

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE

JANUARY - JUNE, 1970

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177



Air mail -- you'll have to find  
out rates

Institute

The Honorable Tom Mboya  
Minister of Economic Planning  
and Development  
Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Tom,

Enclosed the is the letter I sent to the Times. I don't know whether they'll  
publish it yet, but you can send it to any publications you'd like to.

It was good seeing you// again.

By the way, enclosed is a biographical sketch of Mr. A. Philip Randolph. I hope  
you and President Kenyatta can send greetings as soon as possible. The testimonial  
dinner is scheduled for May 6th.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

E..DC



**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

January 5, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Phillip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South, 6th Floor  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I wanted to let you know right away, that I think the Harper's article is superb; there has been no comparable job dealing with those issues.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John A. Morse".

John A. Morse  
Assistant Executive Director

JAM:aa

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TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

HOUSTON, TEXAS

January 5, 1970

SCHOOL OF LAW  
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

Harper's Magazine  
Park Avenue  
New York, New York, 10016

Dear Editor:

Bayard Rustin's "The Failure of Black Separatism" (January, 1970) is another one of his valuable and informative articles on coalition and electoral politics. His undying faith in the Democratic Party and trade unionism is charming. I, too, share a pro-Democratic Party and Labor bias, however, I wonder whether it was really necessary for Mr. Rustin to attack black capitalism, young black militants, and Black Power. It is a melancholy fact that blacks, no matter whether conservative, moderate, liberal, or militant, exercise so much of their intellectual energy and time attacking or criticising other blacks of different ideological persuasion.

Of course, I do not want to suggest that blacks should be immuned to criticism by other blacks. It just saddens me that some peculiar fate or disposition leads us to taking issue strongly with each other in public. (Here I am, a black man, taking issue with my black brother, Mr. Rustin.)

I should like to make a few brief discursive comments on Mr. Rustin's article. Black Power and Black Separatism are not synonymous. Black economic development is not an escapist flight from the American System but a vital effort at more meaningful participation in the System. Black economic development is not premised upon separatism or racial isolation, but upon the recognition that business, property, and capital are major sources of power, self-respect, and self-fulfillment in American society. Efforts toward political solidarity in black communities are motivated by similar factors which gave rise to historical efforts toward labor solidarity.

Black Studies is not my bag, but doesn't it approach the ridiculous to say or imply that black students are "proposing to study black history in isolation from the mainstream of American history"? They are just trying to save their bodies and souls from being continually drowned in "the mainstream of American history." Mr. Rustin really cannot be so naive as to believe that written history is not surfeited with ideology, mythology or political propaganda.

-more-

Page 2.  
Editor, Harper's Magazine

I suppose it is true that many sensitive, white liberals are guilt-ridden and prone to masochistic acts of atonement, but must such men of goodwill be called pusillanimous also? I suspect that university president of whom Mr. Rustin spoke so disparagingly because he made his airplane available to two black students to fly to New York City to purchase some bongo drums for Malcolm X Day was aware of thousands of instances when larger sums of university funds were made available to white students for more fatuous feats or festivals.

Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao, to say nothing about the Black Panthers, might agree with Mr. Rustin when he says that the real cause of racial injustice "...is not bad attitudes but bad social conditions." I am inclined to give more credence to the Kerner Report which stated that racism (what Mr. Rustin calls "bad attitudes") is the heart of the problem.

True, because the preponderant white community is largely racist it is necessary to transform our entire society, however, in the meantime it won't hurt for the black community itself to do some transforming in terms of reducing crime and increasing educational and employment, yes, even economic, opportunity in the ghetto.

Lastly, I wouldn't speak too lightly of "emotional release" and "symbolic victories." Forman's Black Manifesto may be a combination of "bombast" and "delusions of grandeur," but if there is not a measure of emotional release in the black community, then it is doomed to radical, mental despair and depression. "Real" victories are most important, but absent them, "symbolic victories" are better than stultifying defeatism.

Very truly yours,



Kenneth S. Tollett  
Dean

January 6, 1970

Mr. Gerald J. Evans  
United States Army  
113 West Myrtle Avenue  
Youngstown, Ohio 44507

Dear Mr. Evans:

Thank you very much for your honest appraisal of my article in Ebony. I would like to make myself very clear to you because I think the issue you raise is extraordinarily important.

I think it is a mistake to say that black people have nothing, therefore, anything goes. This will lead to strategies that will cause black people far more misery than they are already experiencing. I agree entirely with you that our people are now suffering tremendously, I am also outraged at that suffering. But I will not endorse a strategy that will only lead to more suffering, to more violence, to more death. The strategy I proposed in the Ebony article I think can win for black people far more in the way of jobs, power, and dignity than the strategy of the gun and the molotov cocktail. Even you hinted at this in your letter for you pointed out that the Klan violently prevented black people from voting, but it was Martin Luther King's nonviolent strategy that was primarily responsible for the 1965 Voting Rights Act which has made possible the registration of almost two million blacks and which has smashed the power of the Klan. Yet it has been the violence of the past few years that has increased the power of the conservative and racist forces and has thus been partly responsible for the victory of Nixon who is now trying



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Gerald J. Evans

January 6, 1970

to destroy the Voting Rights Act.

The greatest mistake that black people can make today is to let their anger become self-defeating. That was the main point of my article.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

113 West Myrtle Avenue  
Youngstown, Ohio 44507  
November 6, 1969

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
c/o Ebony Magazine  
1820 South Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Mr. Bayard Rustin, I have read and studied your article on the myths of the Black Revolt in Ebony Magazine. I now understand that the whites encouraged you to write the article because to me, Mr. Rustin, you sound like a white man.

