest in connection with the current racial turmoil. One is a special article cut from the London Sunday Times of 30 July, 1967, entitled "A Generation of Despair". The other one is one of a series of articles written by Robert L. Strout of the Christian Science Monitor.

I am sure that you have been flooded with material on this subject, but these two articles seemed especially interesting to me, and you may find them worth reading.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edward S. White

Edward S. White

ESW:erm
Enclosures

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

1016 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

September 20, 1967

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Notes

[Signature]

MEMORANDUM TO THE COMMISSIONERS

SUBJECT: Possible Ad Hoc Recommendation Calling for
Special Training Course for Local Law
Enforcement Officials

1. This memorandum is designed to serve as a basis for discussion of a possible ad hoc recommendation by the Commission, calling upon the President to instruct the Department of Justice to establish and conduct this winter a training program for local law enforcement officials in riot prevention and control.
2. The background to the proposed recommendation is as follows. Over the past seven weeks, the staff and I have had several discussions with the F.B.I., the Department of Justice and others with respect to possible methods by which the riot control and riot prevention techniques of local police forces can be upgraded. One of those with whom we discussed the question, Patrick Murphy, the Assistant Director of the Department of Justice Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, has submitted a memorandum suggesting as a possible approach the establishment of a training course in Washington for law enforcement officials of the Nation's 100 largest cities or, alternately, of all cities with population of over 100,000.
3. Murphy's proposal envisions a two day conference for mayors, a one week course for police chiefs, and a two to four week course for other key police personnel -- chiefs of operations, directors of planning, directors of training, and directors of community relations. The course would include such

subjects as community relations, detection systems, riot control tactics, rapid mobilization, command and control systems, intelligence systems, communications systems, decision making during riots, advance planning, and joint operations with neighboring police, the state police, the National Guard and the Army.

4. The cost of the program is estimated by Mr. Murphy to be roughly \$500,000.

David Ginsburg
Executive Director

*Linda
have you
seen this?*

August 16, 1967

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen:

On August 1, we wrote to you concerning the possibility of a layman furnishing testimony to the Commission about racial problems, but to date, have not received a reply.

Since we are so interested in the subject, we would appreciate the opportunity to provide data.

Yours very truly,

Samuel G. Levy

Samuel G. Levy
1020 Willett Drive
Johnstown, Penna.

SGL/cmz

Steering Committee
The Urban Coalition

Co-Chairmen: Mr. Andrew Heiskell
Mr. A. Philip Randolph

I. W. Abel
President
United Steelworkers

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Atlanta

Roy Ash
President
Litton Industries

Mayor Joseph M. Barr
Pittsburgh
President, U.S. Conference of Mayors

Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh
Detroit

Frederick J. Close
Chairman of the Board
Aluminum Company of America

Mayor John F. Collins
Boston

Mayor Richard J. Daley
Chicago

Archbishop John F. Dearden
President
National Conference of Catholic Bishops

Dr. Arthur Flemming
President
National Council of Churches

Henry Ford II
Chairman
Ford Motor Company

Joseph D. Keenan
Secretary
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King
President
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference

Mayor John V. Lindsay
New York
Executive Committee, U.S. Con-
ference of Mayors

George Meany
President
AFL-CIO

Mayor Arthur Naftalin
Minneapolis
Chairman, Community Relations
Committee, U.S. Conference
of Mayors

Gerald L. Phillippe
Chairman of the Board
General Electric Company

Walter Reuther
President, Citizens Crusade
Against Poverty
President, United Auto Workers

David Rockefeller
President
Chase Manhattan Bank

James Rouse
President, The Rouse Company
President, Urban America Inc.

Steering Committee
The Urban Coalition

Page 2

Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin
President
Synagogue Council of America

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Theodore Schlesinger
President
Allied Stores Corporation

Asa T. Spaulding
President
North Carolina Mutual Insurance
Company

David Sullivan
President
Building Service Employees Inter-
national Union

Mayor James H. J. Tate
Philadelphia
President, National League of
Cities

John Wheeler
President, Southern Regional Council
President, Mechanics and Farmers
Bank

Roy Wilkins
Chairman, Leadership Conference
on Civil Rights
Executive Director, National Associa-
tion for the Advancement of
Colored People

Whitney Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FROM: The Urban Coalition
For further information: Donald Canty, Urban America Inc., 265-2224

The Urban Coalition has scheduled its Emergency Convocation for August 24 at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C.

Co-chairmen of the Convocation will be Andrew Heiskell and A. Philip Randolph. Mr. Heiskell is chairman of the board of Time Inc. and also of Urban America Inc. Mr. Randolph is president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The Coalition was formed Monday, July 31, by 20 national leaders of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and city government. It is calling the Convocation to mobilize the nation's public and private resources in a concerted attack on urban problems.

Announcement of the date and co-chairmen of the Convocation was made today at a planning meeting in the Urban America offices. Also released was a list of 12 additional individuals who had expressed support of the Coalition but were unable to attend the July 31 meeting, and have joined the original 20 leaders as members of the Coalition Steering Committee: Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta; Roy Ash, President of Litton Industries; Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh of Detroit; Frederick J. Close, Chairman of the Board of the Aluminum Company of America; Mayor John F. Collins of Boston; Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago; Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Ford Motor Company; James Rouse, President of The Rouse Company and of Urban America Inc.; Theodore Schlesinger, President of Allied Stores Corpora-

Page 2

tion; Asa T. Spaulding, President of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company; David Sullivan, President of the Building Service Employees International Union; and Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, President of the National League of Cities.

The Coalition expects an attendance of 1,000 at the one-day Convocation. Each segment will issue invitations to 200 individuals.

In the morning, there will be a general session on the Convocation's three major programs. They are:

--An emergency work program to provide job training and employment for the urban poor, now being drafted into specific legislation;

--A major expansion of the private sector's efforts to train and provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed, such as the "Earn and Learn" programs now underway in several cities;

--A long-range program for the physical and social reconstruction of American cities "to break up the vicious cycle of the ghetto," in the words of the Coalition's July 31 statement of purpose.

Following the morning session, a delegation from the Coalition's Steering Committee will call upon Congressional leaders of both parties to present these programs.

In the afternoon, the Convocation will break up into work groups to discuss the means of implementing these programs, particularly through formation of local coalitions involving the same segments as the national

effort. At the end of the day, there will be a general session to hear a report of the Steering Committee delegation to Congress.

The July 31 meeting at which the Coalition was formed was convened by Mayor Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh, president of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, and by Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York, a member of the Conference's executive committee.

A copy of the Coalition's statement of purpose and a roster of the full Steering Committee are attached.

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###

STATEMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE URBAN COALITION

July 31, 1967

Washington, D.C.

PREAMBLE

The tangible results of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage are horrifying in themselves. The intangible damage in terms of the riots' effects on men's minds may yet be even greater.

At this moment, millions of Americans are forming attitudes that could mean disaster to our social structure: the home-owner who vows to shoot the next suspicious character he sees in his neighborhood; the businessman who decides to get out of the slums; the labor leader who determines to keep minorities out; the insurance man who refuses to cover slum properties; the Negro or White who goes out to take whatever he can get his hands on; the legislator who fails to meet his public responsibilities.

These people and others are reversing a trend that, however slowly, was working to the benefit of our cities' disadvantaged minorities. Let them realize that it is the citizen, in the end, who will keep our country united or will divide it. It is government's duty to maintain law and order. But all must understand that law and order is not an excuse for oppression. If law and order is to be accepted by the minorities, the majority must clearly and positively demonstrate its belief that justice, social progress, and equality are rights of every citizen.

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to this purpose. We will call upon the leaders of all segments of society, city by city, to publicly commit themselves to programs enabling the disadvantaged minorities to share in all of the benefits of our society.

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STATEMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE URBAN COALITION

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This conference of leaders of business, labor, religions, education, civil rights, and city government has formed an Urban Coalition to bring about a sense of immediate urgency about the need for positive and progressive action for our cities.

Lawlessness and all its ingredients cannot be tolerated. Looting, burning, and bottle throwing are criminal acts and must be dealt with as such.

But let not a reaction to acts, committed by a small fraction of the population of the country's ghettos, blind us to the absolute necessity of moving dramatically and immediately to correct the desperate condition of our urban centers.

We call upon the Nation and the Congress to reorder our national priorities, with a commitment of national resources equal to the dimensions of the problems we face. The crisis requires a full new dimension in both the public and private sectors, working together for jobs, housing, education, and the other needs of our cities.

This Coalition believes the Congress must move without delay on urban programs. The country can wait no longer for model cities, antipoverty, housing, education, and job training legislation, and a host of other matters that have been too long denied the cities.

We call upon the Federal Government to develop an Emergency Work and Reconstruction Program to provide new training programs and jobs

STATEMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE URBAN COALITION

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for the unemployed.

The Coalition also believes that the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job training and hiring, and all other things that are necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system, and also to its survival.

To carry this forward, the Coalition commits itself to proceed immediately to promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in the cities of the country to provide job training and jobs. The Coalition agrees these centers might well be the joint venture of business, labor, and local government.

The Coalition believes the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America. Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic and moral climate which will make possible the breaking up of the vicious cycle of the ghetto.

The Coalition's commitment can be for no less and its determination is for even more.

The Coalition further commits itself to convene an Urban Coalition Emergency Convocation in Washington near the end of August.

The Convocation will be attended by 1,000 leaders across the Nation of business, labor, religion, education, civil rights, and city government.

Those attending the meeting included:

I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO

Arnold Aronson (representing Roy Wilkins), Executive Secretary, National
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Mayor Joseph M. Barr, President, U.S. Conference of Mayors

Andrew J. Biemiller (representing George Meany), Legislative Director, AFL-CIO

Walter Fauntroy (representing Martin Luther King), Washington Representative,
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Arthur S. Flemming, President, National Council of Churches

Andrew Heiskell, Chairman of the Board, Time, Inc. and Chairman, Urban
America Inc.

Joseph Keenan, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Electrical
Workers, AFL-CIO

Mayor John V. Lindsay, Executive Committee, U.S. Conference of Mayors

Mayor Arthur Naftalin, Chairman, Community Relations Committee, U.S.
Conference of Mayors

Gerald Phillippe, Chairman of the Board, General Electric

Walter Reuther, President, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and President,
United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO

David Rockefeller, President, Chase Manhattan Bank

Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, President, Synagogue Council of America

Bayard Rustin (representing A. Philip Randolph), Executive Director, A. Philip
Randolph Institute

Bishop Paul Tanner (representing Archbishop Dearden), General Secretary,
National Conference of Catholic Bishops

John Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C., and
President, Southern Regional Council

Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League

7/31/67

11 p.m.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, GOALS, AND COMMITMENTS
EMERGENCY CONVOCATION: THE URBAN COALITION

We are experiencing our third summer of widespread civil disorder. In 1965, it was Harlem, and the disaster of Watts. In 1966, it was the Hough area of Cleveland, Omaha, Atlanta, Dayton, San Francisco and 24 other cities. This summer, Newark and Detroit were only the most tragic of 80 explosions of violence in the streets.

Confronted by these catastrophic events, we, as representatives of business, labor, religion, civil rights, and local government, have joined in this Convocation to create a sense of national urgency on the need for positive action for all the people of our cities.

We are united in the following convictions:

We believe the tangible effects of the urban riots in terms of death, injury, and property damage, horrifying though they are, are less to be feared than the intangible damage to men's minds.

We believe it is the government's duty to maintain law and order.

We believe that our thoughts and actions should be directed to the deep-rooted and historic problems of the cities.

We believe that we, as a nation, must clearly and positively demonstrate our belief that justice, social progress, and equality of opportunity are rights of every citizen.

We believe the American people and the Congress must reorder national priorities, with a commitment of resources equal to the magnitude of the problems we face. The crisis requires a new dimension of effort in both the public and private sectors, working together to provide jobs, housing,

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, GOALS, AND COMMITMENTS

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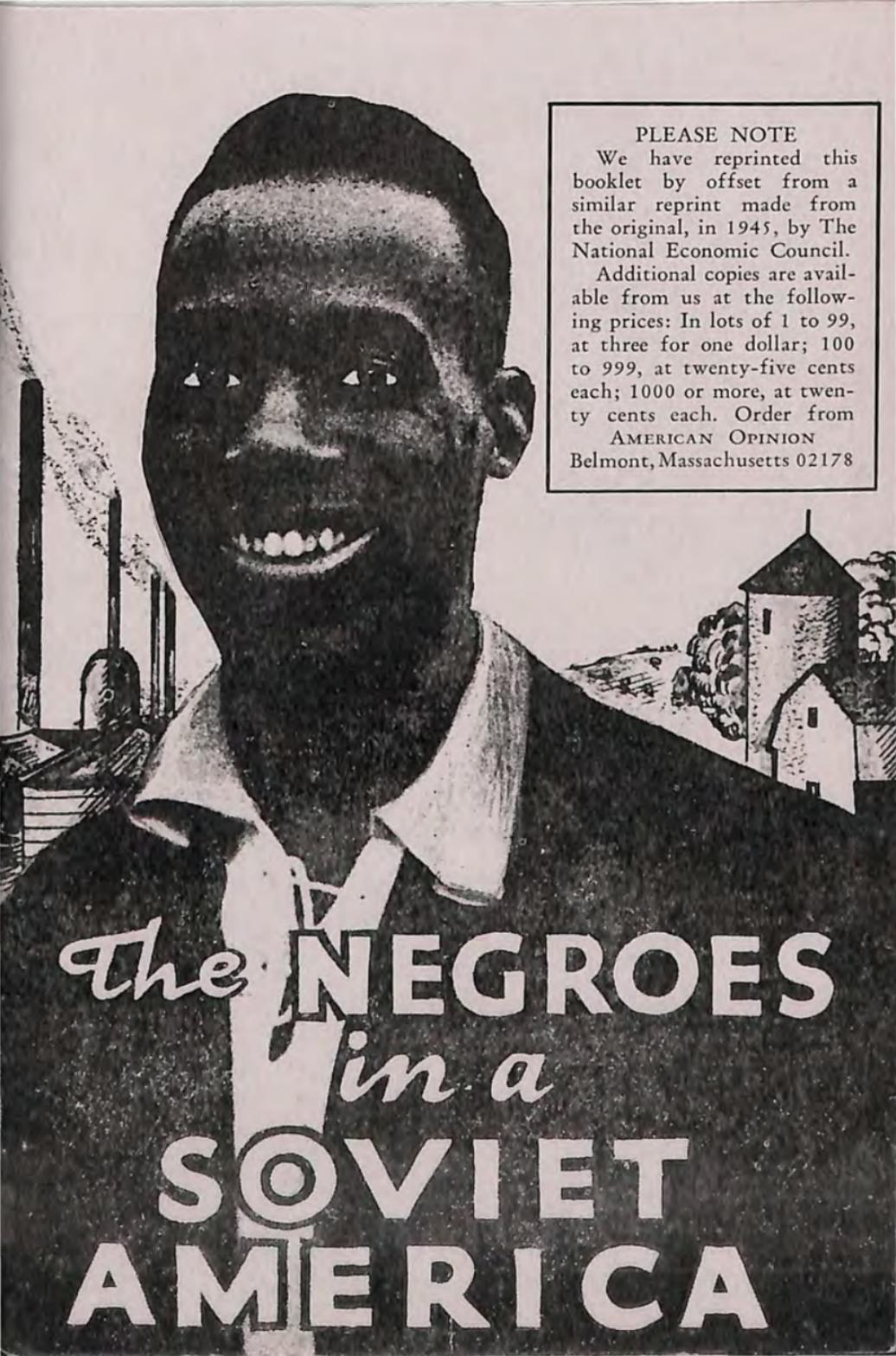
education , and the other needs of our cities .

We believe the Congress must move without delay on urban programs . The country can wait no longer for measures that have too long been denied the people of the cities and the nation as a whole--additional civil rights legislation, adequately funded model cities , anti-poverty, housing, education, and job-training programs, and a host of others .

We believe the private sector of America must directly and vigorously involve itself in the crisis of the cities by a commitment to investment, job-training, and hiring, and all that is necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system--and also to its survival.

We believe the sickness of the cities, including civic disorder within them, is the responsibility of the whole of America . Therefore, it is the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a new political, social, economic, and moral climate that will make possible the breaking of the vicious cycle of the ghetto. Efforts must be made to insure the broadest possible opportunity for all citizens and groups, including those in the ghetto, to participate fully in shaping and directing the society of which they are a part.

This Convocation calls upon the nation to end once and for all the shame of poverty amid general affluence. Government and business must accept responsibility to provide all Americans with opportunity to earn an adequate income. Private industry must greatly accelerate its efforts to



PLEASE NOTE

We have reprinted this booklet by offset from a similar reprint made from the original, in 1945, by The National Economic Council.

Additional copies are available from us at the following prices: In lots of 1 to 99, at three for one dollar; 100 to 999, at twenty-five cents each; 1000 or more, at twenty cents each. Order from

AMERICAN OPINION

Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

The **NEGROES**
in a
SOVIET
AMERICA

FOREWORD

THE world is caught in the depths of a great crisis. Masses of people live on the brink of starvation. Discontent and unrest are more widespread than ever before. Changes are taking place in society and in government. Intensive preparations for war and movements towards fascism are developing quickly. These are times of great changes and of quick transformations.

The old ideas, upon which generations of people have been raised, are crumbling because life no longer justifies them. New ideas take their place. People in all walks of life are seeking new solutions, an effective way out of present conditions.

What is the relation of the Negroes in the United States to this rapidly changing world? They are now living through one of the most trying times in their history. What is the way out? This question presents itself more sharply to the Negro masses than to any other section of the population.

It is our purpose in this pamphlet to answer this question.

We believe we express the minimum desires of the Negro masses when we say that they want at least:

1. A decent and secure livelihood;
2. The rights of human beings;
3. An equal, honorable and respected status in all public and social life.

Capitalism has not been able to provide these needs, and is less and less able to do so. There are those who say that by reforming capitalism it can be made to fill the needs of the masses. We will show why this is impossible.

There is only one real, effective way out for the masses. It is not an easy one. But no basic change in society is easy. This way leads to a Soviet America. This is the only realistic vision of freedom possible today. It must be achieved, it can be achieved.

How? We will first show the basis of Negro slavery in the United States today. We will then show how all events are pushing towards another revolution in the United States and what role the Negro people will play in this revolution. We will then try to describe the tremendous vista of freedom and advance possible in a Soviet America.

THE NEGROES

in a

SOVIET AMERICA

by

James W. Ford

and

James S. Allen

PUBLISHED BY WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
P. O. BOX 148, STA. D, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE, 1935

The Negroes in a Soviet America

By JAMES W. FORD and JAMES S. ALLEN

I. THE NEGRO IN CAPITALIST AMERICA

BOOKER T. Washington once said: "No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized." He thought that capitalism would permit the Negro to develop business and manufacturing, and increase his ownership of land. In this way, he believed, the Negro could achieve an important economic place in the capitalist world. His whole philosophy was based upon this belief. "Agitation for social equality," he said, "would be extreme folly." Let each Negro train himself in industrial pursuits or in business, hew a place for himself in capitalist America, and only then will he be treated with respect, was his advice.

But what has this wisdom led to?

Economic "Progress"

Let us first consider the question of landownership. During the Civil War and immediately after, the Negroes thought that they would obtain the land—"forty acres and a mule." But nothing of the kind happened. Only very slowly and with much difficulty was it possible for some to purchase land. By 1910 only one-fourth of all Negro farmers owned some land, usually very little, the poorest and most heavily mortgaged.