Let me make clear to you that I dislike the article very deeply; however, I dislike the myth of the violence very much. Mr. Rustin, remember that the black man is no longer a slave, but neither is the black man free. The black people were enslaved by violence and murder. The black people have used non-violent means and have gotten nowhere because slavery was not started from non-violence.

I am not angry with you Mr. Rustin, I am concerned for you because you are lost in whiteness. Social injustice is always there because George Wallace was not born in the 1960's. Violence is the only answer because fear can work on both sides of the street. The black man fears all his life the white man.

The Ku Klux Klan was founded on violence and it stopped the black man from voting which was his right. Now the black men can use violence to get their rights.

Mr. Rustin you are lying when you say that blacks have suffered great losses from the ghetto riots. When you have nothing, you can lose nothing. How many blacks in the ghetto own their homes, how many are on social welfare, how many are on unemployment? You care more about the white man's property than you care for black children who lack food, education and love. Their homes have rats and cockroaches, the children have been suffering long before the ghetto riots. The whites have no despair when a Negro like yourself is worrying about his property and jobs. You see Mr. Rustin, the A&P store in the ghetto is not owned by any blacks; it is owned by the white man. The only thing the black man owns in the ghetto is rats, cockroaches, pain, hunger, misery, sorrow, grief if this is not suffering and agony. You are black on the outside and think white on the inside. The Myth is not with the Black Revolt, it is with you, Mr. Rustin, if you feel the white man is going to make amends. That the life for the black man is lovely, the black man can get everything by non-violence.

Mr. Rustin, you do not open your eyes because you are dreaming, you are a myth yourself so everything you say will be a myth, everything you see will be a myth.

Sincerely yours,

SP5 Gerald J. Evans  
United States Army

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NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

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January 6, 1970

*Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010*

*Dear Bayard:*

*Mr. Churchill once measured the cycle of a statesman:  
"Audacity -- Tenacity -- Sagacity -- Perspicacity".*

*After reading your sharply focussed blueprint in the current  
Harper's Magazine, I feel that you have come full circle  
through the Churchill cycle. I only wish you were a Senator!*

*I had hoped to see you for lunch on last Friday and talk more  
about your incisive article; apparently I made a double mistake --  
I thought I was having lunch with you and Dolly Robinson, but it  
turns out that I must have dreamed the whole date.*

*I also wanted to set a day for you to come over for an hour  
and review the progress of the Universal Education program,  
in which Dolly, in your name, has already been of enormous  
help.*

*I have to take off again, this time on a really crazy trip to  
the Arctic Circle, but I hope Dick Ney and Dolly can find a  
place in your schedule to bring you over to "inspect the troops"  
with Dr. Mechner before I get back at the end of the month.  
Dick will call you and Dolly to try to set a date at your  
convenience.*

*Perhaps you saw the fine article in The New York Times Saturday  
about Universal Education -- a copy is attached, also a front  
page piece in the National Observer. Shortly, Barbara Walters  
on the Today show will give the story a whole TV treatment.  
The concept is truly airborne now, Bayard.*

*....cont'd*



Page 2

*As you know, pre-school education has captured the attention of the Nixon Administration; here in New York, the Board of Education and the UFT will work to create 50 day care centers in 1970.*

*More than ever we need your wise guidance to plot a course that will best serve the disadvantaged with the Universal Education learning system.*

*Incidentally, I had hoped to discuss personally with you one other aspect of the guidance you give us, the matter of the allocation of stock to you in the Corporation. I have discussed this whole question at length with Ted Kheel, who as you know is also on the Advisory Council. He feels that he wants to take the stock in the name of the Automation House Foundation, and suggests that you might prefer a similar arrangement with the Randolph Foundation. We will do whatever you think best, You might like to talk to Ted about his own reasoning. And Dick Ney will follow up when he sees you.*

*Again, let me express my admiration for the clarity of your views in Harper's. In this Electronic Era, I have found that the speed of communication operates in inverse ratio to the depth of comprehension; hence the printed word is more important in the Seventies than at any time since Gutenberg -- especially words like those you hammered out in that searching article.*

*And why don't you run for the Senate?*

*Very sincerely,*

*Lev*

*John Reagan McCrary*

January 6, 1970

Mr. Si Beagle  
United Federation of Teachers  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Beagle:

It is often the case that a person will make a point categorically when in reality the matter is not so simple. I fear that this is the case in my remarks on education in general, and MES in particular. As you noted in your letter, I did picket with you for the expansion of MES, and I would do so again. So obviously I believe in the great importance of the program. Time and again I have urged that there be greater expenditures for education precisely because I wanted to see the expansion of MES.

I sometimes may seem to slight the importance of education because I am directing my remarks at those people who slight the importance of economic and political measures. I trust that you will take my remarks as an attempt to drive the point home to these people, and not by any means as an under-estimation of the importance of the educational efforts which you and other have made to the struggle for equality.

Fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

**UNITED Federation of Teachers**  
**LOCAL 2 • AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO**

Affiliated with New York State AFL-CIO, New York City Central Labor Council,  
Empire State Federation of Teachers



260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010  
S P r i n g 7 - 7 5 0 0



December 16, 1969

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Rustin:

Last night when you made the presentation to Al you were, as we have learned to expect, cogent and very articulate. However, again, as you did in your Commentary piece discussing the Mc Cone Commission's educational report (resulting from the Watts riots) you denigrated any educational efforts to improve the schools now because such, by themselves, will not solve the problems facing the poor (and our society). In fact, you seem to consider such efforts diversionary.

In my letter to Commentary commenting on your discussion with Dr. Kenneth Martyn, the author of the Mc Cone's Commission report which recommended the adoption for Watts of the New York City MES Program. I then, as I do now, agreed with you, that unless we, at the same time, join in a fight to remove the environmental factors which make for poverty, and its attendant evils, no fundamental societal changes will take place to improve the lot of the poor and their children.