But for the last 25 years, capitalism has been taking even this land away from Negro farmers. In 1930 there were 40,000 less Negro farm owners than in 1910. In ten years, between 1920 and 1930, Negroes lost almost 2,000,000 acres of land. How much they have lost in the last five years, no one knows. But it is certain that land is being taken away now from Negro owners by banks, insurance companies, large landowners and other creditors, much more rapidly than before.

On the other hand, the most brutal form of slavery in the country has been growing rapidly. The Negroes are the principal victims of this slavery. It is share-cropping and planta-

tion tenancy. Everyone knows that when chattel slavery was abolished the plantations remained. Most of the Negroes became share-croppers and tenants on these plantations. They were actually prisoners, almost chattel slaves. Almost three-quarters of a century has passed since Emancipation. Has capitalism done anything to abolish this new slavery?

On the contrary! The plantation country to this day is like a prison, a veritable hell to which 5,000,000 Negroes have been consigned without any prospect of immediate escape. In fact, the slavery has even increased. In the cotton plantation area of the South, twenty-five years ago, 80 per cent of all the Negro farmers were croppers and tenants. But in 1930 their number had grown to almost 84 per cent.

There are those who say that President Roosevelt and the "New Deal" are changing this situation. But it is clear to every Negro in the plantation country that Roosevelt has been helping only the big planters. His policies have resulted in increased slavery.

When the crisis broke out in this country the large landowners in the South found themselves in a quandary. Many of the banks and credit merchants failed and those who remained refused to extend credit. Many of the small landowners, who lived from hand to mouth, were wiped out. From the beginning of the crisis to March, 1933, over a half-million forced sales and foreclosures took place in the Southern states.

Roosevelt came to the rescue of the large landowners by pumping tremendous funds into the South, most of which went to the modern slave-master — the plantation owner. In nine months alone the Farm Credit Administration advanced about \$300,000,000 directly to the planters. In this way, Roosevelt helped to bolster up the plantation, on which millions of Negroes are enslaved. The Federal Government took over many of the debts from private banks and insurance companies and is now the biggest holder of mortgages in the South. This means that it now has a direct hand in maintaining the plantation slavery, that it is part owner, together with the big planter, of a vast prison country.

The second step taken by Roosevelt was to increase the profits of the large landowners and the commission merchants by reducing acreage in the South. In 1933, while millions of people were in need of clothing, we were faced with the astounding

picture of ripe cotton being plowed under by poorly clothed farm workers. The croppers and tenants never saw the money which they were supposed to receive from the Government for this act of destruction. The plantation masters, the credit merchants, the bankers, got the government checks. This is what a government farm agent in Mississippi said:

"You know, the government in Washington caused me a little trouble here. By mistake they mailed some of the checks made out to 'nigger' croppers. They probably didn't know what they were doing when they did it. Imagine giving a check to a 'nigger' cropper! Of course, I turned these checks over to the landlords anyhow. They'll have to get the croppers to endorse them before they take them to the bank. But that won't be hard."

Acreage was cut again in 1934 under the Bankhead Bill. It is being cut again in 1935 as a result of a "democratic" election in which the plantation owners forced the Negro croppers and tenants to vote for reduction.

This is not only a decimation of crops; it is also a decimation of hundreds of thousands of human beings. Whole tenant families are being sent "down the road" by the planters, or are being permitted to eke out a miserable existence in their cabins doing forced labor for the government or the planter in return for some crumbs called relief. These landless and workless farm families are being "kept on hand" to be forced to work at plowing, chopping or cotton picking at starvation wages. Wages on most plantations are now between 25 and 50 cents a day.

Roosevelt's policies have had the effect of increasing the slavery of millions of Negro toilers in the South. Cotton, the need of millions of unclothed, a necessity of mankind, has been turned into the mark of Negro slavery by capitalism.

The Promise of the City

It seemed to many people, especially during the World War and the years immediately following, that city life and industry would offer a means of escape from slavery on the land.

The city and its industry had been practically forbidden territory for Negroes up to the World War. In the first place, the plantation masters and government agencies of the Black Belt kept the Negroes chained to the land and would not permit them to leave. Even when industry began to develop in the South, the factory gates remained closed to Negro workers. Hope was

dimmed when the textile industry, which grew so rapidly in the South, made it clear that it would not hire Negroes. The place of the Negro, it was said, was on the plantation; their slave labor was needed there. Even to this day, the textile mills do not have any Negro workers at the machines.

But during the World War a great shortage of labor existed in industry. Then only did the capitalists make an energetic drive to obtain Negro labor.

Who does not remember the great hope of the exodus? It was compared to the Emancipation Act. The South was the land of the Pharaohs, the North "the Land of Promise". The Red Sea of capitalism was opening up to permit the Negroes to pass. But the exodus was already petering out in 1923. Employers had more labor than they needed. The Red Sea again flowed back into its normal course.

Almost twenty years have gone by since the mass migration started. Years before, Negroes, in smaller numbers, had been engaged in industrial pursuits. Yet it is a well-known fact that Negro workers have not been permitted to advance to the higher-paying jobs. They have been forced to the lowest status of all industrial workers, to the unskilled, heavy-laboring jobs. Today, no more than 10 per cent of all the Negro workers have held skilled or semi-skilled jobs. It is not because they cannot be skilled workers. Many of them are. It was a common occurrence in the South, even before the present crisis, to find graduates of Tuskegee Institute, highly trained mechanics and teachers, working as bell-boys in the hotels. But capitalism has not given the same opportunities to the Negroes for advancement and training as it had given to white workers. The white workers, it is true, are wage-slaves under capitalism. They must sell their labor to an employer in order to live. They, also, are exploited. But it is clear to everybody that the Negro wage-worker is exploited even more. He is held back to the lowest level of the wage-workers, he is pushed back by capitalism every time he advances.

Under President Roosevelt's "New Deal" this state of affairs has been officially recognized and given a legal status. The Industrial Codes have placed the official stamp of the Federal Government upon the double standard. The differential wage established by these Codes said in effect that the wages of Negro workers must remain lower than those of white workers. One

example will show how this works. The Code for the lumber industry placed the minimum wage for the North at 42½ cents an hour, and for the South, where most of the lumber workers are Negroes, at 24 cents an hour.

Now capitalism is trying to evict the Negro workers from industry for good. Today there is an army of at least 15,000,000 unemployed in the United States. Among the Negro workers unemployment is many times greater than among white workers. The number of Negroes in families on relief increased from 2,117,000 in October, 1933, to 3,500,000 in January, 1935. In many places even jobs which were always held by Negroes are being given to white workers at the same or even lower wages.

Nor has the Negro fared any better in the professions. Here again capitalism has held back with a heavy hand all efforts at advancement. In the whole country there are only 6,781 Negro physicians, lawyers and dentists. They also have been victims of segregation and discrimination, suffering from inadequate facilities in the way of training and practice, and excluded from white institutions. Many of them are starving today. For a population of 12,000,000 Negroes there are only 50,000 Negro teachers, most of whom are not permitted to teach in white schools. The yearly salary of most of these teachers does not exceed \$300.

Push ahead in business, was another advice of Booker T. Washington. One is even met with this advice on all sides today. But even the development of a large Negro middle class has proven to be impossible under capitalism. In the whole country today, there are only about 25,000 retail stores operated by Negro proprietors. Most of these are small, overnight, "peddler" affairs. Why? Not because the Negro is not capable, but because big business has the monopoly of commerce and trade. Segregation forces the Negro retailer to sell only in Negro neighborhoods. He has a poor clientele. He has no chance against the chain store. Today, many small business men are being wiped out.

A small, well-to-do class, however, has developed among the Negro people. The Negroes also have a millionaire or two. But this class has developed only at the expense of the rest of the Negro community. It gathers for itself a goodly share of the profits arising from the exploitation of the Negro masses. It is true that capitalism has not permitted the existence of any large Negro-owned industrial enterprises. The white ruling class is

the direct exploiter of the Negro masses on the plantations and in industry. But the Negro upper class has found another way to exploit the Negro masses.

It makes its profits by taking advantage of segregation and the ideas of "white superiority"! If one examines a list of the wealthiest Negroes he will find that many of them have made their fortunes by speculating in real estate in the segregated sections of large cities and by extracting extremely high rents from their Negro tenants (Watt Terry, the Negro millionaire; John E. Nail, Oscar DePriest, etc.). Others have built up their wealth in the cosmetic business by commercializing the idea of "white beauty" (Madame C. J. Walker, Mrs. Annie M. Turnbee, Anthony Overton, etc.). Still others have made their wealth in the insurance and banking business, closely connected with real estate speculation and landlordism (Anthony Overton, C. C. Spaulding, etc.). A number of Negro physicians and ministers have accumulated small fortunes, not in their practice but in real estate. These people live on the body of the segregated Negro community. They are in favor of segregation and oppose all efforts to wipe out segregation, for it would mean destroying the basis of their wealth.

It is clear, then, that capitalism has hindered the economic progress of the Negro people. With the exception of the small layer of parasites, the Negro people are retarded, held down, pushed down to the lowest level. This is economic progress during 75 years of capitalist freedom!

The "Stigma of Race"

"That *thing* over there!"

These were the words with which Thomas Knight, Jr., chief prosecutor in the Scottsboro Case, referred to Heywood Patterson during the second trial at Decatur, Alabama.

These words express the contemptuous and insulting attitude towards Negroes which capitalism breathes. "Keep the Negro in his place"—this is the watchword of the modern slave driver. Social ostracism, persecution, segregation, insult have taken the place of the slaveowner's paternalism and of Simon Legree's whip.

The facts of Jim-Crowism, lynching, discrimination are so generally known and are so deeply branded in the heart of the Negro masses that we need not go into detail here. Suffice it to

say that the rulers of this country, especially and most openly in the South, have made the Negro a social outcast, have treated him not like a human being but like cattle. They have gone to the greatest pains to brand the Negroes with the mark of non-humans. On street cars, trains, in railroad stations and places of amusement, on drinking fountains, the ruling class of the South has broadcast to the world: "Only whites here—only Negroes there!" In the North they do not use signs, but that is the only difference.

There are written laws and there are unwritten laws. The three most important written laws with regard to Negroes are the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These are supposed to guarantee to every Negro the full rights of citizenship and equality under the law. But these are only decorations on the Constitution. Negroes are not permitted to serve on juries in the South. A Negro voter in the South is either an object of a lynching party or a highly privileged character. Although such practices are supposed to be unconstitutional, has the Federal government, since the period immediately after the Civil War, ever done anything about it? These written laws are not enforced. But the written laws in 15 states segregating Negroes on public conveyances are very strictly enforced.

There is one unwritten law which is also very severely enforced. That is the law that lynchers of Negroes are not to be punished.

What is the reason for this very severe persecution of the Negro masses? It is not to be found in any "natural hatred" of whites for Negroes. These acts of hatred and of persecution are caused by capitalism.

First: The ruling class must use severe measures of oppression and persecution in order to keep the Negro peon on the plantation, in order to maintain that special slavery of the South. The capitalists also make use of the same measures to force the Negro to take the lowest place in industry.

Second: The whole idea of the "superiority of the white race" and the practices of Jim-Crow are used to effect a severe separation of the white masses from the Negroes. Race prejudice grew out of the old chattel slave system. Then the slaveowners were afraid of a union of the oppressed "poor whites" with the Negro slaves. Capitalism has taken over this prejudice and uses it for

the same purpose. This will be clear when one compares the oppression of the Negroes and of the Filipinos by American imperialism. The Filipinos are also an oppressed people. Yet there is not as much prejudice in the United States against Filipinos as against Negroes. The reason is that about 5,000 miles of ocean prevent the Filipino masses from carrying on daily struggles in immediate contact with the American masses. On the other hand, the whites and Negroes come into daily and constant contact in the United States, often exploited by the same boss or planter and engaging in common struggles for their daily needs. The ruling class has therefore used extreme and severe methods to keep them apart.

Let us now consider briefly education and health.

The public school system is supposed to be open to all. We should remember that the Negroes were principally responsible for starting a system of free public education in the South immediately after the Civil War. The first superintendents of the public school system in many Southern states were Negroes.

Today, the Negro is the outcast of the public school system. One million Negro children of school age are not in school at all. More than a third of the Negro pupils never get beyond the first grade and three-fourths never advance beyond the fourth. In many sections of the plantation country schools are open only for two or three months during the year.

More than half the population of Mississippi is Negro. Yet the state spends only \$5.45 a year for the education of the Negro child as compared with \$45.34 for a white pupil. In one county in Alabama it was \$57 per white child and \$1.51 per Negro.

Today, many of the Negro schools have been closed down for lack of funds. Capitalism is sacrificing the education of millions of children.

The high disease and death rates among the Negro people reveal the severity of capitalist exploitation. In Milwaukee, for instance, the death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes was eight times as great as among whites; in Harlem three times as great as compared with New York City as a whole. Deaths from heart disease are twice as great among Negroes as among whites. In Manhattan, where the Negroes constitute only 12 per cent of the total population, almost one-fourth of all infant deaths occurred among Negroes.

This high death and disease rate is due to the hard exploitation of Negroes, to lack of hospitals and of care, to the crowding of the segregated sections.

In view of these appalling facts, knowing all the bitter details of our daily existence, is there any reason why we should permit capitalism to continue?

The Reformers and the "Race Criers"

There are still those who would have the Negro masses believe that capitalism can do better than it has in the past. These people range from out-and-out reactionaries to those who cover reactionary policies with radical drappings. Let us see what they have to say as to the way out.

The Bootstrap Lifters

There are still many followers of Booker T. Washington today who would have us lift ourselves up by our bootstraps, when many of us do not even have boots.

But we have already seen, from 75 years of experience, that capitalism has permitted only very few to rise—at the expense of the rest of the people. Today, when the crisis is denying millions even the barest necessities of life, only a quack or an out-and-out reactionary can give such counsel.

But this kind of agitation is still very strong. Pick up almost any Negro newspaper, listen to many of the "race leaders" and you will be advised to help build Negro business. This will solve all our problems, we are told. The executive secretary of the National Negro Business League tells us: "Business points the way to a breakdown of the barriers and handicaps which retard Negro progress." He, and many others, call upon the Negro masses to patronize Negro business, as the most effective means to protect themselves against persecution.

How futile, how bankrupt is this advice! Everywhere the capitalists are *cutting down* production, have closed factories, reduced crops. The big monopolies and trusts are getting greater control of manufacturing and of the market. Small businessmen everywhere are going bankrupt. Even the largest Negro banks and insurance companies, the pride of the followers of Washington, have crashed: the two largest Negro banks, the Binga State and the Douglass National; the "Capstone of Negro business"—the National Benefit Life Insurance Company of Washington.

and others. The P. & H. Taxi Corporation of Harlem, employing 750 workers, saw its last days during the crisis.

The capitalist road of advance is now out of the question. The Negro upper class uses this argument in an attempt to win the Negro market. It has nothing in common with the real interests of the Negro masses.

The Ballot and the Drawing Room

In contrast to Booker T. Washington and his followers there arose the group of middle-class reformers. They were not and are not today entirely opposed to Washington's philosophy. We have in mind especially the founders and present-day leaders of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League.

We say they are not entirely opposed to Washington and the Tuskegee idea for they only objected to Washington's counsel that it would be extreme folly to agitate for social equality. They, however, accepted the basic part of the bootstrap lifters' program; they accepted capitalism. On the basis of capitalism, it seems to them, it is still possible to make economic headway.

The N.A.A.C.P. began on a wave of resentment and anger against Booker T. Washington's betrayal of the fight for equality. Because, like Washington, the N.A.A.C.P. accepted capitalism, it received the support of members of the white ruling class who believed in reform. The basic idea of the reformers is that it is possible to change capitalism for the better, that within the limits of the present system, by peaceful and gradual methods, it will be possible to do away with the oppression of the Negro people. But actual events have shown these people to be completely wrong. Conditions are actually growing much worse under capitalism. The extreme exploitation of the Negro workers and farmers is not being done away with; on the contrary, it is being increased. Acts of violence against Negroes have multiplied.

The methods of the N.A.A.C.P. have proved to be treacherous. The leaders of the organization are afraid to arouse mass movements. They prefer to meet representatives of the ruling class in the drawing room and make compromises with them. Two recent cases show this plainly.

In the Crawford case, where the Negro defendant was charged with the murder of a white farm family in Virginia, the N.A.A.C.P. made an agreement with the prosecution as a result of

which Crawford was sent to prison for life. It turned out that Dean Houston of Howard University, who acted as defense lawyer for the N.A.A.C.P., did not even try to prove the innocence of Crawford, although there was plenty of evidence to show this. The case was carried on quietly, no mass protest was permitted, the sentence was not even appealed.

From the very beginning of the famous Scottsboro Case the N.A.A.C.P. attempted to wrest the case from the hands of the mass defense movement. They waged a bitter struggle against the International Labor Defense and the Communists. Why? Because they were afraid of the mass movement which had been aroused. They wanted to have quiet sessions with the Alabama lynchers, fix up the case behind the scenes. This would have meant sacrificing the lives of some of the nine Scottsboro boys and prison terms for the rest. The I.L.D., however, fought the Alabama lynch courts and mobs, made the case known around the world, roused millions of people. They fought not only for the lives of the boys but also for the right of Negroes to serve on juries in the South and other rights of Negroes. As a result of this method of fighting, the lives of the boys have been snatched from the electric chair four times.

One of the principal lessons to be gained from the fight for the Scottsboro boys is this: It is possible to obtain certain victories from the ruling class, but not by cringing, Uncle Tom or Judas methods. The only way such victories can be obtained is by rousing and organizing the masses, by refusing to accept sops.

The reformers have still another idea. They have a great reverence for the ballot, they think it can produce wonders. The leaders of the Socialist Party still cling to this old fairy-tale. The workers, they say, can elect themselves into power and then peacefully bring about a change in capitalism. But what if the capitalists refuse to abdicate? They reply: "We'll see then."

The miracle of the ballot! If the ballot can do all they say it can how are the Negroes going to use it when 4,000,000 Negroes, eligible to vote, are disfranchised? When two out of three Negro eligible voters are not even permitted into a voting booth?

We say that Negroes must have this right to vote, as well as the other rights of citizenship. We must fight for these rights. We say that the workers and the oppressed masses should use the ballot, the right of free speech and assembly, to elect their

own representatives, and create their own organizations. We fight against every effort to take these rights away.

But at the same time we emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot. We believe in using elections and our representatives in elected bodies to rally the people against capitalism. As long as capitalism permits the rights of citizenship, the working class should use these rights against the capitalists. But anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot and civil rights for your defense is betraying you. For, as has happened in Germany, in Italy and in Austria, the capitalists take these rights away, forbid the right of free press, free assemblage, free speech and the vote. And what then? Does not the ruling class in the United States more and more deny the rights of citizenship to workers, have they not always denied these rights to Negroes?

The "Race Criers": Black Patriotism

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, former editor of *The Crisis* who recently departed from the N.A.A.C.P., is today the clearest and foremost exponent of Black Patriotism and race solidarity. We will examine his arguments one by one, for they are the most complete and best arguments for this point of view. We will then show how dangerous such ideas are to the struggle for Negro freedom.

First argument: The Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, is not an exploiter of Negro labor.

We have already shown that this is not true. It is correct that there are very few Negro manufacturers or large landowners who hire labor and exploit Negro workers directly. But there is a Negro upper class which lives by means of segregation. It is in the interest of this class to defend segregation, or the very basis of Negro business would be wiped out. On the other hand, segregation is the worst feature of the oppression of the Negro masses. It is in the best interests of these masses to wipe out segregation. The interests of the masses and of the Negro upper class clash. In order to obtain real equality, which means doing away with segregation, it is necessary to fight not only against the white ruling class but against the Negro upper class as well.

Furthermore, it is clear that the interests of the Negro upper class are the same as those of the white ruling class. Both classes wish to maintain segregation, and with it, the basis of Negro oppression. This unity of interest is shown clearly in

action. On many occasions we have seen the so-called "respectable leaders of the race" openly cooperating with the ruling class.

Second argument: The members of the Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, "bear the brunt of color prejudice because they express in word and work the aspirations of all black folk for emancipation." He goes on to claim the Negro upper class as the leader of the Negro people towards a new future.

We know that a class which lives from crumbs off the table of American big business, of the Rockefellers and the Fords, which accepts capitalism as the basis for its own existence, can not lead a strenuous and militant struggle for Negro liberation. But DuBois tries to dress this cringy warrior in shining armor, for he fears another class. He fears the working class.

The workers as a class are the only consistently revolutionary class in present-day society. If properly organized and led, they can stop the wheels of industry. They are like an army: big industry has thrown the workers together, in large disciplined masses. They organize in unions to fight for better conditions. To win better conditions they *must* fight against the capitalists. This struggle develops into a struggle against capitalism itself. The workers are the only class with the power to overthrow capitalism and build a new society. They lead the rest of the exploited population to this goal.

It has been one of the most inspiring facts of recent history in the United States, that the white workers have begun to overcome white prejudices and lead in the struggle for Negro rights. This is in part due to the economic crisis. As they have lost their jobs, as their conditions have grown steadily worse, they have seen the necessity of uniting with their fellow black workers against the employers. But it is also because of the fight of the Communists against prejudice and for working class solidarity and Negro rights. In the last six years, since 1929, the following highly significant events have occurred:

A share-croppers' union, under Communist leadership, has been organized in Alabama and other Southern states, with a membership, at the time of writing, of close to 10,000 members. This is the first time that such a large and fighting union of share-croppers has been able to exist, to lead struggles against the plantation masters and to continue to grow.

The Communist Party has been organizing white and Negro

workers in the South. As a result, the feeling for solidarity has grown even in the American Federation of Labor Unions in the South, as, for instance, in the United Mine Workers of America in the Birmingham region.

Under the leadership of the Communists, a mighty struggle for Negro rights is being waged in the South. The outstanding example of this is the Scottsboro Case.

In the North, largely as a result of Communist policy and agitation, larger and larger numbers of Negro workers are participating in the labor movement. There is a growing solidarity of white and Negro workers in the fight for unemployment insurance and relief and in the struggles of the trade unions.

This movement of solidarity and of unity has also been joined by Negro intellectuals, teachers, doctors and other professionals, who have left the reformers and understood the need of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Dr. DuBois expresses the fear of the Negro upper class for this movement. He is in favor of "race" solidarity and opposes the solidarity of white and Negro labor, which he tries to prevent.

Third argument: He uses an old weapon of the white ruling class. He tries to turn the anger and resentment of the Negro masses not against the white capitalists and the Negro Uncle Toms, but against the white workers. The exploitation of the Negro workers, in Dr. DuBois' own words, "comes not from the black capitalistic class but from the white capitalists and *equally* from the white proletariat". He goes even further, charging the white workers with causing the "lowest and most fatal degree" of the suffering of Negro labor.

The prejudice of the white workers, according to Dr. DuBois, is inborn and cannot be changed. The white workers cannot be trusted. They are the enemies of the Negro masses. To believe Dr. DuBois means to give up all hope of liberation.

It cannot be denied that race prejudice exists among large sections of the white workers. On many occasions, white workers have participated in acts of discrimination against Negroes. But, any sensible person will ask, what is *the cause* of this prejudice? Is it instinctive and unchangeable?

We have already seen that race prejudice arises like a stench from the plantation system and from capitalist exploitation. We have seen that capitalism has fostered this prejudice in order to

maintain the oppression of the Negro masses and prevent the unity of the white workers with them. But we have also seen that this prejudice begins to fade into the background as the white workers unite with the Negroes in a struggle to obtain their needs.

We should also ask: Who are the real carriers of prejudice in the labor movement? And we must answer: That section of the labor movement which includes the more skilled, the better-off sections of the workers who have been misled by the false and temporary "prosperity" and by the top leadership of the American Federation of Labor. This section of the workers had been lulled to sleep by the dream of perpetual well-being and the treacherous promises of peace made by William Green, Matthew Woll, and their cohorts.

But prejudice depends so much upon the conditions under which we live, that even this section of the workers influenced by the Green crowd is also changing its attitude towards the Negro workers. The reason for this is that these "aristocrats of labor" are losing their privileged position because of the economic crisis. Many skilled workers have been thrown out of employment, their wages have been reduced, their general conditions are worse. They, too, are being forced to fight in order to live. They begin to realize that the great mass of unorganized workers, including the Negroes, must be organized into the unions in order to defend themselves against the attacks of the employers. Proof of this is the great wave of trade union organization and strikes which began to sweep the country in 1933.

The Southern workers, who form the most backward section of the American working class, have been for generations most persistently inculcated with race prejudice. Now, in the course of a growing wave of struggle against their exploiters they are developing solidarity with the Negro workers. More than anyone else, we realize the difficulty of overcoming prejudice among these workers. They have been fed it since infancy. But the fight for bread and life is stronger than prejudice. Let us illustrate this.

In an industrial city of the South there was a group of about a dozen white workers, most of them unemployed molders, who became interested in the Communist Party. They would meet once a week to discuss the situation with a Communist organizer. From their own bitter experience they knew and agreed that it was necessary to organize together with the Negro workers in

the same unions. For during the great railway shopmen's strike in 1922 their union had been smashed by the employers simply because the union had refused admittance to the molder's helpers, who were Negroes. When the strike broke out, many of the Negro workers saw no reason for helping the white workers who had refused to admit them into the union and fight for their demands. The result was that the employers now placed the Negro helpers in the molder's jobs, at lower wages of course, and broke both the strike and the union.

But these white molders in their discussions with the Communist organizer, objected to social equality. One conversation ran somewhat as follows:

White worker: I don't like Negroes, and I don't see why I should sit beside one at a meeting or on a street car.

Communist: Now you agree that white and Negro workers should organize together in the same union. Let us imagine that there is a strike. There will be a strike committee. On this strike committee there will be both white and Negro workers, for especially in time of struggle we must keep our ranks united, strong.

White worker: That's right. We'll have to keep our picket lines strong, and stop any white or Negro scabs.

Communist: It will be necessary for this strike committee to meet almost continually. You will not be able to meet in a public hall, for thugs and the police may be after you, and you cannot afford to have the leadership of the strike put out of commission. You may have to meet in your own house, perhaps.

White worker: Yes, if there is no other way out.

Communist: Your home is small. You will have to use your largest room, the parlor. You will have Negroes in your parlor, for you cannot exclude Negroes from the strike committee meeting. The strike is the most important thing. This strike may be a very hard one. During the most crucial time, it may be necessary to meet late into the night, and go into action again early in the morning. Some of the Negro members of the Committee may live in the opposite end of town. They cannot go home. They may have to stay over. Would you deny them the hospitality of your home? Social equality, you see, becomes a necessity of the strike, of the class struggle. If you do not practice this social equality, you will lose the support of the Negro workers and the strike will be lost.

The white workers were a little taken aback. They thought it was driving things a little too far, although they could not deny the logic of this argument. When in the local election campaign the Communist Party ran a Negro worker as candidate for Mayor, these white molders refused to meet with the Communist organizer. But their attitude changed quickly enough.

Shortly after, the city cut down on relief. The Unemployment Council and the Communist Party called for a demonstration of protest. Fully five thousand workers, both whites and Negroes, responded. But the police broke up the demonstration immediately, beating up one of the speakers and arresting three. The workers were incensed. Large numbers came to the Unemployment Council hall which could seat no more than 100 persons. On the long wooden benches were seated white and Negro workers side by side, talking excitedly about their experiences, and cursing in common terms the police and the city administration. And talking just as excitedly with a group of Negro workers were some of these white molders whom it had been so hard to convince. The actual facts of life, their common experiences with the Negro workers, had brought them together.

This is the way working class solidarity is built. Prejudice may remain, but it becomes less important, is superseded by the needs of the daily struggle. The white workers will overcome the hindrance of prejudice, because they must do so in order to live.

Now, Dr. DuBois, in rousing the enmity of the Negroes against the white workers, as do other upholders of "race solidarity", helps to prevent this unity. He takes advantage of the distrust of whites which has been imbedded in the hearts of the Negroes by long years of oppression. He fans and builds this distrust.

The conclusion: And what is the solution proposed by Dr. DuBois?

"The only thing that we not only can, but must do, is voluntarily and insistently to organize our economic and social power, *no matter how much segregation is involved.*"

Now if this is not an outspoken defense and support of segregation, we do not know what is. Negro salvation is to come—through segregation, the watchword of the parasites among the Negro people!

We have not much to add about the new Garveyites, about the movement led by the "Black Hitler" Sufi, the exponents of

the 49th State and other similar race movements. They are all based on the same ideas expressed so well by Dr. DuBois. Whether it be a return to Africa or the creation of a 49th state for Negroes or some other such Utopian, unrealizable schemes, these provide no way out for the Negro masses. These plans assume support and cooperation of the white ruling class. They distract the Negro masses from effective struggle against American imperialism. They lead deeper into the dangerous net of race segregation, which satisfies only the present interests of the Negro upper class and the ruling class of the country.

These movements towards race segregation have recently had a new lease on life. They have grown as a result of the crisis which has ruined many Negro middle class people, who are desperately seeking a way out. The increased persecution and terror against the Negroes has fanned this movement. Many participate because they honestly believe that this is the way out.

Among the new movements of this character are those which aim to obtain "jobs for Negroes". Among these are the Costini movement in Baltimore, the Negro Alliance in Washington, D.C., and the Sufi movement in Harlem. These movements confine their activities to individual establishments in the Negro communities. So small and few are these business houses, that it is clear that they could only provide a limited number of jobs for Negro workers and would in no way help solve the problem of mass unemployment. These movements, then, have the effect of hindering the struggle for unemployment insurance for all workers and for adequate relief. They shunt this struggle into a closed alley.

But just as dangerous to the real interests of the Negro masses is the effect of this movement in strengthening separation of the white and Negro workers. For the leaders advocate the replacement of white workers employed in Negro neighborhoods. In this way they direct the resentment of the Negro workers not against the ruling class but against the white workers. Instead we should direct all our efforts towards the organization of the Negro workers together with the white, the opening of the doors of all unions to Negroes, equal opportunities for jobs *in white as well as in Negro neighborhoods*, and to obtaining adequate insurance for the unemployed from the Federal Government.

Another movement especially dangerous at this time is the

Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, which has as its main slogan: "United Front of Darker Races Under Leadership of Japan." The agents of the Japanese ruling class have organized and sponsored this movement in the United States. Their purpose is to try to create difficulties for the ruling class of America in case of a war between Japan and the United States. Such a war is now very possible—a war between two brigands for the spoils and riches of the East. But the Japanese ruling class is no more a friend of the Negro than is the ruling class of the United States. The Japanese capitalists have not hesitated to subdue and rule Korea with an iron hand although the Koreans are a colored people. They have made all haste to grab Manchuria and other sections of Northern China. They carry on a relentless war against the Chinese people. They are now intriguing even in Africa and are penetrating the Philippine Islands with the purpose of seizing territory there also. At the same time, the Japanese ruling class is carrying on the most ruthless kind of terror against the toiling masses of Japan, suppressing trade unions and peasants' organizations, smashing strikes, etc.

In this struggle between the Japanese and American ruling class for the division of the East and for the right to exploit additional masses of toilers, we side with neither. We wish for the defeat both of the Japanese and of the American ruling class. We wish to see them both overthrown; capitalism in Japan as well as in the United States destroyed. Our task is to fight *against American imperialism*, just as the task of the Japanese workers is to struggle against Japanese imperialism.

Japanese capitalism is now one of the principal enemies of the Soviet Union. It is seizing additional territory in North China in order to be better prepared for a war against the Soviet Union. Japanese statesmen freely admit this. Japanese troops are concentrated on the Soviet borders.

The Soviet Union is different from all the other countries in the world. There capitalism has already been overthrown, the workers and farmers rule; machines, factories, banks, railroads and land are in the hands of the toilers. Colored peoples of all races live in the territory of the Soviet Union. These peoples enjoy the fullest equality and freedom. Any act or expression of race prejudice is considered a crime. These facts have been fully confirmed by such people as Paul Robeson and

other prominent Negroes who have either visited or who live and work in the Soviet Union. Robinson, a Negro mechanic, is a member of the Moscow Soviet, the chief governmental body of the capital of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government has renounced all the special privileges formerly held by the Tsar in China, Persia, Turkey and other Eastern countries.

And yet the agents of Japanese capitalism are spreading the lie that the Soviet Union is one of those "white nations" which seeks to dominate the colored peoples of the world!

From Dr. DuBois through the new editions of Garvey and the intrigues of Japanese capitalists there runs a common streak: race loyalty, race solidarity, race patriotism! Will these solve the problem of the Negro people? For a reply one need only ask: Has segregation solved this problem? Is it not true that segregation is *the* problem, the very thing which has to be wiped out? And these saviors propose to heap still more and ever more segregation upon us!

The Threat of Fascism

One of the leading fascist journals in Germany says:

"In each Negro, even in one of the kindest disposition is the latent brute and the primitive man who can be tamed neither by centuries of slavery nor by an external varnish of civilization. All assimilation, all education is bound to fail on account of the racial inborn features of the blood. One can therefore understand why in the Southern states [of America] sheer necessity compels the white race to act in an abhorrent, and perhaps even cruel manner against the Negroes. And, of course, most of the Negroes that are lynched do not merit any regret."

Spoken like a Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan! This expresses the threat of fascism to the Negro should it come to the United States. The country would be one domain of the super-K.K.K. The Negro would be the chief victim of fascist persecution and murder. Lynching would become the national sport of the fascist mercenaries. Already the budding fascist organizations in this country have written the degradation of the Negro into their program as their most sacred principle.

Fascism is rapidly growing in the United States today. As conditions grow worse, as the masses of people become more and more dissatisfied and seek a way out of the misery imposed

by capitalism, the capitalists turn to the road of fascism. It is the last line of trenches for capitalism before the onrush of the revolutionary army. When fascism comes into power, as we see in the fascist countries of Europe, the last liberties are taken away from the masses. The trade unions and all independent organizations of the masses are smashed; only government or company unions and fascist organizations are permitted. An open dictatorship of the capitalists rules the country. One can well imagine what the lot of the Negro people would be under such a dictatorship.

Under President Roosevelt, the road is being paved for fascism. With the help of the N.R.A. labor boards, the attempt is being made to force the workers into company unions, to abrogate the right to strike, or to place the unions entirely under government control. More and more power has been concentrated into the hands of the President who turns more directly to the high financial moguls of Wall Street for his orders. There are rapid preparations for war and increased propaganda of nationalism and patriotism.

But the President and his aides carry out these policies under cover of many phrases and promises about helping the people. The people are radical-minded; Roosevelt, therefore, uses some radical phrases. This also is a method of the fascists, who have made demagoguery a supreme art. He talks about "chasing the money-changers from the temple", but aids big business.

But there are others with their ears close to the ground who go even further than Roosevelt in the use of anti-capitalist language. These are the budding fascist leaders, like Father Coughlin, William R. Hearst and Huey Long. Father Coughlin and Huey Long are clever men who talk about the inequalities and injustices of capitalism and because of this get a ready response from many people who do not yet understand how to do away with these injustices. Hearst throughout his whole life has been a vicious enemy of the workers and a loyal defender of capitalism. He realizes that the Coughlin and Long methods are today the best way of trying to prolong the life of capitalism. He therefore supports them and offers them the services of his chain of anti-labor newspapers. But it was with language such as these men use that Hitler built his fascist storm troops in Germany. Hitler obtained his funds from the biggest industrialists and finan-

ciers of Germany, just as certain big bankers in the United States are today beginning to support budding fascists in the United States. Hitler also talked about limiting fortunes, doing away with unemployment, re-dividing wealth. etc. But these only remained empty promises after he came into power.

That Huey Long, a representative of the plantation masters of the South, that Father Coughlin, linked to Wall Street through the Committee for the Nation, that Hearst, the king of anti-labor and anti-Negro propagandists, should have to talk against outstanding evils of capitalism in order to save it shows one important thing. Capitalism is on the brink of destruction. People no longer believe in it. The turning point in history has come.

The masses of Negro people certainly have no desire to see the present system of society in the United States continue. It has meant more suffering and slavery for them than for any other section of the population. What are *the* important changes which have to be made? How can they be made?

II. THE NEGRO AND REVOLUTION

Two Revolutions in One

The problem of Negro liberation has two aspects. The first is the question of equality. Here we ask: what must be done to remove the basis of the special persecution and oppression of the Negro people, to wipe out lynching, segregation, social ostracism as well as extra-exploitation on the land and in industry?

The second is common to all workers and exploited, whether they be white or Negro. Here we ask: what must be done to wipe out wage-slavery, unemployment, poverty, crises and war?

These questions are not entirely separate, but are connected with each other. We shall first consider each separately and then show how the solution for the first flows into the solution for the second.

The Rebellion of an Oppressed Nation

The special oppression of the Negro people in the United States is due to the firmly rooted remainders of chattel slavery. Every one knows that while chattel slavery was abolished as a result of the Civil War, freedom—such as even the white workers have under capitalism—did not take its place. Elements of the old chattel slave system remain to this very day.

These remainders of chattel slavery can be divided into the economic and the social. The most important economic remainders of slavery are the plantation system and share-cropping in the South, which we have already described. But the existence of these in the South not only enslaves the Negroes in the Black Belt, but drags down the Negro population throughout the country. It also affects the white population in the South. There are many white share-croppers whose conditions are only little better than those of the Negroes. They will not be freed from the leftovers of the chattel-slave system unless the Negroes are liberated.

The most important social heritage of the chattel-slave system is the idea of "white superiority" and race prejudice. These ideas were not wiped out because chattel slavery was not entirely wiped out. Alexander Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy, said that the cornerstone of the South rested "upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition." That remains the philosophy of the ruling class of the South today.

To fully realize how much of chattel slavery still remains in the South one has only to know that the largest mass of Negroes still live in the territory of the old slave plantations. The plantations have remained and have imprisoned a large portion of the Negro population. On this territory—the Black Belt—the Negroes are in the majority of the population. Yet precisely here is the center of the enslavement of the Negro people.

As long as the plantations and share-cropping remain, it will be impossible for Negroes to obtain equality. For in order to rise above the plantation level, it is first necessary to remove the plantation and divide the land among the tillers of the soil.

This can only be done by the organized power of the masses of exploited share-croppers and farmers on the land. Such a complete transformation, however, will not come overnight and can be successful only as the result of organization, preparation and proper leadership. The rapid growth of the Share-Croppers Union of Alabama and of the Tenants' Union of Arkansas shows that the situation is ripe for rapid organization.

This land revolution will also be joined by the hundreds of thousands of white share-croppers and poor farmers who have suffered from the plantation and credit system. They, too, will

see the necessity of throwing the large landowners off their backs, escaping from the tyranny of the credit masters and the usurers, and of giving land to the landless.

Seventy-five years ago, the North went to war in order to destroy the power of the slaveowners. That, too, was a revolution. But it was not finished. Our task is to finish it.

But the revolution will not stop with the seizure of the land. That will just be the beginning of a complete, really basic change in the homeland of lynch terror. For just consider where this land revolution will take place: precisely in the plantation country, where the Negroes are today the most oppressed section of the population and where they form the majority of the population. Let us imagine such a revolution taking place in the Mississippi River Delta. Here there are huge plantations. In some counties the Negroes are as high as 90 and 95 per cent of the total population; throughout this area they are not less than 60 per cent. With the power of the plantation owners destroyed, a new kind of government will be set up by the farmers and the workers in this territory. For the first time Negroes and oppressed "poor" whites will really enjoy democracy. The Negroes will play the leading role both in the land revolution and in the new revolutionary governments.