I disagreed with you when you seemed to disregard the need to improve our schools now and not wait for the generations that it will take to provide decent houses, well paid jobs, adequate nutritional and medical care, etc., etc. I still disagree with you today.

Hence, I take exception to your slighting remarks about the MES Program, putting this total school-wide program in the category of those educational programs we call "educational gimmicks". After all, both in 1967 and 1969 you picketed with us for expansion of this MES Program.

Of course, MES per se will not solve all the needed societal problems you have so ably enumerated again and again. However, not all children living in our ghettos are beyond education, even with all the deficits with which they enter our schools. Of course, the MES Program is but a beginning of what our schools must contain if our children are to have any hopes for educational success. However, what do you propose? Should we make no effort towards

cont'd



effective education until we realize a "good society"? Should we close our schools altogether? Should we continue with them as they are? What is your alternative to MES and its improvements and expansion?

Frankly, have you visited some ME schools and seen for yourself what goes on? Have you carefully read the literature and evaluations of the MES program? Do you think that the Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Yonkers, New Haven, Baltimore, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. - all hard-nosed school systems - would be using or planning to introduce MES Programs were it "another educational gimmick"?

I think too much of you to ignore your stricture about MES. How about having lunch with me and explore further your ideas and my idea about sound educational programs for all our children, but especially now, for all of our children attending ghetto schools?

Fraternally, and with deepest personal respect for a courageous social thinker and activist,

Si

SI BEAGLE

PS You even forgot to list MES as Janson as  
one of the social and educational contract  
games I am sure this was accidental

Si

January 6, 1970

Thomas G. Banks, Colonel  
Naval War College  
Newport, Rhode Island 02840

Dear Colonel Banks:

The civil rights movement has never had a specific foreign policy. For the most part, civil rights leaders and activists have agreed to disagree in that area in order that whatever differences there might be would not obstruct their full cooperation on important domestic issues.

My own belief is that the United States must have a democratic foreign policy in the most profound meaning of the word. This means that we must do our utmost to promote democracy and economic development in other areas of the world, while at the same time respecting the rights of individual nations to determine their own destinies.

This is of course very general. The questions you raise really deserve an essay which I do not have the time to write. What is important to remember is that the civil rights movement is an organized movement in so far as it concentrates on civil rights issues. As soon as it gets into other areas it is an entirely different animal. There are numerous organizations in the area of foreign affairs that civil rights activists like myself can work through to influence our government's foreign policy. I think this is as it should be if the civil rights movement is to achieve its goals.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

NAVAL WAR COLLEGE  
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND  
02840

2 December 1969

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
127 West 125th St.  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am a student at the U.S. Naval War College. As you may know, the War College includes in its curriculum an opportunity to conduct research and write theses covering matters of strategic importance to the United States.

As a result of a recent viewing of the film entitled "Black America Fashions Its Foreign Policy" here at the U.S. Naval War College, I have become interested in gathering more specific and comprehensive information regarding the aims and objectives of the Civil Rights Movement in the area of United States foreign policy. I am particularly interested in obtaining your personal views on this matter.

As you may be aware, there is considerable material available in this area in the form of magazine articles and other writings; however, for the most part, it is extremely general in nature and I am anxious to acquire more specific information and authoritative opinions. Consequently, your views on the following questions will be appreciated.

- In your opinion, what are the objectives of the Civil Rights Movement in the field of United States foreign policy? Please be as specific as possible.

- Do you believe that other prominent black leaders, either militant or moderate, agree with your listing of objectives? Please elaborate.

- How do you believe the Civil Rights Movement is attempting to influence United States foreign policy? Have these efforts been aggressive or passive in nature?



- How successful has the Civil Rights Movement been in accomplishing these objectives or in influencing United States foreign policy in other respects? Can you cite specific examples of success or failure to achieve objectives?


- What degree of importance do you believe the Civil Rights Movement attaches to the attainment of its objectives in the field of United States foreign relations?

- Do you believe that the Civil Rights Movement should exert more or less effort in this area in the future? Why?

In addition to your views on the above questions, I would appreciate copies of pertinent literature that you may have produced on this subject. Please be assured that your name will not be used in connection with this effort if you so request. Your views, however, are of considerable importance to the development of a comprehensive study, and therefore your response to any or all of the questions will be useful to me.

Your response prior to December 20, 1969 will be most helpful and your assistance and cooperation in this matter is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

  
THOMAS G. BANKS  
Colonel USA

*W*



January 7, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Director  
A. Phillip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

We are most pleased that you will be able to participate in our seminar on "Policy Issues in Civil Rights."

Enclosed is a copy of the program which will indicate what we are doing and various dates and times. As you know, the sessions will be held at the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center.