The same will occur throughout the plantation area—from southeastern Virginia, down through the Carolinas and central Georgia, across Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, reaching even into Arkansas and parts of Tennessee and Texas. Now will be the opportunity to really establish the basis of Negro freedom. This land, on which the Negroes have been enslaved for generations, can then be made into a free land. It can be proclaimed as a new country, in which the land has been freed from the exploiters, where the majority—the Negro people—rule with the cooperation of the white masses in the territory.

The white masses on the land will support this new government for it will mean that their right to land is also recognized, that for the first time they, too, will have the benefits of free public school education, freedom from usury, etc. The old South will no longer remain. The Negroes will come into their own.

The real test of freedom for the Negro people in the Black Belt lies in their right to self-determination. Unless they can chose freely for themselves what the relationship of this new

government will be to the United States as a whole, they will not be free. If the capitalists are still in power in Washington we can rest assured that they will oppose and try to crush the rebellion of the Negro people. The Negro people need powerful allies to carry through and to defend this revolution for freedom. They will have such an ally in the working class, the leading force in the struggles of all oppressed sections of the population of the United States against capitalist exploitation.

We must now consider the revolution which will take place throughout the country.

The Proletarian Revolution

Capitalism is giving birth to revolution. The United States was created as the result of a revolution against British domination. It strengthened itself as the result of a revolution against the slaveowners in 1861. Now capitalism is decaying. It can no longer supply the needs of life to those who produce. It is an outworn system. It must give way to a new system of society. A complete transformation must take place, which can come only as the result of a social revolution.

What basic change must be produced in order to do away with wage-slavery, unemployment, war? Capitalism is based upon the private ownership of machines, factories, railroads, land and all other means of production. The means of production are in the hands of a small class, the capitalists. The greatest principles of capitalism are private property and profit. Millions of workers produce together the necessities of life. But these necessities become the property of those who own the machines, the land, etc., while the workers do not have the money with which to buy them. Crises occur, masses of people suffer. Colonies are seized by the capitalist powers in a race for profits and booty. Capitalism gives birth to war.

Only one thing can do away with the basis for the existence of capitalism: the expropriation of the capitalists. Take the means of production away from them, place them in the hands of the workers who will produce, not for profit, but for the needs of society. The working class is in a position to bring this change about. It alone, by its own organized efforts and supported by the rest of the oppressed population, can really and truly change, transform the system under which we live. This change is inevitable. The workers are driven towards it by capitalism itself.

But an attempt to bring about such a basic change would immediately meet the opposition of the capitalists and their State power. This State power consists not only of the bodies of government, but of the army, the police, the courts. In order to expropriate the capitalists the workers first need to discard the existing government machinery and to institute a working class government. Such a revolution was successfully carried through in Russia in 1917, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

This is *the basic change*. Such a revolution frees the workers from wage-slavery and from oppression by the capitalists. The workers are in power. The workers' government suppresses every effort of the capitalists to restore the old system. Under this new workers' government, which guarantees the widest democracy for the masses, the building of socialism begins. Only then is it possible to have social planning to fill the needs of all the masses, to abolish unemployment, to abolish war for profit.

But in order to accomplish the revolution and to defend it the workers need the support of the other exploited sections of the population. While the workers are in a position to organize and lead such a revolution, they cannot carry it through by themselves. They have allies in the population. These allies are:

1. The mass of poor and small farmers, who are oppressed by big business, the trusts, the monopolies and the bankers; also the middle class in the cities, such as the technicians, the professionals, small businessmen, etc., who are suffering from capitalism and who have everything to gain under socialism.

2. The oppressed Negro people.

3. The oppressed peoples of the American colonies—the Philippine Islands, Cuba, etc., and of South and Central America who are under the domination of the capitalists of the U.S.

Among the most important allies of the working class is the Negro people in the United States. This fact determines the relation between the two aspects of the revolution which is developing in this country.

The Combination of Two Revolutions

The revolution for land and freedom in the South and the proletarian revolution in the country as a whole will develop hand in hand. Each will lend strength and support to the other. The working class—both white and Negro—will lead both.

How does it come about that the white workers not only will, but must lend their support to the struggle for Negro liberation?

First of all, because the workers will not be able to overthrow capitalism unless they have the help of the Negro people. This is why we say that it is inevitable that the white workers, even the Southern white workers, fight for Negro freedom and support the struggle of the Negro people. They will do so because it is necessary for their own victory.

The Southern white workers especially will support the Negroes in their struggle. For in the South the power of the landlords and capitalists is threatened most of all in the Black Belt. Here the class struggle is very sharp. This is the weakest front of capitalism. Just imagine what consternation will seize hold of the ruling class of the country when the struggle in the plantation country reaches the stage of revolution! The revolution which breaks out here might indeed be the spark for the proletarian revolution throughout the country. The white workers will understand that the struggle of the Negro people for freedom weakens the power of their own oppressors, the capitalists.

Between the proletarian revolution and the revolution of the Negro people for land and freedom there is a living link. This is the working class. It is among the workers that solidarity first develops and is the strongest. In the cities and towns of the South and in the big industrial centers of the North this solidarity between white and Negro labor is forged. Here reposes the leadership of the two aspects of the revolution.

But there also must be present a conscious organized group of workers, which realizes the necessity of revolution and which leads the masses in their daily struggles towards this end. This is the role of the Communist Party. Communists do not only talk about the future revolution, but are active fighters for the daily interests of the masses. In unions and other working class organizations, in strikes, in demonstrations, in elections, we Communists endeavor, while playing a leading part in the struggles of the masses, to convince them of the correct, revolutionary way out. And one of our principal lines of activity has always been to develop now the solidarity of the white workers and Negro masses, to build this alliance in our daily life and struggles, to assure the combination of the two aspects of the American revolution.

In building this class solidarity there is a division of labor, but with a common aim, between the white and Negro workers. The white workers must realize that the main responsibility for establishing working class unity rests upon their shoulders. They must lead the fight against race prejudice in the ranks of the white masses. They must remember that for centuries the Negro people have been oppressed by white nations. Among the Negro masses there is a deep distrust of all whites. The plantation system and capitalism have created this distrust and it cannot be done away with merely in words. Race prejudice pollutes the air in this country. After having been excluded from a number of labor unions, having been ostracized by many sections of whites, there is no reason for Negroes to believe in words only. They can only be convinced by action. If they see larger number of white workers actually fighting for Negro rights, fighting against race prejudice, insisting upon equal treatment in all places for Negroes, then they will have cause to rely upon the white workers as their ally. This is the only way this distrust can be overcome. This is why the Communists, especially the white Communists, vigilantly guard their Party against the influence of race prejudice. No white worker is deserving of the name of Communist unless he constantly carries on a struggle against every manifestation of race prejudice among the workers.

The Negro workers, in order to achieve working class solidarity, have the chief task of fighting against "black patriotism" and "race solidarity". They must constantly fight against the ideas of such people as Dr. DuBois for, as we have seen, they strengthen the Negro's distrust of the white workers. No Negro has the right to call himself a Communist unless he fights constantly against the Negro "race" leaders, unless he is always exposing the role of those who call for separation between white and Negro, unless he is constantly explaining the unity of interests of the Negro masses and of the working class. The Negro Communist is first and foremost the exponent of the *proletarian* revolution, for he realizes that this alone will guarantee not only freedom for the Negro but also emancipation of all toilers.

How Will the Question of Self-Determination Be Settled?

The Communists fight for the right of the Black Belt territory to self-determination. This means not only that the Negro people shall no longer be oppressed but shall come into their

rightful position as the majority of the population in the Black Belt. It means equally the right of the Black Belt republic freely to determine its relations to the United States.

One cannot tell in advance under what circumstances the question of the right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt will arise for definite solution. There are two distinct possibilities.

First: The revolution in the plantation country might mature sooner than the proletarian revolution in the country as a whole. This is a possibility because of the fact that capitalism is weakest in the South and the enslaved Negro masses on the land are a revolutionary force of great power. It is certain, however, that the revolution in the plantation country cannot come to a head and press for victory unless capitalism throughout the country is in difficulties, already being threatened seriously by the rising working-class movement. In this situation the rebellion of the Negro people would give new strength to and hasten the proletarian revolution. The working class, led by the Communist Party, would come to the aid of the masses in the South to prevent the capitalist ruling class of the North from suppressing the revolution in the Black Belt. Under these circumstances the Communists in the Black Belt would favor, and would do everything in their power to win the laboring people of the Black Belt to favor complete independence from the capitalist-ruled republic of the North. For complete independence of the Black Belt region would then mean greater freedom for the Negroes and a serious weakening of the power of capitalism in the country as a whole. *All* Communists would defend the right of the Negro people to make their choice.

Second: The proletarian revolution may overthrow capitalism and establish a Soviet Government for the country as a whole before the revolution comes to a head in the Black Belt. However it must be kept in mind that the two phases of the revolution will not develop separately. Thus, while the workers are leading the onslaught against capitalism, the revolutionary seizure of the plantation land and large-scale farms may at the same time be proceeding in the South. But once the workers come to power in the United States the revolution for land and freedom will be hastened and completed. One of the first steps of the central Soviet government will be to grant the right of self-determination to the Negro people in the Black Belt.

This would mean that the Negro people in the Black Belt will have the right to choose for themselves between federation with or separation from the United States as a whole. The Soviet Power, the workers and their government, will guarantee this right: First, because there will be no reason for the forcible annexation of the Negro Republic. With the overthrow of capitalism, the basis of all exploitation will have been eliminated, thereby also the basis for the exploitation and oppression of the Negro people. Second, the free union of peoples on the basis of equality is possible only through free choice arrived at by the majority of the people. The very fact that the victorious working class and its Soviet government would guarantee complete and unlimited freedom of choice would in itself be a guarantee of freedom in the full sense of the word. Under such circumstances the Negro Communists would urge and fight for federation with the Soviet republic of the United States, for this course would be to the best interests of the Negro people and all workers. In the event, however, that the choice is against federation—the Communist Party and the Soviet government would respect the will of the Negro people.

In stating our position on this question, we are guided not only by the theoretical principles of the Communist Party but also by the actual experience of the Russian Revolution. Here a number of developments in the solution of the question of self-determination occurred simultaneously. The Great Russians, whose ruling class oppressed the other peoples within the Tsarist Empire, comprised only about 45 per cent of the population of the old Russia. Both during the first revolution in March, 1917, when the Tsar was overthrown, and during the second revolution of November, 1917, when the power of the capitalists and landowners was destroyed and the Soviet Government established, the workers had the support of the peasants not only in central Russia but also in a number of outlying regions where the oppressed national people lived. But the revolution did not develop evenly everywhere. Under these circumstances, how was the question of self-determination settled?

The first act of the Soviet Government was to issue a decree granting the right of self-determination to all the nations of the former Russian empire and full equal rights within the Federated Soviet Republics. In those regions which were not occupied by

troops of the foreign powers and where the workers and peasants had succeeded in establishing autonomous Socialist Soviet governments, these Soviet governments at once federated themselves to the central Russian Soviet Republic. Only as the revolution developed in the other regions and as the counter-revolutionary intervention armies were defeated, were Soviet governments established there. Although the working class of central Russia gave direct aid to the struggle of the peoples of the outlying regions against the intervention armies and the counter-revolutionists, none of these regions was forced to federate with the other Soviet Republics. To this very day, the constitution of the Soviet Union permits the right of self-determination to all the nations at present in the Union.

There were also other developments. In some regions the people were still under the influence of reactionary leaders who were supported by foreign powers. Either the proletarian revolution was suppressed or the proletariat was not yet strong enough nor independent enough from the bourgeois leaders to carry through the revolution to victory. Such a case was Finland, which at one time was a part of the Russian Empire. Towards the end of the World War Finland came under the domination of the German Army, with whose aid the Finnish ruling class suppressed the proletarian revolution and established an independent republic under the domination of the capitalists. Did the Soviet Government try to force Finland into the Union of Soviet Republics? On the contrary, Lenin, as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Republic, himself personally acknowledged to a representative of the Finnish Republic the right of that country to secede and gave him official sanction to do so.

"I very well remember the scene at the Smolny," said Lenin later, "when it fell to my lot to grant the charter to Svinokhod, the representative of the Finnish bourgeoisie who had played the part of hangman. He amiably shook my hand and we paid each other compliments. How unpleasant that was! But it had to be done because at that time the bourgeoisie falsely persuaded the people, the toiling masses, to believe that the Moscovites were chauvinists and that the Great Russians wanted to crush the Finns."

And if the Soviet Government had not granted the Finns the right to secede and attempted to keep them by force, this would have meant annexation. The Finnish masses would have looked upon the Soviet Government as a foreign oppressor, no better than

Tsarism. Today, the Finns are under the hard and brutal reactionary dictatorship of the Finnish bourgeoisie, but there will be no doubt that once they have overthrown this bourgeoisie there will be no hesitation to federate with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government and the Communist Party recognized the rights of all the nations which had formerly been oppressed by Tsardom. The Soviet Union is composed of more than 100 different nations and national minorities. The oppression of these nations is now impossible because the masses of that nation which formerly oppressed them have overthrown the bourgeoisie and the landlords and are building socialism. These numerous nations live in complete harmony with each other. They have received direct aid from the Great Russians in building their industry, improving their agriculture and achieving complete economic equality with the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

The proletarian revolution first wiped out the basis of national oppression. Then it began rapidly to lay the basis of equality. For many of these formerly oppressed peoples had been retarded and held back by Tsardom. It was necessary to carry through the development of industry and agriculture in the regions where the formerly oppressed nations lived, at even a quicker pace than in Central Russia. We have witnessed here the most rapid development of peoples that all of history can show. Nomadic peoples were lifted out of their backwardness, almost overnight developed into an industrial and modern agricultural people without having to go through the stage of capitalism. Cultural development is equally swift. The basis for inequality is rapidly disappearing even in most backward areas.

The Soviet Union has proved the correctness of the Communist program. If in the former "prison of nations", where the question of national liberation and of national prejudices is very much more complicated than in the United States, such signal success has been achieved, can there be any doubt about the realization of equal and even greater success here?

The Revolutionary Way

We have seen that only a basic change can guarantee to the Negro the possibility for a decent livelihood, the rights of human beings and an equal, honorable and respected status in all public and social life. The ruling class will not permit such a change.

The masses of exploited must therefore organize in order to make use of their right to revolution.

Revolution is not a matter of our own choosing. It is forced upon us by capitalism itself, which degrades us, grinds us down into the dust, makes life unbearable. As long as exploitation and oppression have existed there have been revolutions.

The revolutionary way has always been the way of human progress. Capitalism came into being as the result of a revolution against feudalism and the nobility in Europe. Socialism came into being in Russia as the result of a revolution against capitalism. Revolution has marked the birth and progress of the United States. Now another revolution is necessary to remove a decaying system and make way for further progress. But the proletarian revolution differs from all the other revolutions of history. All previous revolutions resulted in a new exploiting class coming into power and suppressing the majority of the people. The proletarian revolution results in the majority coming into power, suppressing the exploiting minority and removing the basis of all exploitation and oppression. Only then is the possibility created for doing away with all classes. Society, organized in a new social and economic system—the Socialist system—can now provide the necessities of life in abundance.

The revolutionary way has not been strange to the Negro people in the United States. Revolutionary struggles have glorified their history. Have we forgotten the courageous struggles of the African peoples for life and liberty against the slave merchants of Europe and the American colonies? Even the few incidents which have been preserved in written history testify to the determined struggle of the Negroes against enslavement from the very beginning. The Negro people can find inspiration in the revolutionary attempts of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and untold thousands of fighters in the numerous slave revolts in the United States, and in the underground railroad. Many Negroes participated in the revolutionary war of the American colonies against the British. The Civil War itself was a revolution in which the Negroes—those who were yesterday chattel slaves!—fought for land and liberty.

That glorious Civil War decade when the embattled Negro fought with gun in hand against the bloodhounds of reaction for the rights of citizenship and of land is today an heroic, revolu-

fore be faced with the need of obliterating this inequality which it will have inherited from capitalism.

The fundamental policy of a Soviet Government with regard to the Negro generally would therefore be to create even relatively greater opportunities for advance and progress for the Negro than for the white. Special emphasis would be placed upon training more Negro skilled workers, upon technical and other forms of education, upon inducing larger numbers to take up engineering, science, etc. The technical schools, colleges and universities, most of which are today either out of the reach of or closed to Negroes, would be placed at the disposal of Negroes even to a proportionately greater degree than of the rest of the population. This is the only way that special privileges for the whites can be done away with. A Soviet Government must confer greater benefits upon the Negroes than upon the whites, for the Negroes have started with less. This is the real test of equality. This is the only way that the basis for real equality can be established.

Any act of discrimination or of prejudice against a Negro will become a crime under the revolutionary law. The basis of race prejudice and oppression will no longer exist because capitalism will no longer exist. But it would be entirely Utopian to believe that the day after the revolution all prejudice will disappear. Capitalism will leave some of it behind like a stench, just like it will leave behind other capitalist ideas and prejudices. But these will be systematically fought by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party until they are extinguished. Then it will no longer be a question of wiping out the basis for such prejudices, but of merely obliterating the remnants. Socialism will remake man. To the first generation of new Soviet Americans race prejudice and discrimination will appear like a horrible disease of a past age.

In affairs of State, in the political activities of the country, in management, in all phases of public life, with the removal of all discriminations, the Negro will be playing a prominent part, just as Georgians, Tadjiks, Ukrainians, etc., are today among the leaders of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

The horrors of segregated, over-crowded ghettos will disappear. All residential sections of the city will be opened to the Negro. There will be no segregated areas. If Negroes wish to remain in Harlem, for instance, they will be perfectly free to

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Sept. 20, 1967

Ivan Allen, Jr., Mayor
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Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear Mayor Allen,

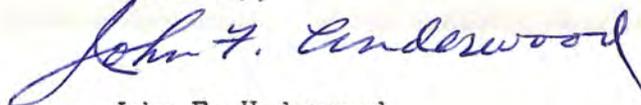
It was only recently I read this enclosed book dealing with the problem in our towns.

The statements made therein appalled me but, realizing this book was published by the Workers Library Publishers (a communist printing company) the statements then came to light to me as I'm sure they will to you.

My concern is that a certain minority group in our society is being used and misguided by this conspiracy for the conspiracy's gain. I am sure if our city leaders were aware of what is brought out in this book, then you would take action to help prevent the cruelty imposed on this group by our enemy.

I appreciate your time and if I may be of help contact me.

Sincerely,



John F. Underwood

JFU/bu

Copy of this letter sent to each alderman.

do so, to beautify it, to build it up. But if they wish to live in other sections of the city, better located, closer to places of work, or for other reasons, they will also be free to do so. In fact, the living in close contact and the mixing of peoples of all nations and of all races will be encouraged, for this will hasten the destruction of all forms of separatism passed down as a heritage from capitalism, will tend to freely amalgamate all peoples.

Thus, in a general way, we see the tremendous possibilities for the Negro in a Soviet America. No privileges for the whites which the Negroes do not at the same time have, full equal rights—this is the minimum to be expected from a Soviet America.

But today some eight million Negroes—two-thirds of the Negro people—live in and around the plantation area, in the most backward section of the country. The basic work will have to be done here. Here the real economic basis for equality, the social and political realization of equality, is to be guaranteed.