Sincerely,

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

FKH:jms  
opeiu#2 afl-cio  
enclosure  
cc: Don Slaiman

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**Secretary-Treasurer**  
Lane Kirkland  
Secretary-Treasurer  
AFL-CIO

**Assistant Secretary**  
Walter G Davis  
Director of Education  
AFL-CIO

**Executive Director**  
Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.  
AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center

**I W Abel, President**  
United Steelworkers  
of America

**Joseph A. Byrne, President**  
Communications Workers of America

**Wilbur J. Cohen, Dean**  
School of Education  
University of Michigan

**John R. Coleman, President**  
Haverford College  
Paul Douglas

**Paul Hall, President**  
Seafarers International Union

**Paul Jennings, President**  
International Union of Electrical,  
Radio and Machine Workers

**Theodore Kheel, Attorney-at-Law**  
Battle, Fowler, Stokes and Kheel

**Frederick O'Neal, President**  
Actors' Equity Association

**Bayard Rustin, Executive Director**  
A. Phillip Randolph Institute

**Peter T. Schoemann, President**  
United Association  
of Journeymen and Apprentices  
of the Plumbing and  
Pipefitting Industry

**Miles Stanley, President**  
West Virginia Labor Federation

**Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., President**  
New York City  
Central Labor Council

**Hunter P. Wharton, President**  
International Union of  
Operating Engineers

**Willard Wirtz**  
Attorney-at-Law

*Dinner in tribute to*


*Leon J. Davis, President*

*Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union*

*RWDSU, AFL-CIO*

Honorary Co-Chairmen

MRS. CORETTA SCOTT KING  
HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY  
FRANK ROSENBLUM

  
January 7, 1970.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

For those active in the labor movement, Leon Davis has come to symbolize the finest qualities of leadership -- courage, wisdom, humanity and integrity. From his earliest efforts to organize drug employees into Local 1199, to the nationwide crusade to bring unionism to hospital and nursing home employees, Leon has demonstrated a skill and dedication that are unique in the labor movement. Beyond his outstanding record as a trade union leader, he has thrown the full force of his ability and enthusiasm into the twin struggles of civil rights and peace. He represents the will and conscience of all who strive for human dignity.

I am writing to ask you to join a Committee of Sponsors for a dinner in tribute to Leon Davis to be held Sunday evening, March 22nd, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt. The proceeds of the dinner will benefit the Jewish-Arab Institute at Givat Haviva, the Kibbutz Institute for Advanced Studies. At this unique Educational Center Jews and Arabs live and study under one roof and in the process build ties of friendship and understanding-- ties that are so crucial if there is to be peace in the Middle East.

This dinner will salute an outstanding leader. Perhaps of equal importance, it will provide a pertinent opportunity for personal commitment in a world which demands the integrity and courage of all of us who understand what is at stake. In joining in this tribute to Leon Davis we are joining with each other in expressing our dedication to a better world.

Won't you please return the enclosed reply card as soon as possible. It will help us proceed with our plans for the dinner.

Sincerely yours,

*Coretta Scott King*

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.  
for the Honorary Co-Chairmen

csk/ff

*Suite 710, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10011 (212) 255-2992*

Rustin - Jim

10/10

e

CROHN ASSOCIATES/READING DEVELOPMENT GROUP INC.

January 10, 1970

The Editor  
Harper's Magazine  
2 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Sir,

The predominant portion of Bayard Rustin's article (~~The Failure of Black Separatism~~) consists of unreasoned and unfortunate slurs on the thoughts and actions of others. Behind the invective, however, is a yardstick of conventional pragmatic politics against which Mr. Rustin measures radical movements and finds them lacking. But this is the politics of compromise and deals, devoid of principles and contemptuous of moral values as a political factor that has given us our current collection of horrors (Vietnam, Nixon and Mitchell, the death and repression of blacks, physical hunger and spiritual malnutrition in the midst of glut -- these just begin the list). For most people, the issue is not so much attacking the system as seeking to abandon it and replace it with something more workable for them.

Mr. Rustin would have us maintain this system, stating that progress for blacks can best be made through coalitions within the Democratic party and through unionism. Anything else, he says, simply offers emotional benefits of no practical

**402 west 20th street new york 10011/989-6866**

Harper's Magazine  
p.2

value or, worse, invites repression -- political and otherwise. But the gains blacks have achieved through party politics can be considered significant only by those who see them as favors granted, not by those who see full equality as a right due yesterday.

And unions. Perhaps once they were full of the brotherhood of man and human dignity described by Stienbeck in In Dubious Battle. But more recently their image has tended toward corruption and violence. Usually the advantages they have achieved for blacks have been in job areas not sought after by whites. Where meaningful positions and conditions for blacks are concerned -- especially when it meant competing with whites -- the record has not been a proud one. As recently as last month when Nixon suprised everybody by leading a determined fight for passage of the Philadelphia Plan which would have required a minimum number of blacks on all Federal construction projects, it was the lobbyists of a major union who led the fight against the plan.

Those seeking political alternatives find two deeper flaws in unionism. The first is that unions, being spawned by and a part of, the larger political system, act in the same way -- that is, ends are considered largely apart from means. The

Harper's Magazine

p.3

~~second flaw, and~~ the crux of the issue is simply that unionism is part of the existing system and as such probably does more to maintain the system than change it. Mr. Rustin states that "it (the labor movement) is ...a vehicle by which the wealth of this nation can be redistributed." Though a redistribution of wealth is exactly what this country needs, the labor movement is least likely to achieve it. Even if wildly successful, the gains made by labor are passed on to the buyer by the manufacturer leaving the buyer with greater income needs to meet higher costs, which means increased salary demands, which means..... and all that has happened is the participants in the inflationary spiral keep their same relative positions. One can hardly call that redistribution.

Julian Bond, hardly a Cleaver, Innes or Foreman, recently said:

There is a new politics arising in America...  
~~While it is new and strange to many, it is as~~  
~~old as America itself.~~ It is part of the process that believes when life becomes intolerable and government unresponsive and unrepresentative, then men have not just the right but the duty to strike it down.

Many of the varied actions of the black dissidents who Mr. Rustin lumps together as separatists are manifestations of the new politics. Whites who support these movements or who



Harper' Magazine  
p.4

simply look on with hope, do so not out of the emptiness of their lives, as Mr. Rustin would have us believe, but because they too feel alienated and disenfranchised. (It could be argued that someone who doesn't feel this way today is the one with the empty life.)