The Soviet Negro Republic

We assume here that the new Negro Republic created as a result of the revolution for land and freedom is a Soviet Republic and that this Republic has settled the question of self-determination in favor of federation with the Soviet United States. Under such conditions, we will try to picture in its main features the transformation which can and will take place in this territory.

The actual extent of this new Republic would in all probability be approximately the present area in which the Negroes constitute the majority of the population. In other words it would be approximately the present plantation area. It would be certain to include such cities as Richmond and Norfolk, Va., Columbia and Charleston, S. C., Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah and Macon, Georgia, Montgomery, Alabama, New Orleans and Shreveport, La., Little Rock, Arkansas, and Memphis, Tennessee. In the actual determination of the boundaries of the new Republic, other industrial cities may be included. The actual settlement of the question of boundaries will depend largely on the steps taken to assure well-rounded economic development to the Negro Republic. This question we will discuss shortly.

What will be the basis of political power? Who will hold the political power in this territory?

At the present time political power is in the hands of the

plantation masters and the capitalists. The democracy which permits the voters to elect this or that representative of the interests of the large landlords and the capitalists is limited only to a section of the white population. The Negroes are practically entirely excluded. There is less democracy here than in any other part of the country.

As a result of the revolution the plantation masters and the capitalists will be overthrown. The formerly exploited classes of the population will come to power. These will be the workers, the former share-croppers, small tenants and small individual landowners. Because the Negroes are in a majority, especially of the exploited classes, the new governmental bodies will be predominantly composed of Negroes. The actual working out of real democracy in this territory—democracy for the majority of the people and not for the minority as under capitalism—will result in the Negroes playing the principal role in the new governmental authority.

It would, however, be wrong to say that the new government would be a dictatorship of the Negroes. Political power is based not upon racial characteristics but upon classes. The new political power would be a dictatorship of the workers and the small farmers. Since most of the workers and the small farmers in this territory are Negroes, they would naturally compose the greater part of the personnel of the new town, township, county and regional government bodies.

The Soviet has proven to be the international form of this kind of governmental power. The first Soviets were created by the Russian Revolution of 1905, and were established as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Since then in revolutions which have taken place in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Spain, China, Cuba and other countries, Soviets have also appeared as the form of power of the workers and peasants. The Soviets which will arise in the old South will be somewhat as follows:

They will arise locally, here and there, as the revolution starts, and spread as it develops further. Let us try to picture the composition of one of these Soviets, which will hold power in a certain locality. On this Soviet there will be representatives of the share-croppers, tenants and wage-workers of the plantations; then representatives, let us say, of the workers in a local

sawmill or of a fertilizer plant, cotton gin, cotton-seed oil factory, or nearby textile mill; there might be one or two poor and small landowners. This Soviet will represent the interests of the workers from the mills and plantations and the poor farmers. It will embody the alliance between the workers and the poor farmers. It will be a dictatorship of these classes, using its power to defend the gains of the revolution and defeat all attempts of the former plantation masters and capitalists at counter-revolution.

As the gains of the revolution are consolidated these Soviet territories will unite to form the new Soviet Negro Republic. The central Soviet body of the Republic will be composed of the representatives of the same interests which are to be found in the local Soviets. The term "Soviet Negro Republic", therefore, does not mean a Republic or a government composed exclusively of Negroes. Whites as well as Negroes will participate in the new power—white workers as well as Negro workers, white share-croppers as well as Negro share-croppers. But the name "Soviet Negro Republic" does express the fact that complete democracy, and the important role played by Negroes in the revolution itself, have placed the Negroes in the bodies of government in accordance with their real majority.

It must also be borne in mind that the present ruling class of the South is composed entirely of whites. The revolution will disfranchise and expropriate the present exploiting and ruling class. This, of course, will be done on the basis of class distinction and not race distinction. Nevertheless, it will result in cutting down the number of enfranchised white citizens.

We have somewhat of a similar situation in our own history. In the years 1867-1877 a revolutionary dictatorship ruled the South. The purpose of this dictatorship was to prevent the former slaveowners from returning to power. This was a dictatorship of the Northern capitalists and Southern middle class, supported principally by the former Negro slaves, many of whom were in the army which patrolled the South or in locally organized rifle clubs and militias. The dictatorship was also supported, especially at the start, by the poor white farmers. The county governments in the plantation areas were composed almost entirely of Negroes. In a number of states the Negroes were in the majority in the legislatures, and they held many of the important

state offices. A number of Negroes were elected to the Senate and House of Representatives in Washington. If at that time full democracy had been in force the Negroes would have had even larger representation in the state and national governments. After the defeat of these revolutionary governments, the Negroes were completely disfranchised.

Under the revolutionary government of the Soviets, however, full democracy for the majority will be assured by creating the economic basis for this democracy.

The Economic Foundation of Equality

THE LAND

Among the first actions of a Soviet government would be a decree recognizing the confiscation of the large landownings where this has taken place or authorizing such confiscation if it has not yet taken place, converting all privately-owned land into the property of the whole people without compensation, and the confiscation of all livestock and implements of the large landowners for the use of the people.

Thus would the destruction of the plantation system in the South be authorized according to revolutionary law.

The land would now be the property of the people as a whole. Local Soviets or land committees, composed of the poor farmers and the farm workers, could now determine the allotment of land to the former tenants and share-croppers. While the land would remain the property of the Republic, it would be divided up among the poor farmers whose right to till their farms would be recognized. Those who already have a small holding of land would be permitted to continue working it and they might even be given more land after the needs of the landless are satisfied.

All previous debts and obligations would be cancelled. Financing, the banks and credit would now be in the hands of the Soviet state. With the removal of all restricting forces, such as the old credit institution and the plantation system, a complete transformation of agriculture in the South would now be possible. The most backward area under capitalism could now be turned into a source of well-being for its population. Cotton, the most important commercial crop, which under capitalism is the scourge of millions of toilers, can now be turned into the instrument for rapid economic and social development.

From the huge plantations as they exist today two kinds of

agricultural enterprises are likely to develop in the first stages of Soviet Power. There are about 40,000 plantations in the South. The size of the average plantation is about 725 acres, but only slightly more than half of this acreage is worked by tenants and share-croppers. The rest is worked by the landowner himself with wage-workers. Cotton is grown on the tenant section of the plantation, and the other section is used as a reserve of land and for the purpose of growing feed crops. On the one hand, the present tenant holdings together with a certain section of the reserve land could be turned into small farms worked by the former tenants. On the other hand, a good part of the wage-labor section of the plantation could be turned into model state farms or collectives. These could serve from the very beginning as immediate examples for the surrounding small holders of land also to form collectives. For the advantage of this form of farming, the socialist form, would immediately become apparent.

Some of these plantations are on a tremendous scale. There are over 400 plantations, for instance, which have an average acreage of about 3,500, of which 1,700 acres are today worked by the landowners themselves with wage workers. The largest plantation in the world is situated at Scott, Miss., and is owned by Oscar Johnson, one of the high officials now in the AAA. This plantation covers 37,000 acres. On plantations of this kind the use of modern machinery and the latest and most scientific methods of agriculture, the benefits of which will be shared by the producers themselves, will serve as tremendous encouragement for the creation of similar giant farms out of the small holdings.

The technical transformation of agriculture will now for the first time become possible in the old South. Today untold wealth is being lost in soil erosion which is caused by the backward methods established by the credit and plantation system. The good soil is being exhausted or simply washed away. With the aid of trained specialists supplied by the Soviet Government, new methods of agriculture will be instituted. Instead of a one-sided, one-crop agriculture, which is demanded by the bankers and creditors, it will be possible to have a rounded and planned agriculture. Inferior land may be withdrawn and replanted with lumber, food crops may be raised on other land and the soil restored by rotation of crops and the cultivation of forage, etc. Live-stock breeding will replace mule-breeding, as the tractor and

other agricultural machinery replace the mule. The huge collective farms can be tremendous cotton-growing factories. The land, no longer divided up into small tenant lots, can now be plowed by a tractor, planted by a seeding machine, chopped by modern agricultural equipment. The mechanical cotton picker, whose development has been retarded by the present system of growing cotton, could now be employed profitably. There would be a tremendous saving in human labor. Hundreds of thousands of farm families would now have the possibilities of leisure and peace, plenty and abundance, education and culture.

Social planning will make this possible. The nearest capitalism has come to "planning" is to plan the destruction of millions of acres of cotton under the A.A.A. and the Bankhead Bill. The new planning will plan, not destruction, but production and distribution.

Where will the resources and capital be obtained for this transformation of Southern agriculture? At the present time the bankers, other creditors, large commission and merchanting houses and the large landowners obtain great profits from the cotton country. Much of the surplus now produced in the cotton country is accumulated by the financiers in the form of exorbitant interest, in some cases reaching as high as 700 per cent per annum. This parasitism will no longer exist. All cotton will be sold directly to government agencies either from the collective or state farms or by the cooperatives of the individual owners. Government credit will be made available, on easy terms, to the poorest section of the farming population and to the collectives. Thus the capital produced by cotton cultivation will not flow into the coffers of Wall Street but will be utilized for improving Southern agriculture and the conditions of its workers.

But this will not be the only source of capital. The government of the Negro Republic could allocate to agriculture additional funds from the revenues of the State, largely obtained from State-owned industry.

Thirdly, there would be even greater aid from the Central Soviet Government of the United States. The principal policy of the Central Soviet Government with regard to the Negro Republic would be to establish the basis of full equality by rapidly raising the economic level of this region. Funds would immediately be allocated for agricultural and industrial development in

the South; the necessary skilled technicians and experts would be supplied. This was precisely the policy followed by the government of the Soviet Union in relation to the backward areas where the formerly oppressed nations lived. If the Soviet Union could do this, with its relatively limited resources, the Central Soviet Government in this country will be able to do it on a much greater scale. This question is connected with that of the building of industry in the South.

INDUSTRY

In comparison to the rest of the country, there is a very undeveloped and unbalanced industry in the plantation area of the South today. With the exception of cotton mill towns, there are no important large-scale industries in the Black Belt. The only heavy industrial center is in Birmingham, which is just off the northern tip of the Alabama Black Belt. The textile industry, by far the largest industry in the South, is centered in the North and South Carolina Piedmont and in the Northeastern part of Georgia. The rayon and tobacco industries are also removed from the plantation area. The only industries within the plantation area itself are those which are *closely connected* with agriculture, such as fertilizer, cotton gins, cotton-seed oil, lumber, turpentine.

The basic policy of the Soviet government in this respect would be to industrialize this area. Such industries as already exist would pass into the hands of the Soviet state. Even before new industries are built the first steps are likely to be: to open the textile industry to Negro workers, to incorporate such an important area as Birmingham in the territory of the Negro Republic in order to create a basis for the machine-building industry; to modernize and improve the fertilizer, cotton-ginning and other similar industrial plants; the use of scientific methods in the exploitation of the pine woods, which under the competitive capitalist system, are now being quickly exhausted; to develop the furniture industry in connection with lumbering.

One of the principal problems would certainly be the supply of agricultural machinery. The development of such a large-scale industry in connection with the Birmingham area would be on the order of the day. Birmingham has not been developed to its full potentialities because of the competition of the northern steel-producing centers. Yet Birmingham is conceded by all specialists in the field to be ideal as the center of a huge metal

industry. There are close at hand the necessary coal, ore and dolomite. This could become the great manufacturing center of tractors and other agricultural machinery which will be a great force in bringing about socialism on the former slave land.

This area is also rich in water power. Capitalism has only just begun the development of electric power in the South and this growth has been retarded because there is not sufficient industry to make use of this power. Under the planned economy of a Soviet state, old industry would be reconstructed, new industries would arise.

We have only indicated some of the possibilities. Still greater ones would unfold in a Soviet America. This much is important and certain: with the overthrow of the landlord-capitalist power and the establishment of the Soviet Negro Republic, the most backward section of the United States would develop into an advanced, wealthy area. The rich resources of the territory, until now wasted and plundered by the capitalists, would be turned to their own account by the workers and farmers, with the aid of the working class of the North and northern resources. Then would the basis of Negro equality be established. And the so-called poor whites would also be liberated from poverty, extreme exploitation and backwardness.

The Realization of Social Equality

When the slaves were liberated in the South as a result of the Civil War the slave blocks and auction houses were burned to the ground by the former chattels. One can well imagine with what elation the liberated people of the South will now burn the jim-crow signs, symbols of the capitalist slavery of white and Negro alike. The bonfire of jim-crow signs will light the way to real freedom.

The power of the workers and poor farmers will create for the first time a culture for the masses of the South. New, modern school buildings will arise by the thousands. Illiteracy, the shame of the South, will be wiped out. Technical schools and universities will also become a southern product. We think it entirely safe to predict that the public school system in all its branches will develop at a rate in the South exceeding any previous records in the history of American capitalism.

Much will have to be done in the field of health protection. The diseases of poverty—pellagra, hookworm, etc.—which plague

the southern masses today, will for the first time meet a stronger foe. This foe will be victorious because it will at the same time do away with poverty, the prime cause of these diseases. Professional care and public hospitalization will for the first time be available on a large scale to the Negro masses and poor whites. President Roosevelt's present estate in Georgia and the other resorts of the millionaires, can be turned into sanatoria, hospitals, clubs, etc. Palm Beach can become the haven of tired workers and toiling farmers. The pine woods can also be used as health-giving resorts. All the best spots and resorts of the present ruling class can become rest homes for the masses.

Much will also have to be done in the socialist education of the white population. The revolution will have removed the basis of prejudice, but socialist education will remove even the remnants of prejudice.

Only on the basis of socialism is the possibility created for the full and equal development of the Negro people. Under the slave power and under the capitalist power the Negro people have been retarded, oppressed, persecuted. Under the power of the workers and the poor farmers they can blossom forth and realize all their potentialities. Only then as a full-fledged people will they be able to take their undisputed and equal status besides all the peoples of the world.

This is only a mere peep into the vista of a glorious future for the masses. Such things are not easy to achieve. They come as the result of hard struggle. But why not turn those energies and powers of ours, which the exploiting classes are using for their benefit, to our benefit?

We must begin now—begin by organizing, by preparing our forces in our daily struggles to improve our conditions, by learning "to take over." Above all we must build and support the *only* revolutionary party of the working class, the Communist Party. This Party, composed of staunch revolutionists and militant workers, is training and leading the working class and the oppressed masses towards their great objective.

Join the Communist Party, help create the powerful, great vanguard which is leading the masses towards Socialism.

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P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, New York City. June, 1935

What's Back of Anti-Discrimination Bills?

The past year or two a wave of propaganda has demanded the enactment by Congress and the several States of so-called "Anti-Discrimination Laws."

The assumption of many persons is that these measures are a generous and timely effort that will bring contentment to all the people. But there is impressive evidence that they are, instead, merely one more attempt of the Communists to stir up trouble.

There undoubtedly is some discrimination against many Negroes, and to a certain extent against many Jews. But it is in large part merely the expression by the 117 million non-Negroes and non-Jews of their choice of employes or fellow-employees, or of companions or associates. Such choice is, in the very nature of things, a part of liberty itself.

Negroes and Jews in the United States have had greater opportunities than in any other country on earth. On the day the New York legislative committees held a hearing on an Anti-Discrimination Bill, the New York papers carried long articles telling of the election of a Negro as President of the Bar Association of Dutchess County, New York, and mentioning incidentally that his daughter is a Justice of the Domestic Relations Court in New York City.

Increasing numbers of Negroes are constantly attaining distinction in many fields. There is less reason now for anti-discrimination laws than there might have been ten, twenty or thirty years ago. The situation has been steadily improving in that slow but sure way which is the soundest way of all, but which apparently annoys the zealots and fanatics who wish to see any situation they think wrong righted over night. And many good citizens, who have lacked opportunity really to study the matter, are today being misled by these very fanatics, and by an alien-minded element with aims and purposes of its own.

Most Americans regret the existence of any discrimination. True education, patience and greater emphasis on the Christian quality of charity (that is, good will) will accelerate the improvement in race relations that has long been noted. But to resort to *compulsion* by legislation is not the remedy. That will set the clock back—and will probably do worse. The Eighteenth Amendment proved that.

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We submit herewith an offset copy of a pamphlet published in 1935 by the Workers Library Publishers (the Communist Party of the

U.S.A.). A perusal of this suggests the likelihood that the anti-discrimination campaign for which many good people, including church organizations, have fallen, is of wholly alien origin.

"The Negroes in a Soviet America," as the reader will see, is a direct incitement by the Communists to bloody revolt against the white people of the United States, urging them to set up a Soviet form of government and affiliate with Soviet Russia. The Foreword on page 2 urges social equality as "a minimum desire" of the Negro. On page 35 is the statement, "The Negro people can find inspiration in the revolutionary attempts of Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner . . ." etc.; and upon consulting Volume XIV of Albert Bushnell Hart's "History of the American Nation," it will be found that two at least of these Negroes were the leaders in Negro revolts in which scores of white men, women and children were mercilessly slaughtered.

On page 38 is the statement that, "Any act of discrimination or of prejudice against a Negro will become a crime under the revolutionary law."

The anti-discrimination bills carry out this idea precisely!

At the present moment, of course, the Communist technique has changed—it would not aid in securing a continuance of lend-lease or the expected help in Russian reconstruction if so crude a pamphlet were circulated now. Nevertheless, as David J. Dallin points out in his book, "The Real Soviet Russia" (published by the Yale University Press, 1945), this current attitude of the Communists is merely a phase from which the Communists will return to their ruthless Communist program when the current need has passed.

James W. Ford, one of the authors of the pamphlet, has been several times the candidate of the Communist Party for Vice-President. "James S. Allen," the other author, is the alias for Sol Auerbach whose activities were a matter of record before the Dies Committee.

This special offset edition of "The Negroes in a Soviet America" has been brought out in order that the people may form a true understanding of what is back of the present hullabaloo about "Race Equality."

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, INC.,
350 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

April 1945

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Nov. 9, 1967

THE EMORY

Vol. 48, No. 8

Emory University

The Jaundiced Eye:



CHANIN

Poitier, M. L. King Attend SRC Meeting

Dykes High School is located in northwest Atlanta at the corner of Powers Ferry and Jett Roads across from Chastain Park. The fact of its location is insignificant as is the fact of its existence except that the institution serves to provide needed educational facilities to the immediate surrounding area.

What is significant is the fact that few Negroes attend the school. Of course the reason for this is that very few Negroes live in the neighborhood serviced by Dykes. Thus the important point is that very few Negroes live on the northside of Atlanta—in the social area known to readers of the hate sheet, the *Northside News*, as **THE NORTHSIDE**.

Now it is not suggested that any person should particularly want to live in that area or to partake of its so-called benefits: debutantes, snobbery and other pleasantries. But it is a very beautiful neighborhood with rolling lawns, large estates, much green and, thanks to fine influence with the city, well-paved streets. In fact, the best possible in city services, in school, in all the things that go to make for gracious living are provided to the needy residents living there. Need a telephone installed, be right out, none of this crap about party-lines. Garbage collected regularly and streets, even the most out of the way ones, cleaned with little delay.

Yes, on the northside lives the wealth of Atlanta. The decision makers are there—the presidents of the companies, the senior partners of the law firms, the doctors who claim that status brought by Piedmont Hospital. This is “Driving Club” land. And there are no Negroes. Read the social pages of the Atlanta newspapers: no Negroes ever have parties, get married, or give birth to children. In fact none of this goes on anywhere but the northside—if one trusts these newspapers.

Meanwhile the Biltmore Hotel was the host last week to the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. At the banquet last Thursday the people mixed—colored and white, gentile and Jew. There were northsiders there. Several weeks earlier the Regency Hotel was the site of the annual meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Sidney Poitier, Mrs. Rosa Parks, and Dr. Martin Luther King lead the dignitaries. Mayor Allen was among them. And there were many northsiders there.