Rather than being so quick to knock an attempt at change, Mr. Rustin should extend it the same leeway he gives existing political practices: ~~With a little room to emerge, a little freedom learn from its mistakes and a little faith in human ability to create constructive solutions,~~ the new politics might effect the "revolution" Mr. Rustin seeks. Repress it and the result might be the destruction Mr. Rustin fears.

Sincerely,



Burrill L. Crohn

Comm

January 16, 1970

Osborn Elliott  
Editor-in-Chief  
444 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Os,

I am happy to join the Centennial  
Committee for the Museum of Natural History.  
I was out-of-the country when your letter  
arrived, and so I've only just now seen it.  
If it is too late for me to join, I under-  
stand.

I am, nevertheless flattered by the  
invitation.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

444 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N Y 10022  
HA 1-1234

# Newsweek

OSBORN ELLIOTT  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

December 16, 1969

Dear Bayard,

As you quite likely are aware, the American Museum of Natural History is beginning its 100th year. To celebrate this event, and to help launch this great institution on its second hundred year, the trustees are forming a Centennial Committee of 100 distinguished citizens from around the country. I am happy to tell you that you have been selected as a candidate for this Committee.

We, the trustees of the Museum, believe that your name and the distinguished reputation that goes with it, will aid us in our program to increase the staff and to further broaden the scope of the many educational and research projects at the Museum -- not the least of which is to focus public attention on the disintegrating state of our environment.

I do hope that you will agree to serve on this Committee, and help make the Museum's second hundred years even better than the first.

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

OE  
lr

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
217 West 125th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10027

P.S. -- A promise: no work involved

*Let's have that lunch soon!*

COMMITTEE FOR UNIFIED NEWARK



*WPM*

502 HIGH STREET  
NEWARK, N.J. 07102  
TEL. (201) 624-1010

*file  
Elections  
1969-70*

January 20, 1970

*WPM*

Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Bayard Rustin

As you know we are trying to put 8 brothers in office here in Newark: Mayor and 7 Councilmen, Black and Puerto Rican. Together, the Black and Puerto Rican communities represent over 70% of the population but have no representative government. In November 1969, a Black and Puerto Rican Convention was held for 3 days to decide what men would represent our communities in the May 1970 municipal elections. Kenneth Gibson, Mayoral candidate, - Theodore Pinckney, Earl Harris, Donald Tucker, Ramon Aneses, Council-At-Large candidates; Dennis Westbrook, Central Ward; Sharpe James, South Ward; Alvin Oliver, East Ward candidate, were selected by the Convention to run.

As part of our national fund raising efforts we're going to place an ad in the New York Times probably the last week in January. May we get you to agree to include your name as an endorsement in our ad, as well as make an appearance some time between now and May 12, 1970 - and/or a donation.

Sincerely,

*[Signature]*  
Imamu Amiri Baraka  
(LeRoi Jones)

*Bayard  
Remember your  
\$2 and make a  
contribution !!  
We're having a press  
conference at the  
Overseas Press Club  
3rd Fl. Auditorium  
for the fund  
I hope you  
can make it !!*

PEACE AND POWER

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, INC.



2 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016  
TELEPHONE 212 686-8710

February 2, 1970

Dear Mr. Gershman:

Barring last-minute changes, we will use the following letters in the following order:

- ✓ Frank E. Smith (uncut--you have a copy)
- ✓ Tollett (also uncut--you have copy)
- ✓ Ofari--copy enclosed with cuts indicated
- ✓ Crohn--copy enclosed with cuts indicated
- ✓ Carter--copy enclosed with cuts indicated

This means that of the letters I've previously sent you, we will not use those by Lorna Smith, D. Scott, B. Zablocki and J. Scott.

I'd appreciate having your answer as soon as possible. The deadline is Friday, Feb. 6. Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jean Haloran  
Letters Editor

Mr. Carl Gershman  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Ave. South  
New York, N.Y.

Thank  
You



MS

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Dear Bayard:

Many thanks for thinking of me with the copy of your remarks before the Eighth Bi-Annual Convention of the AFL-CIO. It reminded me again of all you are and all you are trying to do. I'm most grateful.

My best,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bayard Rustin", written in a cursive style.

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

February 2, 1970



EDWARD M KENNEDY  
MASSACHUSETTS

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510  
February 5, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue, South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Thank you very much for your recent correspondence and the enclosed material.

I appreciated learning of your interest in this area. I know that this information will be of real assistance to me in the days ahead.

Once more, thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

*Edward M. Kennedy*  
Edward M. Kennedy

February 7, 1961

Mr. Don Elberson  
ILGWU Housing  
530 Grand St.  
New York 2, N.Y.

Dear Don Elberson,

It was good to talk with you on Friday. I shall be leaving the States for England about February 27. Until then I can be reached at the above address or called at my home - MONument 6-6975.

From the time I reach England until I return to the U.S. (perhaps by June 15; perhaps not until Sept. 30) my mailing address is:

Direct Action Committee  
344 Seven Sisters Road  
London, N.4, England

As I reported to you, the young man with whom I have left ample funds to cover payment when the times arises is:

Mr. Thomas Kahn  
Room 170  
Slewe Hall  
Howard University  
1919 3rd St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

You will recall that while I prefer a five room flat on a very high floor, I would be contented with anything above the 10th floor and if necessary will make do with whatever I can get. Should the somewhat more expensive top floor five be available, I should, of course, like that very much indeed.

Let me say in closing that I very much appreciate your interest and concern. All the best.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

# CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Telephone: STerling 3-9191



1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

February 8, 1970

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

ABRAHAM FEINBERG  
Chairman, Julius Kayser Co

A J HAYES  
Past President, Int Assn Machinists

FRED V HEINKEL  
President, Missouri Farmers Assn, Inc.