These annual meetings are important for two reasons. They indicate that there are those among the leadership of Atlanta who do not hold the normal views of the northside. These are the people who have been instrumental in developing the policies and programs that have given Atlanta the progressive image that it has today and who have elected or seen to the elec-

tion of the proper persons to carry out the policies and programs.

The annual meetings also would indicate that the organizations sponsoring the meetings exist. The fact that the SRC and the SCLC still exist is a comment on our time. It is not that they should have been wiped out by waves of Southern bigotry, but that there is still a need for their continuation.

The comment is this: 1) it has been 12 years since 1954 and the *Brown* decision; 2) it has been over 100 years since the end of the revolt of the Southern states; 3) it has been almost 200 years since these words were written—“We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal. . . .”

The facts are these: in Atlanta, schools are still segregated in fact; Negroes must live in one particular section of town; no major law firm has yet to hire a Negro lawyer; no major company has hired Negro executives, the jobs left open to Negroes are menial and low paying for the most part; no social club will accept Negroes as members; Negro neighborhoods are on the bottom in city services and assistance provided by private companies; schools in these neighborhoods are the oldest and most crowded; in the slums landlords and loan sharks prey upon the ignorance created by white bigotry and do so unregulated by the law; for the most part pure racism governs the sale of houses and the rental of apartments in the better areas of Atlanta preventing a Negro's moving there even if he wanted to and on and on and on.

Perhaps this situation makes the point more clearly: in the Commerce Building, home of the organization that developed and stands for “Forward Atlanta”—the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, is located the Commerce Club to which no Negro is welcome as a guest or member, not even the Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

Atlanta has begun to take the faltering steps to treat all its citizens as the minimum demanded by human decency—as human beings. Yet before the smugness settles too deeply in these homes on the northside where not much is seen beyond the country club, these people, who see the resolution of the problems of Detroit and Los Angeles and New York and Atlanta as better police protection, should recognize what lip service to progress really means. It means nothing. And too much depends on immediate action to be satisfied with it.

The change that will come will not come overnight, but as one Southerner, Judge Wisdom of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, commented in the *Jefferson County* case:

The clock has ticked the last tick for tokenism and delay in the name of “deliberate speed”.

The death of Billy Furr

By Dale Wittner, Newark NJ

I MET Billy Furr at the corner of Aven and Livingston when he barged into my conversation with a Black brother who called himself Blazing 3. Blazing was predicting that the riot would go on "until every white man's building in Newark is burned. But Billy disagreed.

"We ain't riotin' against all you whites. We're riotin' against police brutality, the fact that they beat up the other night," Billy declared.

But that he turned away and went with his friends in search of beer, which he could not buy because of the curfew.

Billy, who was 34, had been stranded in Newark. He came to the city to pick up a job unemployment check and look for a job. When the buses back to his home were stopped by the riot, Billy stayed on. Photographer Bud Lee and I came on Billy again later—a black father down Aven at Mack Ligon. He and his friends were inside the store, which had already been broken into the day before. They loaded all the beer they could carry into car trunks and handed it out to passers-by. Billy threw a can in my hand.

I opened the beer, then went off to view racetracks and beaches in a crowded 1885-month apartment half a block away. Monday later, tears streamed and a city police car stopped for a man driving in front of Mack Ligon. There had been no warrant—it had raved in with its siren blaring. This was the first sign of police activity on the block in more than an hour, but a police trainer who spotted beer and watched the looking with me.

In an instant the shotgun leading from the cruiser's window shattered the relative calm. The sudden explosion, rather than clearing the street, sent mothers screaming to pull children to safety.

For the looting caught in the store there was no place to run. They simply fell to the floor in a flash of their lives. But Billy was standing outside with part of a brick in his hand. He'd been arrested before. This time he ran.

He raced past me down Aven. I was barely 30 feet away from a yellow-bellied officer with a shotgun pointed towards me. "Get down," he screamed. I fell onto the sidewalk just as a blast from the weapon exploded over me and the officer shouted an order to fall. But apparently Billy kept running behind me. From the ground I looked up into the sweating face of the policeman as he squinted down the long barrel. I feared he wouldn't shoot. He pulled the trigger.

My piece of spirit shell fluttered down on the air like a million thousands of the policeman's Billy lying on the ground. Already people were screaming obscenities from the windows and balconies of a nearby building. More gunfire cleared the windows.

Call an ambulance, a policeman yelled back to the car. By the street the officer who had shot Billy stood over him, the shotgun resting in the crook of his arm. Billy's blood poured to the city sidewalk. Then a jet was made him sobbing and ignoring the order to "get the hell out of here."



NEWARK: he best, 12, wounded by chance

"I'm his girl-friend, Billy. Please do something. God, don't let him die."

Back at the corner of Livingston there was more shooting as a line of police reinforcements arrived with an ambulance. I ran toward the crowd being held back at gunpoint on the corner. In the crowd, blood streaming from his neck, by Bill Joe East Jr., a 12-year-old who had been slapping shoes at home with his brother as four rioters were playing catch ball to one another.

Two points from the same shotgun that killed Billy had struck Joey in the neck and thigh. Among his first words about the shooting was to cry out in pain. He was dying. The Negro ambulance tried to reach the hospital from an officer's car. He was knocked in the pavement.

I reached a door was put in the ambulance and rushed to the hospital (where he is recovering). I walked back towards Billy's blood pool. The girl who was still sobbing beside him, her head buried in his hair, was dead. Ambulance attendants had to pull her away.



NEWARK: He got shot when he was shot by police

Between two news items

In Detroit, the rioting of the core city has followed closely by the difference between the 1960 and the 1966 rates. In those two years, an manufacturing industry moved into the suburbs, the newly-merged city of Detroit lost its manufacturing employment of 4 per cent. In that year appears to have continued. "This 'white-collar' job opportunities for the inner-city Negro moved along the freeway, out of range of the suburban public transport system. Since the suburban aim for people coming to the suburbs was wealth—and probably wilderness—the inner-city Negroes, who had been with the city and the impoverished whites.

Between 1950 and 1960 the core city suffered a loss of 22 per cent of white citizens in the 15-year-old age group—which is the one that pays taxes and gets involved in civic affairs. There is a loss of 10 per cent of the white middle-class.

During the same time, the core city gained 180,000 Negroes. In that decade the core city's population increased by 80 per cent. The decision of white to move in the fact that the core city's share of retail sales is the Detroit metropolitan area fell from 60.5 per cent to 51.1 per cent. And as industries, trade and progressive trends led, taxable property valuations fell. This is a crucial point: property tax is usually the sole source of local revenue for the educational and social facilities now needed in greater quantities than ever.

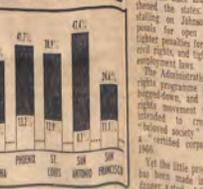
A great deal was said in Detroit about the need for an "urban renewal" programme to attract at least some whites back to the depressed core. But the city's industry's policy merely made things worse in some ways. A conservation survey was conducted in 1965 which revealed plans for eight public housing projects. During the 1966 two public housing projects were planned. Since 1950, when they were completed, Detroit has been completely destroyed.

Rather than public housing, the limited expenditure of 37.1 per cent of the city's budget on Detroit failed on devices like the Greater Project to deal with its slums. This seems to have been a last ditch attempt to attract whites back to the depressed core. But the area was limited over to private enterprise developers, all the philosophy, property held by city officials, that only the market can plan development properly.

Under the Greater Project 120 acres of slum were cleared, and 1,800 Negro families were rehoused. Although 75 per cent of these families earned less than \$3,000 a year (i.e. were near or below the Federal "poverty line"), less than half were rehoused in public housing. Grants were supposed to provide "low-rent" housing, but in the event the average amount of expenditure on the housing involved an area that was utilized and maintained by U.S. standards—had 500 sq ft of the area of the distressed area.

More than 1,800 Negro families were rehoused. They were supposed to be rehoused in public housing, but in the event the average amount of expenditure on the housing involved an area that was utilized and maintained by U.S. standards—had 500 sq ft of the area of the distressed area.

In the Negro slums, one man in three cannot earn a basic living



SUB-EMPLOYMENT in the Negro slums, traditional unemployment figures are irrelevant

called this the "subemployment index". It produced alarming results. For instance, New York's East Harlem district had a serious chronic loss for some time. The unemployment rate in that area was 41 per cent. But on the subemployment index it showed 81 per cent. Several other northern cities showed disturbing subemployment figures, but the southern city, San Antonio (regular unemployment 8.1) produced the most remarkable index: 47.4 per cent (see chart).

The report exposed for the first time just how inadequate were the resources of the Negro city-dwellers. And this situation is worsened by the fact that food prices in the ghetto (as in Watts) may actually be higher than in better-off suburbs, although quality is lower. One reason for this is that Negroes, trapped in the ghetto by lack of transport, are unable to move around and enjoy "comparison shopping".

Certainly the financial troubles of the ghetto Negroes are made even worse by the prevalence of extortionate "buy-to-own" arrangements. Senate hearings on a proposed Truth in Lending Bill (designed to stop dishonest "buy-to-own" arrangements) have revealed interest rates of 200 per cent and higher can add up to 205 per cent on television sets. Some of the outstanding and lasting damage is said to be a product of the "buy-to-own" arrangements against the (usually) white shopkeepers known as "hookers".

"We have given the poor the worst of all worlds, exciting hope and aspirations and simultaneously crushing them down" — Felix Frankfurter, 1940

Such economic deprivation will never be enough to spark race in its own right. For the good reason, the Negroes have been given slums—and increasingly frequent—of political frustration over the last decade since the Civil Rights Bill passed Congress. The period has been marked by signs of progress: systems to be added to the ghetto-dwellers, but not so many 1967 urban slums. Many other have passed laws to protect Negroes from discrimination when they buy a house. But as the majority of Negroes are poor, they have no means to buy a house. And as the majority of Negroes are poor, they have no means to buy a house. And as the majority of Negroes are poor, they have no means to buy a house.

PUBLIC APPOINTMENTS

UNIVERSITY
continued from page 6
GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
APPOINTMENTS are made to jobs of:
LECTURER
ASSISTANT LECTURER
SENIOR DEMONSTRATOR

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
APPOINTMENTS are made to jobs of:
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ASSISTANT LECTURER
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COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
APPOINTMENTS are made to jobs of:
LECTURER
ASSISTANT LECTURER
SENIOR DEMONSTRATOR

How much this country goes for the surface glossing over instead of truly dealing with its deep-rooted problems

But the question which emerges in the end is whether white America really has the courage to face the catastrophe in its own back yard. In 1966 white America even voted in the Watts district of Los Angeles, 1965, 100,000 people and caused over 214 million worth of damage. The Government has allowed a 50 per cent increase in the price of oil. It has given money to the administration, for all the change social workers can do, might have run into the sand.

Across the bay from San Francisco another poverty programme in the city of Oakland has cost about 20 million in the last five years. By the end of last year the 1964 unemployment rate among Negro youth of eight-to-eleven years was a record 32 per cent. And the aid programme was creating scarcely any new jobs. There is a lot of talk of building the subway system being the key to the city's economic recovery. But the city has decided that while labor is imported.

That degree of intervention has much in common with the degree of intervention that has led to the current state of affairs in the ghetto. It is a degree of intervention that has led to the current state of affairs in the ghetto. It is a degree of intervention that has led to the current state of affairs in the ghetto.

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APPOINTMENTS

continued on page 11

Detroit sifts through riot embers for racial lessons

By Richard L. Strout

Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Detroit

Back and forth across the United States in this violent summer of 1967 we have traveled now close to 9,000 miles. Some scenes have been idyllic; some poignant. The most shocking thing we have seen is the charred and angry scar in Detroit left by a riot which all but paralyzed the nation's fifth largest city for four days and took over 40 lives.

On sleazy 12th Street, driving north one month later, it looks for a minute like Berlin after the bombing. Here a row of stores is gutted. Across the way plywood sheathes bandage smashed windows. A chimney rises in a burnt-out home like a cellar hole in an abandoned New England farm. Supporting I-beams still cant against side-walls. There are pathetic scrawled appeals, "Soul Brother" meaning a Negro owner.

A cast-iron radiator is held up crazily against the sky by its connecting waterpipe in what was formerly a second-story room. The room is gone.

At its height the riot was like war; tanks trundled, machine guns spat at snipers, police sirens howled, fire trucks roared,

arsonists laughed and looted. Officials looked down almost in tears on fires that seemed to cover the whole town. Here a city fought its own people.

Cost—half-a-billion dollars.

Has the lesson of Detroit been learned by the rest of the country? In this reporter's opinion, no. The lesson is that if it can happen in Detroit it can happen anywhere. The forces of destruction and nihilism in American core cities are still there.

Almost a model city . . .

Detroit was almost a model city in racial matters. There was a liberal mayor and governor, the most advanced summer program in the United States, and complete communication between officials and the supposed Negro leaders. It had two articulate Negro congressmen and one of the biggest middle-class Negro communities in the nation.

"We told ourselves it can't happen in Detroit," said Martin Hayden, chief editorial writer of the Detroit News. He speaks who wants all the facts but also feels the with the commitment of a newspaperman thing passionately as a human being.

The feeling of security helped betray Detroit.

Trying tactics that were successful a year



before, police did not use firearms for a couple of hours while leaders tried to "cool it" with bullhorns. The crowd grew.

"There is no evidence that anything but an immediate and large show of force will stop a riot," says city expert James Q. Wilson of Harvard.

Compressed to oversimplification, here are three things the riot indicated to some who lived through it.

The National Guard isn't trained to handle a riot. Compared with the performance of seasoned regular Army paratroopers, who were finally called in, the guard's performance seemed to some "appalling."

Second, the web of municipal life is more vulnerable to civil disorder than has been supposed. The spontaneous, new-style guerrilla tactics of skip-hop, fire bombing can black out a city.

Finally it is doubtful even yet if the nation has much notion of what it is up against: a new, violent urban underclass set apart from the rest of the community.

It is doubtful if Congress understands it. In a summer where 70 cities have been hit, the House recently laughed off the President's proposed ghetto rat-control bill, 207-106.

The reported mood in Washington is that new poverty funds should be withheld in order not to "reward" violence. To an observer here it sounds a trifle like reverse racism.

Must all 520,000 Negroes in Detroit, out of a city of 1,600,000, be taught a lesson? One of the most striking things in following the ruins on 12th Street is to note how destruction stopped abruptly at the little lawns of the middle-class Negro homes on adjacent avenues. These property-owning Negroes have the greatest stake in law and order, as well as the Negro shopkeepers whose businesses were sacked and gutted.

The black-power militants lump all whites together: "Whitey doesn't care!"

It would seem tragic if white resentment should now lump all Negroes together and finally split the two races into warring camps.

If social reform can be halted as a punishment for violence then nihilists and Communists can gleefully block it whenever they see fit.

There were whites in the Detroit mob. An

editor, a state trooper, a Negro writer all told of the nightmarish carnival mood of the affair. The crowds laughed and looted.

Recent United States census studies indicate that the 1960 count missed many Negroes, perhaps 10 percent. The highest loss rate was in young, adult males. The startling fact appears that one male in six simply dropped out of organized society. But this invisible underclass was on hand for arson and looting.

"This can happen in any United States city where a sizable part of the population is unemployed and unemployable," says editor Martin Hayden.

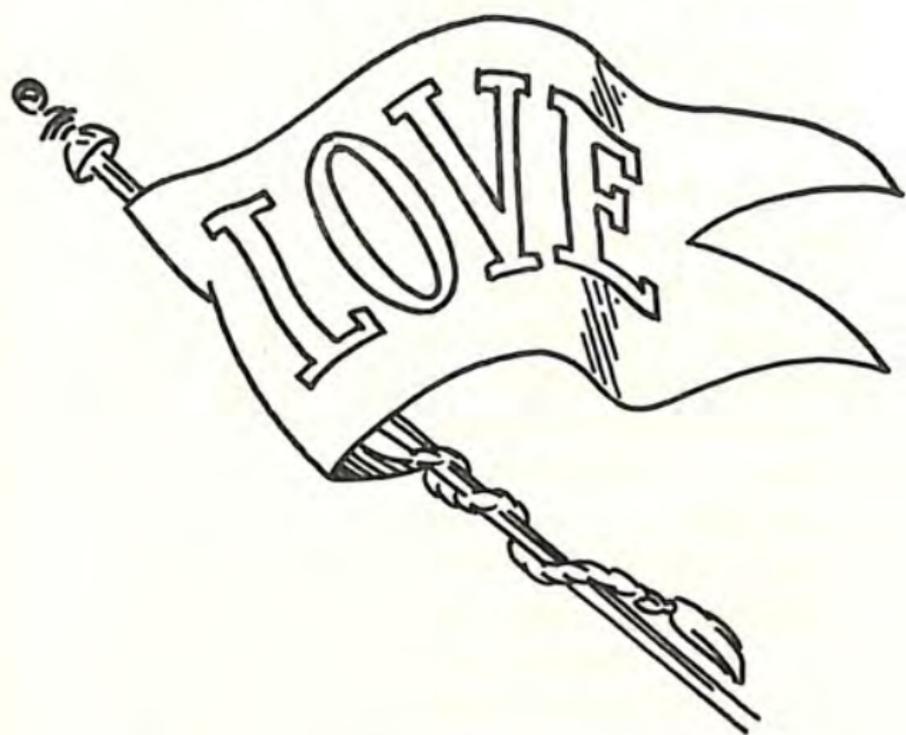
Causes are easier to find than amelioratives. The latter are probably more radical, anyway, than a nation preoccupied with Vietnam will accept. Well, I boldly offer the following proposals anyway.

Law and order must be preserved; everybody agrees to that.

More and more people believe that firearms must be regulated. The United States is the only great nation where this isn't done.

Twenty-seventh in a continuing summer series of reports from a correspondent assigned to tour the United States.

The King of Kings
and the
Lord of Lords



*“He brought me into the
banqueting house, and his
banner over me was love”*

SONG OF SOLOMON 2:4

Welcome Your Majesty

The Scriptures show that the Lord is present and we wish to be among the first to unfurl His banner of Love. Our own national emblem, just as do the flags of other nations, tend to separate people and seems to give those of every nationality the feeling "I am better than you." But with His Majesty that is not so. To Him we are all human beings, and all are dependant upon Him for life.

Signs of His presence. In Daniel 12:1 we read "And at that time (this time) shall Michael stand up, the great Prince which standeth for the children of the people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation." In the second chapter Daniel tells of a "stone" that was to smite that great image upon the feet and break it to pieces. The image represented the Gentile governments of the earth, it struck in 1914 and continues to destroy the nations, and it is to become "a great mountain" (kingdom) and fill the whole earth. It cannot be stopped for it is God's kingdom. Mountain means kingdom.

This is that time spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel. "They shall seek peace and there shall be none" (Ezek. 7:25). From the time of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations until this time with United Nations and with President Johnson and many other fine men

and women pleading for peace, but all in vain. Our great Creator has reserved the honor of establishing peace upon the earth for His Son the Prince of Peace (Isa. 9:6). He bought that right by giving Himself as a Ransom sacrifice for Adam and his posterity.

Does not such a King deserve the fullest obedience and all the honor and praise possible for man to render? And now let us consider the laws that shall govern His reign.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, soul, strength and mind: and the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self.

As ye would that others do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

It is love, can anyone ask for more?

Let us learn to love each other
And treat each man as a brother
Without regard to creed or race
Without regard to time or place.

Today the negro is hating the white man and the white man is hating the negro; one is just as wrong as the other. Won't you be one of those to surrender to His Majesty and lift up his banner of Love. The Lord says "This is the way, walk ye in it."

"Love ye one another."

Blessings for All

Turn to Isaiah 25:6 and read "And in this mountain (kingdom) shall the Lord of Hosts make unto *all* people, a feast of fat things." The same prophet in chapter 35 says "Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf be un-stopped." "And an highway shall be there . . . And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs of everlasting joy upon their heads." "Yea, they shall sit every man under his own vine and fig tree and none shall hurt or make him afraid." "Then shall they say Lo, this is our God, we have waited for Him'." "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord: and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God for He will abundantly pardon."

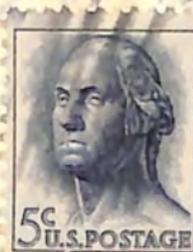
We suggest that all those interested in this line of thought write to the Dawn, in East Rutherford, New Jersey.

* * * *

Published by one of His Majesty's least,
yet a most grateful subject.

Stanley Milton Tudor
Box 93
Lowell, Michigan

137 Griffin St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314



Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor City of Atlanta
City Hall
68 Mitchell Street S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CERTIFIED

No. 898981

MAIL





100

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ROUTE SLIP

TO: *Mr. Johnny Robinson*

FROM: Dan E. Sweat, Jr.

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

Please discuss with me.

From the desk of Cecil Alexander/

Dear Ivan,

This is a
very thoughtful
article .

Sincerely,
Cecil

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International
Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

VAH383

A LLH188 PD 11 EXTRA FAX ATLANTA GA 7 506P EDT
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR

CITY HALL 68 MITCHELL ST ATLA

ATLANTA, GA., AS YOU MAY ALREADY KNOW IS A CITY THAT HAS A GOOD REPUTATION IN SO FAR AS RACE RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED. WE FEEL THAT THIS LENDS ITS SELF TO GOOD BUSINESS CLIMATE BUT WE HAVE REPORTS FROM YOUR RECENTLY OPENED HOTEL THE REGENCY HYATT HOUSE THAT CAN CAUSE THIS CLIMATE TO BE SOILED. WE ARE TOLD THAT NEGRO GUESTS AT THIS FACILITY HAVE BEEN TREATED DISCOURTEOUSLY.

WE HAVE BEEN TOLD OF THE GROSS DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES WHICH ARE PRACTICED BY THE HOTEL IN EMPLOYMENT UNLIKE THOSE IN SUCH FORWARD CITIES AS WASHINGTON, DC. AND OTHERS WHERE OUR STAFF HAS HAD OCCASION TO VISIT. NEGROES IN YOUR PLACE ARE DENIED MERIT EMPLOYMENT.

WE HAVE CAREFULLY SURVEYED YOUR HOTEL FOR SEVERAL WEEKS

1261 UUL

7. 7 PM 7 53

RE ATLANTA

VARNO

A LETTER TO THE EXTRA FOR ATLANTA GA 7 20 53 EDT

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR

CITY HALL 25 MITCHELL ST ATLANTA

ATLANTA, GA., AS YOU MAY ALREADY KNOW IS A CITY THAT HAS A

GOOD REPUTATION IN SO FAR AS RACE RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED.

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OUR STAFF HAS HAD OPPORTION TO VISIT. NEGROES IN YOUR PLACE

ARE DENIED MERIT EMPLOYMENT.

WE HAVE CAREFULLY SURVEYED YOUR HOTEL FOR SEVERAL WEEKS

A- 51551

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International
Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

ALLH 188/2

AND ARE CONVINCED THAT YOUR HOTEL IS GUILTY OF DISCRIMINATION
IN THE AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AND THAT THERE IS A RELUCTANCE TO
EXTEND CERTAIN COURTESIES TO NEGRO PATRONS. WE THEREFORE, URGE
THAT AN IMMEDIATE CONFERENCE BE SCHEDULED BETWEEN OPERATION
BREADBASKET, A DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT AND THE
OWNERS OF THE REGENCY HYATT HOUSE

WE CANNOT OVER EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS MATTER
J D GRIER CALL MAN OPERATION BREADBASKET REVEREND FRD C BENNETTE
JR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OPERATION BREAKBASKET(42).

1967 JUL 7 PM 7 53

RE ATLANTA GA

JR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OPERATION BREAKFAST(40)
J D GIER CALL MAN OPERATION BREAKFAST REVEREND FRD C BENNETT
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IN THE AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AND THAT THERE IS A RELUCTANCE TO
AND ARE CONVINCED THAT YOUR HOTEL IS GUILTY OF DISCRIMINATION

A- 51552

Mrs. L. H. Pound
675 Amsterdam Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Mayor Allen:

Congratulations upon your stand about future demonstrations and riots of the colored folk. They are anything but "peaceful assemblies" as all of us know, and it is about time they stopped from their threats of riots unless the world is handed over to them. It is certainly intimidation, which if it isn't unlawful, should be.

And so I shall look forward, as all good sensible people will be, to the results obtained by your new stand.

Sincerely

Mrs. L. H. Pound

July 10, 1967

Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter that I sent to both our Senators. It may not have any effect on our present situation, but at least I feel somewhat better.

Please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation for all that you have done about this situation.

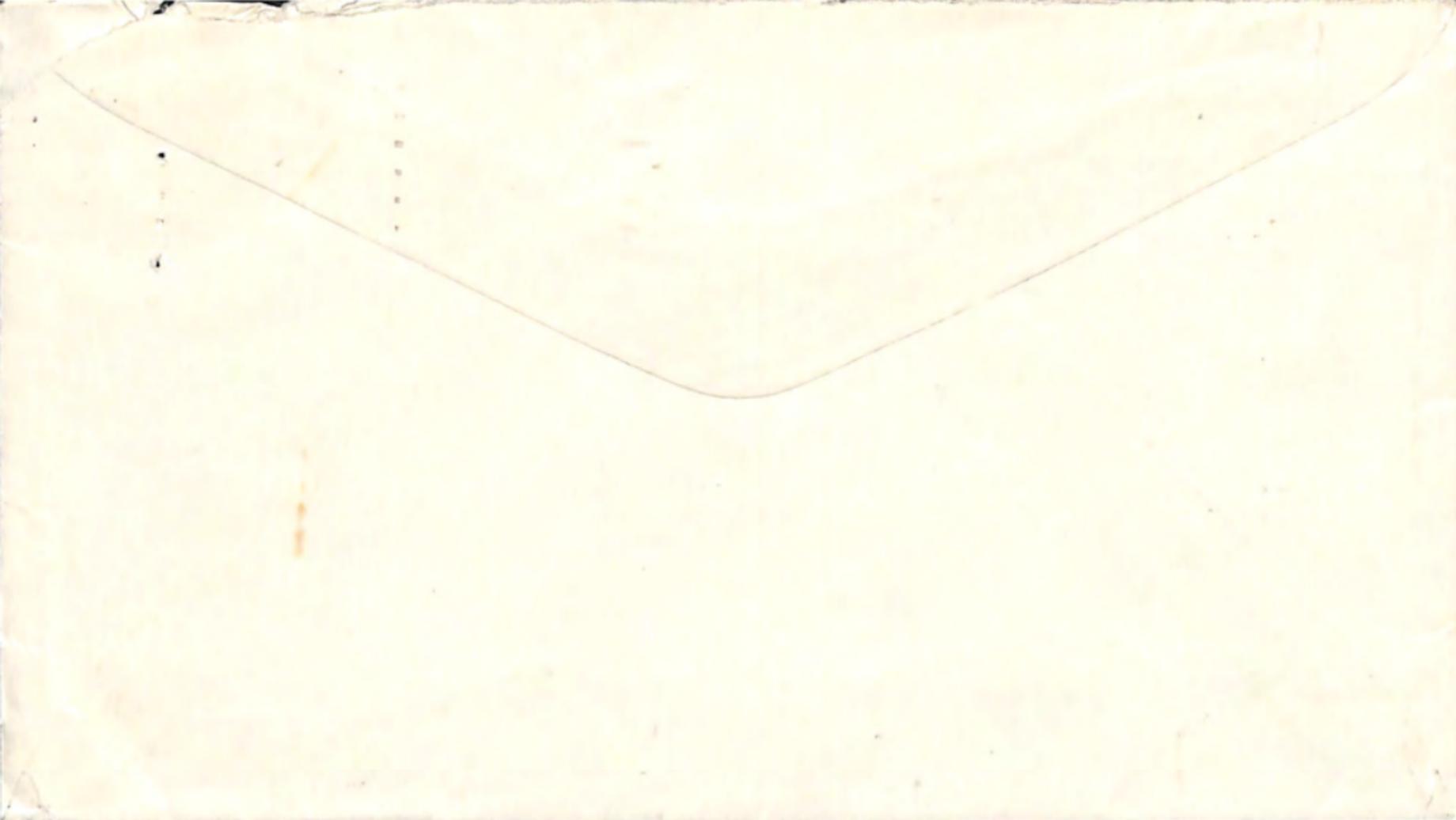
Sincerely yours,
Estelle Strauss

for

Mrs. Estelle Strauss
1237 Poplar Grove Dr., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30306



Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.





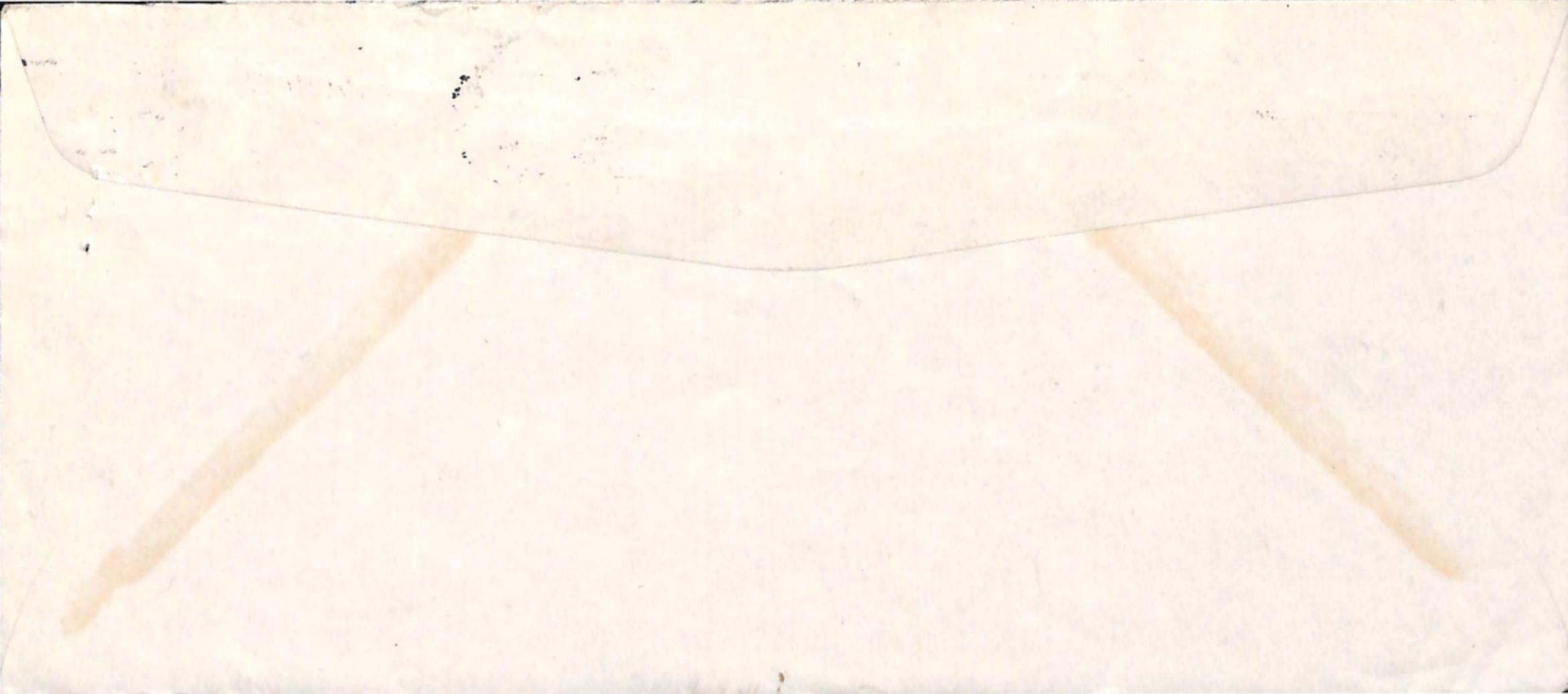
ALWAYS USE
ZIP CODE



Mayor's Office

Atlanta

GA



*David
Phillips*

CHARLES S. SIMS

1439 DEWEE DR, # 10 N.W.

ATLANTA, GA. 30318

Jan 19, 1967

THE HONORABLE:

JOHN ALLEN DE MARCO
CITY OF ATLANTA, GA.

J. A.

DEAR SIE,

I'm writing in regards to the trouble (car) we've been having here in our city, and possibly how they can be given a second hand.

First I would like to say first before I went into the service (prior to 1959) we needed it. Atlanta was having what can be called an undesirable life we had restriction of good measure, and was happy with what we had, but now 8 years later I find we still have the same thing, (there has been no change for the growing population) and with a few restriction, I will single out one. Park of many that seems to be going backwards. Moseley Park in N.W. Atlanta, when when I left Atlanta in '59' this park was open from 9am-10pm with the pool being opened from 9^{am}-5^{pm} (seems with some people work late) and the dance hall until 10^{pm}. Also when you were swimming, you could (if you -

COULD) SWIM TO ANY PART OF THE POOL YOU WANTED BE IT 2' OF 20'. NOW, THIS PARTICULAR PARK, BOAST HOURS OF 1^{PM} - 6^{PM}, NO DANCING, SWIM ONLY IN DESIGNATED AREA, AND NOW WITH 4 EXTRA HRS. OF DAYLIGHT, WHERE CAN YOU GO FOR RECREATION? HOME? NO. T.U.'S ONLY REPEATS, MOVIES? NO, MAJORITY OF PIC'S ARE 4 YEARS OLD REPEATS. BUT NOW, THERE'S ALWAYS THE STREETS. THEN SOME TOOKIE POLICEMAN AFRAID OF HIS OWN SHADOW, COMES ALONG TELL YOU "TO MOVE ON." (LIE REFUSE, BECAUSE OF MANY REASON.

REPEATS, 81° TEMP. NOT HARMING ANYONE, DISGUSTED BECAUSE THERE IS NOTHING TO DO + NO PLACE TO GO BUT HOME, AND MAJORITY HERE A WHITEMAN WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR IF ALL TELL'S YOU TO MOVE ON, YOU DON'T, HE SHOOTS, HENCE: RICE, TO GET ALL ENERGY OUT THAT'S BEEN BOTTLE UP FOR 8 YEARS - THEN YOU COME, AND WANT TO BUILD A KIDDY PLAYGROUND FOR PEOPLE, AGE 14+ UP -

I WAS TOLD (TRUTH OR FALSE) THAT PARK NOW CLOSE BECAUSE OF A FEW FIGHTS (OR MANY) THAT INVOLVE OUR PEOPLE, AND PUNISHMENT WAS "CLOSE THE PARKS." "CUT THE HOURS OF OPERATION," AND, GENERALLY KEEP 'THEM' OFF THE STREETS. MR. MAYOR WHICH WOULD YOU PREFER FIGHTS (AFTER ALL, EVERYBODY CAN'T GET ALONG, WITH EVERYBODY) OF RACIAL RIOTS?

SECONDLY I FIND THERE NO INSIDE RECREATION, NOT ENOUGH FOR YOUNG PEOPLE; I'M ALMOST 30 YEARS OF

AGE, BUT STILL, I LIKE TO GET OUT AT LEAST 4 DAYS OR NIGHTS AND PLAY BASKETBALL TO KEEP MYSELF IN SHAPE AND FOR THE WANT OF SOMETHING TO DO. I'M SURE OTHERS IN MY AGE GROUP AND YOUNGER HAVE THE SAME FEELING.

NOW HERE'S AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT HAPPENED TODAY, FROM 11'O'CLOCK ON.: I TOOK MY SON (AGE 3) WITH ME TODAY TO PLAY BALL AT GROVE PARK ON BARKHEAD. IN THE GYM THERE (TOO HOT TO PLAY OUTSIDE 84°) BUT COULDN'T PLAY BECAUSE OF DAY CAMP FOR SMALL GIRLS, BEING HELD THERE. — NOW, THERE STOOD AROUND THE GYM, ABOUT 15 PEOPLE (YOUNG MEN) AGING BETWEEN 14-32 WANTING TO PLAY BALL INSIDE. THEY WERE CURSING ABOUT THEIR LOSS OF RECREATION. MYSELF AND 4 MORE LEFT THERE AND WENT TO WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL, (WHERE WE ONCE PLAYED) BUT NO ACTION, FROM THERE TO ARBUCKLE HIGH SCHOOL, LOCKED DOORS, THEN TO ANDERSON PARK, TURNER HIGH SCHOOL, PRICE HIGH SCHOOL, BETHLEHEM CENTER (CARVER VOC HIGH) HOWARD HIGH SCHOOL, MOREHOUSE COLLEGE AND HARPER HIGH SCHOOL, WITH THE SAME RESULTS. NOW ALL THESE GYMS ARE IN OVERDENSE NEIGHBORHOODS, BUT OFFER NOTHING BUT CLOSED DOORS.

TO MEN LIKE MYSELF AND THE YOUNGER SET THIS COULD BE CORRECTED, BY OPENING THESE GYMS WHAT WE HAVE, AND PUT THEM TO FULL USE, SAY FROM 9 AM - 9 PM DAILY AND 9-5 ON SUNDAYS.

THE CITY COULD SAVE MONEY I BELIEVE, BY

Paying someone to run these centers day + night.
~~then~~ ~~putting~~ ~~up~~ ~~turn~~ trying to build new ones.

Mostly what you're spending on is for the 3-13 yrs. age group, putting sliding board, swing sets, + seesaws knowing we in the 14-up group can't use these. The children want the ones rebounding + rotating, its the 14+ up group and these are the one that needs the pacification. We have what it take for recreation but the real need is to make use of what we have.

A few of them will find job in these gyms. The crime rate among young negro will drop. If this is carried out, I'm almost sure.

It would be a frightening thing if racial riots should erupt in Vinicity, Lightin', Summerhill, Blud Area, Mechanicville, Peoples Town, Buttermilk Bottom, Pittsburg Area, Deep South Atlanta, or even in my area Perry Homes (I'll tell you from listening, Perry Homes might be next.) all at once. I know there's not enough patrolmen to take care of something like this, but all of this can be avoided, by making use. Please do, before Atlanta gets a darker name.

But please Mr. Mayor, consider opening other recreation facility's such as school gyms + park gyms. For much longer recreation time during the day. Let the parks remain open for a reasonable time also,

I WANT MY CLOSING STATEMENT TO BE ONE I
RECENTLY SAW ON A COMMERCIAL (T.V.) THERE'S THIS YOUNG
BOY WALKING DOWN THE STREETS WITH HIS BALL, WHEN
HE GETS TO THE REC. FIELD, THERE'S A BIG, TALL FENCE
WITH A PADLOCKED GATE. HE TRIES UNSUCCESSFUL TO ENTER,
BUT GIVE UP AND TURN TO GO, PICK UP SOME CHALK AND
WRITE ON THE SIDEWALK, BY THE LOCKED GATE:

DON'T FENCE ME OUT.

yours truly
Charles Lo



"ABCD" MAIL

BETTER BUSINESS SERVICE



THE HONORABLE:

IVAN ALLEN JR., MAYOR

68 MITCHELL ST. S.W.

ATLANTA, GA.



PACIFIC STARS AND STRIPES

Serving All the Services

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This page is intended to present various views on issues of the day. Opinions are not necessarily those of this newspaper.