J M KAPLAN  
Industrialist

LEON H KEYSERLING  
Econ & atty, former Chmn President's  
Council of Economic Advisers

GEORGE MEANY  
President, AFL-CIO

JAMES G PATTON  
Past President, National Farmers Union

MILES PENNYBACKER  
President, Voltarc Tubes, Inc

WALTER P REUTHER  
President, United Automobile Workers

MARVIN ROSENBERG  
Chairman, Cameo Curtains, Inc

GLENN J TALBOTT  
Vice/Pres, National Farmers Union

M W THATCHER  
Pres, Nat Fed Grain Cooperatives

## PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue, South  
6th Floor  
New York, New York 10027

Dear Bayard:

I am attaching the original of a letter addressed to Mr. Randolph, enclosing a copy of my letter to George Meany. The two letters are self-explanatory.

I am sending them to you so that you can decide, on the basis as how Mr. Randolph is feeling at this time, whether to take them up with him in order that he may carry forward on the requests obtained in the last paragraph of my letter to him.

One further matter for your information: the attached letters make it clear that this difficulty has been stirred up and thus far perpetuated by Andy. It is ironical that his displeasure did not originate, nor has it been mainly sustained by, the incidents referred to in the two attached letters. Andy has been irritated by my feelings about how he completely sabotaged or bungled efforts to launch an educational and legislative effort subsequent to the preparation and distribution of our Freedom Budget. Equally, Andy has been distressed by the study advocating massive Federal aid to our public schools, which I prepared initially for the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and subsequently issued as a Conference pamphlet (copy enclosed). At the behest of the A.F.T., and in cooperation with it, I recently testified in favor of this proposal before the appropriate House Committee. This study has been so influential that even the rival National Educational Association has invited me to present its findings and recommendations at its Convention on the West Coast on April 6.

(H)

But Andy will have none of this long range plan. He has prevented the AFL-CIO from endorsing it, even though it is already embodied in a Bill introduced by the Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees at the request of the A.F.T., on which hearings, as I have said, have already been held in the House.

In short, Andy's view is that it is a waste of time to become involved in long range and fundamental proposals. His "pragmatic" view is that the AFL-CIO should concern itself with the day by day issues as they arise in one crisis after another in connection with legislation being processed on the Hill.

Andy is entitled to his views, and entitled to carry them forward as legislative agent for the AFL-CIO. But he is not entitled to attempt to sabotage and discredit the efforts of those outside the labor movement who nonetheless has done a thousand times as much for it as he has. Perhaps his attitude may even explain why there is no real liberal movement left in the United States, why there is too much confusion, why so many of labor's earlier intellectual friends have become alienated, <sup>why</sup> not even the Democratic party has a meaningful program of opposition or initiative on the pragmatic side, and why the political outlook is as bad as it is.

This experience is not entirely new. I have encountered some of these kinds of attitudes in the labor movement from 1933 forward. If that attitude had prevailed, I know from intimate knowledge that there would have been no National Relations Act, no Social Security Act, and no Employment Act of 1946. This may also explain why I cannot recall a single one of the legislative actions, or for that matter other equally important actions, during the past forty years, among those which have been of most benefit to the labor movement in particular and to the people in general, which was conceived or initiated by the top central organization in the labor movement itself. I say that I know, because I had so much to do with so many of these efforts, and it is fortunate that the Andys of those times were not permitted to stand in the way. You can verify at least some of this from your own personal experience; if there had been no Conference on Economic Progress, there would have been no Freedom Budget, even as far as it got.

Very sincerely yours,

*Leon*

Leon H. Keyserling

LHK/jh

P. S. I enclose also a copy of the most recent Conference pamphlet, Taxation of Whom and For What?

Ann

February 9, 1970

Galja Barish Votaw  
"Windswept"  
176 Colonial Drive  
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania 17201

Dear Mrs. Votaw:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 22nd. I do remember the Votaws in Media, and I am very glad to hear from you after all these years.

Thank you for your kind words about my article in Harper's. I have added your name to the Institute mailing list so that you may receive our material from time to time.

I look forward to seeing you again someday.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

GALJA BARISH VOTAW  
"WINDSWEEP"  
176 COLONIAL DRIVE  
CHAMBERSBURG, PA. 17201

January 22, 1970

Dear Mr. Rusten:

You may have forgotten the  
Votaws, who used to live in Media,  
Pa - years ago - and that is to be  
expected.

This is merely to thank you  
for your article in Harper's January  
issue. It gave me courage - I have  
been truly concerned not only  
at the way things are NOT working  
out but also with the fact that  
I disagreed with so many demands,  
so much militancy, so much  
division - that I began to consider



myself a reactionary - a  
state "worse than death".

Good for you - your common  
sense, your <sup>trying to</sup>  
mend and heal and unite  
rather than disrupt, separate and  
demand.

Believe me I know we have  
much to atone for - but -

Well any how many thanks,  
more peace power to you -  
Best wishes from all of us -

Sincerely  
Galja Banoh Votaw  
(Mrs. Ernest H. Votaw)

JACOB S. POTOFKY  
GENERAL PRESIDENT

## **Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America**

AFFILIATED



WITH AFL-CIO

15 UNION SQUARE

**New York, N.Y.**

February 9, 1970

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Bayard:

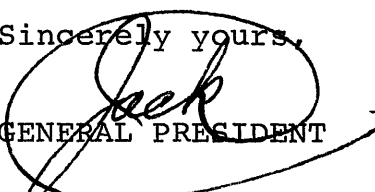
I am writing on behalf of my associates and myself to invite you to address our forthcoming Biennial Convention, at the Convention Hall in Atlantic City, May 26, 27 or 28.

Because of the emergency surrounding the last-minute arrangements for the poverty march on Washington two years ago, we recall that you were unable to keep your date to address our previous Convention. I know our delegates were disappointed on that occasion, and would look forward to meeting you and hearing your message this year.

I look forward to your reply in the hope that your schedule will permit you to join us.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
GENERAL PRESIDENT

JSP:am



Con.

February 10, 1970

Mr. Bruce Hall  
5955 Pershing Avenue  
Saint Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hall:

Please forgive my long delay in answering your letter of January 9th.

I'm very happy that you enjoyed my articles in the New Leader and Harper's. I do not have time to give you as long and extensive answer as I would like, but in brief; Julian Bond's efforts are an example of the changes I envision in the Democratic Party. There are times, of course, when I disagree with him about specific issues, but I wholeheartedly support his basic effort.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

BRUCE HALL, M.S.W.  
SOCIAL WORKER

5955 PERSHING AVENUE  
SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI

TELEPHONE PA 1-4181

January 9, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am writing basically, to thank you for your latest contributions to the separatist/integrationist debate. I have found "Black Education and White Liberalism" in New Leader and "The Failure of Black Separatism" in the January Harper's, and I am pleased by their insight. As you may guess, they correspond with my thinking. I wondered what tactics you would refer to as operationalizing the change potential of the Democratic party or the labor movement. Might Julian Bond's efforts be an example of the change agents you envision within the Democratic Party?

I hope you do not object to such questions, and that time will be convenient to answer them.

Thank you again for your efforts.

Appreciatively,

  
Bruce Hall

cmw

February 10, 1970

Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis  
130 Lancer Road  
Riverside, Connecticut 96878

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thank you very much for sending me your pamphlet. I'm afraid it is really something that should be published by the NAACP.

Thank you for thinking of the Educational Fund, but I just do not think it is an appropriate pamphlet, excellent as it is, for us to publish.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl:

January 9, 1970

Mr. Alfred Baker Lewis  
130 Lancer Road  
Riverside, Connecticut 06878

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Mr. Rustin, as you know, is on a short vacation. He has taken your pamphlet with him, and I'm sure he will be in touch with you as soon as he returns.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz  
Administrative Secretary

RH/ej

MAC  
WANT TO TO SBE  
SOME NOT?  
RHH

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS  
130 LANCER ROAD  
RIVERSIDE, CONNECTICUT 06878

Mr Bayard Rustin  
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Ave So.  
New York

Dec 2-69

Dear Mr Rustin:-

I In accord with our telephone conversation I am enclosing the pamphlet concerning which I spoke to you. It was prepared as a sequel to Langston Hughes' "Fight for Freedom" which stops at 1963, just before the biggest legislative, political, & judicial triumphs won by the integrationist civil rights organizations.

The NAACP would like to publish it, but we can't because we have had ~~to~~ to put a complete moratorium on new printing because of our serious financial stringency.

Of course if you publish it you would have to make changes, referring, not to the NAACP, but to the integrationist civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, & including your own Institute, as opposed to the Black Separatist organizations.

If you do decide to use the material for a publication of your own, you are entirely free to make any changes you like, & you need not refer to me as the author.

If you do publish it, & assuming that the NAACP is given reasonable credit for the achievements in the field of civil rights in the last 8 years or so, I am



sure we could & would order several thousand copies  
at a wholesale price which would give us a reasonable  
profit when sold at retail.

2 I hope you have a pleasant & useful trip abroad,  
may I ask where & why are you going?

3 By the way, I would like to have your off the record  
opinion of the work done by our labor secretary,  
Herbert Hill. It seems to me he is doing a necessary  
job very well. But I would like an intelligent outsider's  
honest opinion.

Fraternally yours

Alfred Baker Lewis

Nat Times - NAACP

Ann

February 10, 1970

Mrs. Dorothy L. Knoke  
1001 North Byrne Road  
Toledo, Ohio 43607

Dear Dorothy,

Please forgive my long delay in answering your letter of December 17, 1969. I must confess it is terribly difficult to read your handwriting. Ed Gottlieb is an old friend of mine and currently with the World Resisters League and Ethical Culture; I have had many disagreements with him. Any position he takes is certainly his own.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

I met & talked to, several times a man & woman, name Ed & Marjory Hinkerson of 108 No. Slofford, Yellow Springs whose son named their son after you. Dorothy L. Knoke. That's great!  
The had been nurses & nurses to Congo. Delightful folks.  
1001 North Byrne Road, Toledo, Ohio 43607

11-17-69

Dear Bayard,

How are you? Hope fine. Were you in Wash. last week? I was there from Tuesday to Sunday at FCR Conf. & every other place possible. God must have new hope for America. I felt I had to go. It was such a long time since I had been able to get away. I shut my door against clients & when I came home wow the packages & mail was terrific. Plus Center's Nov. magazine & Fellowship so now I must get busy. I have so many emphysema belts to fit. This is a horrible & always fatal disease. Arville had it 14 years - longer but could not work 14 years.

Bayard please answer me quickly as I need information before I can clear my report on conference. I would call you but the one time I did I felt I took up otherwise important time of yours altho the information you gave me settled many things here in Toledo.

If you wish to call me & reverse charge O.K. otherwise I hope you are in N.Y. 1-419-536 2131. I sat in a group discussion of Black Power led by a man named Gottleib of WR. I just could not agree with him. With Jewish characteristics it took him forever, gestures & all to say something. I'm used to working with Jews at our Temple so am used to the talking with hands & body movements, putting on & off spectacles, etc.