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Gordon A. Skean General Manager
Ernest A. Richter Managing Editor

Bruce Bioassat

Why Atlanta Has Cause for Worry

ATLANTA

ATLANTA, like the great northern cities, is worried about its summertime. Memory of its two racial "disturbances" last September still runs strong.

Those brief but explosive events sullied Atlanta's image as the perfect model of a racially harmonious southern city.

Both white and moderate Negro leaders are concerned that worse outbursts could occur in 1967.

Rumors run through Atlanta that militant, even radical, elements are preparing to take advantage of any trouble that might develop. There are reports of small arms being sold on the streets to Negro teen-agers.



BIOSSAT

to have acquired some of the same problems northern cities have. And we're stupid enough to have created some of the same problems, too."

Currently the city is torn by argument over location of certain new Negro housing.

Under Mayor Ivan Allen, some low-rent public housing units and some privately financed Negro dwellings are planned for just one large area where Negro housing is already heavily concentrated.

NAACP leaders are bitterly contesting the plan on the ground it will foster further growth of a sector that is well on the way to becoming the city's single huge Negro ghetto. They want the new construction spread beyond this southwest Atlanta area.

FOR LONG years, a good part of the city's Negro population was, in fact, scattered widely in "poverty pockets" of varying size. The commercial boom, the freeway network and urban renewal have combined to wipe out many of these pockets altogether. Others are on the way to disappearing. Displaced Negroes move to the swelling southwestern "wedge" where it is now proposed to add the controversial housing.

The issue is not yet resolved. But leaders see it as a troublesome factor in the equation that keeps Atlanta in shaky peace.

A modestly hopeful step, growing out of last September's violence, was the city's creation of a Community Relations Commission—a 20-member group led by a respected attorney, Irving Kahler. Negroes and whites alike commend the inquisitive hearings commission panels have held in various slum sectors. Slum residents have had ample chance to air grievances.

But, since the commission has only advisory authority, some Negro leaders are skeptical of the prospect of much real benefit.

The credit to Atlanta for smoothly desegregating public accommodations and some schools has worn thin. Most Negro leaders today see the city as just another Chicago or Cleveland—not doing enough about schools, jobs and housing.

(Newspaper Enterprise Assn.)

The most difficult of all virtues is the forgiving spirit. Revenge seems to be natural with man; it is human to want to get even with an enemy.

—William Jennings Bryan

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



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HONORABLE IVAN ALLEN JR

MAYOR OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA ATLA

DEAR MAYOR ALLEN I CAME TO THE CITY OF ATLANTA FULLY EXPECTING THAT I AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN AND AS A HUMAN BEING WOULD BE TREATED WITH THE DIGNITY AND RESPECT THAT ATLANTA GEORGIA PROCLAIMS WAS EXTENDED TO ALL PEOPLE. YOUR DESCRIPTION OF ATLANTA AS THE CITY "TOO BUSY TO HATE" NOW SOUNDS VERY HOLLOW TO ME SINCE MY DENIAL OF ACCESS TO THE FACILITIES OF ONE OF ATLANTAS CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS BECAUSE I WAS BLACK. THE YOUNG MENS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION ON SPRING AND LUCKIE STREET OF WHICH I AM A FULL PAID MEMBER REFUSED TO LET ME UTILIZE THE PHYSICAL TRAINING FACILITIES BECAUSE I WAS NOT WHITE. THEY TOLD ME I WAS NOT WELCOME AND PROCLAIMED THAT THE YMCA WAS ONE OF THE LAST PLACES IN THE SOUTH TO DESEGREGATE THEIR FACILITIES. MY TRAVELS AS A

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WESTERN UNION

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MUSICIAN HAVE TAKEN ME THROUGHOUT THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES INCLUDING SUCH STATES SOUTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA. IN NONE OF THESE STATES HAVE I BEEN DENIED THE ACCESS TO YMCA FACILITIES. I CANNOT OVERSTATE MY SURPRISE TO FIND THAT ATLANTA GEORGIA WHICH PURPORTS TO REPRESENTS THE SOUTH'S GREATEST ADVANCEMENT IN RACE RELATIONS CAN ALLOW A BLARING CONTRADICTION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION TO CONTINUE. I AM SURE THAT YOU HAYOR ALLEN WILL GIVE THIS SITUATION YOUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION

LESTER MCCANN

(21).

1040A

Office of the Mayor

ROUTE SLIP

TO: Earl Lorder

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.

Noted
3/20/67

[Signature]

For instance, while Ahmed rants, "Adolph Hitler" roams. He is the bearded, long-haired white youth who commands the Deuces, a local motorcycle club that is patterned on California's Hell's Angels and vows allegiance to George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. During last summer's Hough riot the Deuces, decked out in Levis, animal-skin vests and chromed Nazi helmets, roared through the ghetto flailing with chains at Negroes. "This is probably the group around which other white gangs will rally should an outbreak occur," declares a social worker.

Both Ahmed and Adolph, and the circumstances that charge their activities with danger, are known to the police and presumably to the man who sits atop the Cleveland powder keg—Mayor Ralph Locher. Yet conversation with city officials turns up little hope of preventing new racial violence. Rather, discussion centers on when, where and how it will occur.

Mayor Locher, a Democrat, up for reelection next fall, tries hard to accentuate the positive. "We're progressing nicely on many fronts," he says. But his optimism evaporates when he is questioned about the possibility of riots this summer. "No mayor can guarantee peace," he replies.

Others in the Locher administration and private welfare-agency officials come close to predicting conflict. Mrs. Lolette Hanserd, a director of the Welfare Federation, an organization coordinating the activities of the city's social service agencies, has been receiving increasing reports of black and white gangs not only organizing but arming. "If the Negroes don't stir up trouble, then some whites may be trigger-happy," she says forlornly.

An SOS to Washington

Most pessimistic of all is the director of Mr. Locher's human relations board, Bertram Gardner. He fears an outbreak this summer larger than last summer's. "I suspect that it won't be confined to the Negro community," he says. "I'm afraid it will extend to the white communities and downtown—not a massive movement but guerrilla warfare."

White neighborhoods next to Negro ghettos share these fears. The Justice Department in Washington already has received an appeal for help from a social worker in Murray Hill, known as "Little Italy," which has been selected by some Negroes as a target for demonstrations this summer. If this happens, warns the social worker, "violence could erupt." He adds plaintively: "Our experience with local law-enforcing agencies has not been as comforting as we would like."

Underlying such pessimism is the feeling that much of Cleveland's attempt to deal with its racial problems has failed, and that those groups that might be expected to join in a leadership effort are alienated from one another.

City Hall and the Federal Government are at odds.

During the past 15 years or so, the city, eighth largest in the U.S. with a 1960 population of 876,050, has drawn up plans for a dozen urban renewal projects; it now surpasses all other metropolises in acreage tabbed for renewal. Yet Cleveland has been able to close the books on only one project, a pace so slow that Housing and Urban Development Secretary Weaver has begun cutting off the city's urban-renewal money. His

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Racial Powder Keg Negro-White Hostility Mounting in Cleveland As City's Efforts Fail

Armed Youth Gangs Growing;
Mayor Blamed by Business,
Established Negro Leaders

CORE, Reds, Klan Eye City

By MONROE W. KARMIN and DAVID VIENNA

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CLEVELAND — To Ahmed, the high priest of Negro militancy here, the white man is a "beast" to be overcome. He predicts May 9 will be the "terrible day" that the anger of this city's black ghetto erupts into violence—partly because, by his calculations, that will be the day when an eclipse of the sun darkens the sky.

Because of his devotion to astrology, Ahmed is dismissed by many white Clevelanders who doubt that astrology has any value. Besides, Ahmed, whose real name is Fred Evans, was arrested last week on charges of assaulting a police officer; he has been released on \$5,000 bond.

Nevertheless, Ahmed's warnings that "blood must flow" and "some must die" are gospel to a small but growing number of followers, who gather every other Thursday night to hear him or other Negro radicals conduct what they call "dialogues in black." And though these sessions may be a muddle of mysticism and menace, they are all too symptomatic of the tensions that make this city one of the nation's leading racial trouble spots. Even to some city officials, Cleveland's inability to make a significant start toward coping with racial discontent seems to foreshadow a sequel, when the weather warms, to last summer's five-day riot in the "tough Hough" slum that left four dead.

Fears in Washington

That also is the feeling of those in Washington who keep watch on racial developments. John A. Hannah, chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which held hearings here last year, says "the accounting of (Cleveland's) accomplishments is very short, and the agenda of its unfinished business is very long." Another civil rights specialist asserts that "what makes Cleveland different from other cities" in its potentiality for a racial explosion "is its complete lack of effective leadership" on the part of City Hall, the business community and the responsible Negro organizations.

This leadership vacuum and its effects are apparent to anyone who peers behind the "positive image" that Cleveland officialdom seeks to project. Outside organizations ranging from national civil rights groups to white-supremacy groups, are marking Cleveland as an arena for action this spring. Within the city, for every anti-white Negro group there is an equally hate-filled anti-Negro white group.

Racial Powder Keg: Negro-White Hostility Is Mounting in Cleveland

Continued From Page One

reason: The "long history of negotiations with, and broken promises from, the local government." Mayor Locher accuses Mr. Weaver of unfairness.

City Hall and the Cleveland business community are at odds.

The Inner City Action Committee, led by Chairman Ralph Besse of Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., was created after the 1966 Hough riots, to help the city cope with its racial problems. But after six months it severed relations with the mayor because "the city administration will not accept meaningful assistance and coordination." Mr. Locher accuses the businessmen of "playing politics with the well-being of the people of Cleveland."

City Hall and the responsible Negro leadership are at odds.

"Frequently when it's most needed, the Negro leadership just isn't there," the mayor charges. Leo Jackson, a Negro city councilman, replies with equal intensity: "Locher's a decent, honest, sincere gentleman, but you can't be a gentleman and cope with the problems of this town. You've got to be a hard-fisted, practical guy who'll take risks."

Established Negro leadership and the Negro community are at odds.

A training program sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League has flopped badly in its aim of getting Negroes into building trades jobs. Ernest C. Cooper, the Urban League director, says: "We were in the position of preparing people to be put on shelves." With this failure, the NAACP and Urban League dropped another notch in the esteem of Cleveland's Negroes. According to one civil rights specialist, "The NAACP couldn't mobilize a picket line of 10 people now."

The Negro community and the police are at odds.

Harlell Jones, a slender Negro identified by a grand jury as a leading figure in last summer's riots, but never indicted, and who now works as a building maintenance man in Hough, assesses the current mood of the ghetto as worse than a year ago. The reason? "Police brutality," he says. Police Chief Richard Wagner replies: "We have no critics west of the Cuyahoga; we cannot appease those east of the Cuyahoga." Most whites live on the west side of the Cuyahoga River, which runs through the middle of Cleveland; most Negroes live on the east side.

Movement in the Schools

Still, Mr. Wagner has established a new community relations unit in the department and has opened eight new police athletic centers for slum youths. Also, there has been some movement in education. A new school board has initiated the construction of some new schools, the opening of more kindergartens, libraries and vocational classrooms, and the creation of a supplementary education center to draw white and Negro pupils for specialized instruction.

"The only bright spot I can think of is our schools," says Alan Kandel of the Jewish

some authorities expect Communist operatives to be active here this year; the grand jury investigating last summer's Hough riots found evidence of Communist Party participation.

Local organization is proceeding on both sides of the color line. The United Black Brotherhood (UBB), formed last fall and regarded by Police Chief Wagner as "militantly racial," is actively involved in the "dialogues in black" that present Ahmed and others to the Negro community. The supposed aim of the "dialogues" is to steer militants away from violence and toward peaceful protest.

But police say the effect is to unite Negroes under the UBB banner.

Lewis Robinson, identified by a grand jury as a leader in last summer's riots but never indicted, and now a participant in the "dialogues," says of them: "We've had factionalism. Now we want to pull all these things together." He views rioting as "productive and good, a warning that drastic measures must be taken."

Harlell Jones also believes Negroes should crowd into a single group for "political" purposes. He plans to strike out on his own this month to organize such a group.

White Organizing

An organizing drive among whites is being planned by Robert Annable, chairman of the Cleveland-based National Christian Conservative Society and also head of the North American Alliance of White People. Mr. Annable, who believes that Negroes are "culturally and intellectually inferior," will begin holding rallies in May. William Murphree, vice president of the White Citizens Council of Ohio, subscribes to many of Mr. Annable's beliefs and also plans rallies.

The special targets of all these racial organizers, whether they admit it or not, are the youngsters of this "city of nations," most of whom live in neighborhoods that are sharply segregated along nationality as well as racial lines. Murray Hill is largely Italian, Sowinski Park largely Polish, Hough largely Negro, and so on.

As the pressures of social change have mounted, what once were youth clubs have become gangs and now, say social workers and police alike, they are turning more viciously racist. "We know that white and Negro youth gangs now are clashing," says Mr. Kandel, "and we didn't have that before."

In Collinwood, a white neighborhood next to the Negro Glenville section, a young fellow in his twenties says: "When the civil rights groups said they were going to march this summer in our neighborhood, a bunch of the guys in our club decided to form vigilante groups." The "club" he refers to is a neighborhood social club. Mrs. Hanserd of the Welfare Federation says, "We keep hearing there's a buildup of guns in the Collinwood area."

"Chain Gang" Target Practice

In Sowinski Park, members of the white Chain Gang recently have acquired shotguns. "They're practicing with the guns in the basement of one member's home, shooting at paper targets they call 'niggers,'" a social worker says. "The purpose for the guns, they say, is to defend themselves against the Negroes

creation of a supplementary education center to draw white and Negro pupils for specialized instruction.

"The only bright spot I can think of is our schools," says Alan Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation.

There are other activists at work, but without much visible result. The Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs is conscientious but, says Mr. Cooper, a member, "they're involved mostly in long-range planning, not immediate action." Two wood-products trade associations have announced plans to rehabilitate a section of Hough, but the project is said to be stymied by slum landlords who have jacked up prices. Other public and private rehabilitation projects amount to a drop in the bucket.

Mayor Locher, for his part, has some plans he expects to reveal as election time approaches. He already has repaved some slum streets, installed new street lights, and hauled off the streets hundreds of junked cars. Soon he hopes to start a citywide rat control program, collect ghetto trash weekly instead of monthly, let some contracts for play areas and "vest-pocket" parks, and augment the city's supply of housing inspectors, policemen and medical personnel.

Money Problems

But all this costs money, and the mayor is having his troubles on that score. Voters defeated a city income tax in 1965. Last year the city council enacted a tax to be effective this past Jan. 1, but disgruntled citizens have forced the levy to another ballot box test, to be held in May or June. "If the tax is defeated," says Mr. Locher, "then there will have to be a severe cutback" in his plans.

Anyway, the mayor is willing to move only so far. To him some specific recommendations for easing racial tension in Cleveland advanced by the Civil Rights Commission are "poppycock," and he is steadfastly loyal to his city officials. The Inner City Action Committee, in offering to supply the city with dollar-a-year men to unsnarl the urban renewal tangle, insisted on the removal of the city's urban renewal chief. The mayor refused.

Mr. Locher is looking to Washington for some new help. The White House is expected to announce soon a crash program to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes in 19 cities, and the mayor believes Cleveland will be one. But Mr. Kandel of the Jewish Community Federation, who has been in on some of the local planning, is not enthusiastic. "It's too late," he says. "They're talking about placing 2,000 people by June, and that's only three months away."

Less than two months away is the "doomsday" pinpointed by Ahmed. He is quite correct in predicting an eclipse of the sun on May 9, but authorities say the eclipse will be partial and won't turn the Cleveland sky dark. And Ahmed's forecast of revolt may be wildly exaggerated. But other events scheduled for Cleveland soon are likely to arouse racial tempers.

Enter Martin Luther King

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. will visit Cleveland soon to help prepare for simultaneous demonstrations this summer here and in other cities. The militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has narrowed its search for a summer "demonstration city" to Cleveland, Oakland, Calif., and Newark, N.J. A spokesman here says it is "quite possible" that Cleveland will be the final choice.

"If CORE makes Cleveland its target city," says J. B. Stoner, vice chairman of the white-supremacist National States Rights Party, "we'll come to Cleveland to stage peaceful counter-demonstrations." Last summer, after a States Rights Party rally in Baltimore, the 1966 CORE demonstration city, whites and Negroes tangled in the streets.

The Ku Klux Klan is preparing for an organizational meeting in this city in a few weeks. There are reports that the American Nazi Party intends activity here this spring. At the other end of the political spectrum,

"They're practicing with the guns in the basement of one member's home, shooting at paper targets they call 'niggers,'" a social worker says. "The purpose for the guns, they say, is to defend themselves against the Negroes when the riots come again this summer."

In another white section, on the western fringe of Hough, signs tacked on telephone poles and painted on buildings warn "Nigger, this is Alley Rat territory, keep your ass out," or urge "Wallace for President." This is the work of the Alley Rats gang whose members, social workers say, have attended meetings of the American Nazi Party in Detroit and Pittsburgh. The Outlaws, a Cleveland motorcycle club, is reported laying plans to attack the Checkered Cherubs, a Negro motorcycle club.

The United Black Brotherhood, whose strongholds have been found by police to contain fire bombs, has begun within the past few weeks to instruct some Negro youth gangs in "guerrilla warfare." Police Chief Wagner says the UBB has made contact with the Ponderosas, a 200-member group preoccupied until recently with vandalism but now turning increasingly anti-white.

A similar turn, says the police chief, has been detected among other Negro gangs, such as the Delamores, the Devil's Disciples and the Marquis. "They're getting away from gang activity and are forming militant racial organizations," Mr. Wagner declares.

Interco Inc. Holders Vote Stock Increases

Boost in Common and Preferred, Creation of a New Preferred To Enable Further Diversifying

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

ST. LOUIS — Interco Inc. shareholders cleared the way for further diversification of the company by voting to increase authorized common by four million shares, and the existing preferred by 327,060 shares in addition to creating a new preferred issue of one million shares.

However, aside from a pending acquisition of Sam Shainberg Co., Memphis, Tenn., operator of 79 junior department stores, for 410,000 shares of the present preferred, Interco isn't seriously studying any possible acquisitions. Norfleet H. Rand, vice chairman of the board and treasurer, said after the meeting.

Since 1964, Interco has pursued an active diversification program. It operates 210 junior department stores, eight work and play clothing factories and six retail hardware stores plus its shoe manufacturing and retailing operations. "We're interested primarily in the soft goods, although we'd consider any field that looked promising," Mr. Rand said.

Sales and earnings in December and January, the first two months of the company's fiscal year, showed an improvement over the similar period a year earlier, the executive said. And there will be "an improvement" for the quarter ended Feb. 28 from the first period of fiscal 1966, when Interco earned \$3,861,227, or \$1.09 a share, on sales of \$106,639,944, excluding results of Idaho Department Store Co., acquired in February 1966.

Mr. Rand also predicted higher sales and earnings for the year ending Nov. 30, even without a contribution from Sam Shainberg Co. On a pro-forma basis for last year, for instance, Shainberg would have contributed 18 cents a share, after preferred dividends, to Interco's reported earnings of \$14,598,000, or \$3.91 a share, on sales of \$469,100,000. Results of Idaho Department Store Co. were included only for nine months.

JONATHAN P. BRAUDE
4136 ROSE HILL AVENUE
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45229

May 19, 1967

Dear Sir,

I am a devoted Braves fan and have been reading up on Atlanta. The city has had a fine history of preventing racial trouble, but last September, as you are well aware of, there was a sudden racial problem. I would be very appreciative if you would let me know what has taken place in Atlanta (referring to racial problems) since last September. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Jon Braude

Jon Braude