But a girl about 20 took issue with me when I stated Randolph Inst. had worked out program to end welfare by financing a pay check to all over 16 who could not be employed. Gottleib felt WR program of keeping re-build houses & rehabilitate for work, etc. & move industry into south where Negroes have an acre or so & a shack (this is fine) was the way to help blacks.

P.S. - again just received the new pamphlet is a P.F. & with the old one. Excellent. Check & come in soon.

but he said nothing about what an individual could do toward fellowship & working with negroes on full equality basis. I have always stressed friendship, equality, fellowship & love & have always practiced it while we, too, find employment, work with School board, Catholic Charities, University, etc.

When this girl had a chance to speak she said she had no use for you & your program was dead to her after you said something. I couldn't understand the quote because three times to a sentence she used obscene words. I have heard of this but this was my imitation. She was brilliant girl - totally blind.

When meeting was dismissed I went to her & asked her just what her protest was & she repeated you told blacks to stop soul, soul music, & all demands for black studios, professors, etc.

So, we sat & talked. I gave her your exact quote. A crowd of 10 or more came over & we then spoke of many things - an old woman & youth. The girl said if you were this kind of man she apologized.

We talked over an hour. None of these young folk have peaceful back ground. They have no faith. They say no time. I explained they had all the time there was available. That when one does all they can & can't find the answer then God takes over. Well, do you know they agreed after I gave examples from my life. How people & cities, governments can change & love changes since Old Testament times. They were fascinated.

The young girl who led this blind girl asked if I would care for her while she got some rest so I had her with

me for two hours. She was well educated but oh! so rough. Seemed her family taught her peace activity but G-d-Her- & awful words "she was doing what she wanted" if she could see (this was a key of course) she would join Claver & SDS & give Nixon all the rest H. --  
at end of 2 hours we were friends, she colored down, began to admit "we" are not self sufficient, etc.  
now, the question: G-d-her- you must know him, I stated, "when all is said & done, we must work toward two, <sup>separate</sup> societies within one nation, one black, one white, separate but equal. He said Jews were the niggers of the world as well as in U.S. & they make it, etc. no chance negro can make it. - etc.  
now, I was shocked of course, then since he led a group at the conference, am I hearing F.O.P. or W.R.L. discussion? If this is true I'll love to get out. I cannot believe this. But I need direction & depend on you for it. Please keep me in more black <sup>than</sup> white.  
The group Al Hassler led was wonderful & so was all the program. I kept Stauffer C. all I could in a thousand way & even helped the church handle the crowds in dining room by hastily setting up tables for the marchers kept coming in. I took up all tickets at door - wore a thurgood's suit & knit turtleneck & everyone could spot me.  
when I made a statement my people came to U.S. 1670 - New Jersey & Ohio before it was a state - part of underground between Cavein - nati & Toledo & no male ever fought in a way altho they suffered for it - this news spread about among these sweet long haired lovely young people. They took me to lunch & breakfast & talked & talked & I came

no negroes come to FOA conf but several come in that number with a 3 but group from Va. I talked to all of them.

home - 14 hrs. by train <sup>waste all that time!</sup> & nearly died.  
I never put on clothes all day & slept  
& read *Sacred Blade* accounts which was  
wonderful:

I wanted to go to Wash. but could  
not afford it so called 5 men & they  
immediately sent check one 50-25-20  
15-10-5 & urged me to go! Can you  
believe this? This is my 25th FOR year.

Take care of yourself! The *Mustard*  
news came & I read your article  
before I go to bed - sleep dead tired.

The whole week is almost unbelievable  
the - every city crowds of boys trying to  
hitch hike to Wash. Guess they all  
got there! They were so cold & soaked  
by the worst hail & rain - thunder & lightning  
storm I ever witnessed. They were all over  
the hotel lobbies & lay on floors. The night  
before slept on ground but after rain  
they had to get in. The beautiful part  
was way all Wash. churches, schools  
etc. took them in. I felt selfish to have  
a small room all to myself.

This nation is O.K. with this new  
generation coming of age. The bands  
were all neat & everyone everywhere was  
clean. Young fathers carried ~~the~~ small  
children on shoulders & the mother the bed  
roll - happy! I never saw so many  
happy people 100,000 of them the whole  
was great - the whole program was <sup>ab</sup>  
Also, I met the Jewish-Catholic people  
with whom I have written for help. Priests  
& sisters were fine so came home with much  
to tell my Jewish & Catholic friends. Ron  
Young is sure a fine fellow.

I have to write this - I have been trying  
to stop writing to you but I need help.  
Duff  
Dorothy

- Day on both sides by floor with chairs, we sat & fed.

February 13, 1970

Dear David,

I want to reply to your letter, if only briefly because I am very pressed for time.

Let me quote two passages from your letter and comment of them.

1) "Thus the degree to which unionism has helped black people (a lot, a lot) has been in spite of and directly contradictory to the conscious and unconscious desire of the workers."

Presisely, I could not have said it any better myself. I have never denied the existence of racism. No doubt many workers are racists and would consciously or unconsciously like to see blacks remain at the bottom. Yet as you point out, unionism has helped blacks despite these psychological factors, and the reason is, very simply, economic. Racial divisions hurt unions by destroying labor solidarity. Capitalists, therefore, have always tried to encourage racial separatism since it furthers their own interests. Unions have had to fight for the rights of all workers in order to protect the rights of every worker black or white. I don't deny that discrimination exists in unions (because of racism), but the unions, out of self-interest, are fighting it, and we should help them since it is in our self-interest to do so.

2) "...you take the course most likely to produce the results you believe should be produced, even if your analysis of the facts tells you that what you want is unattainable by the path you have chosen."  
(your emphasis)

I cannot agree with this for a very simple reason. I believe that success is better than failure, that power for black people is better than powerlessness, that an effective strategy is better than an ineffective one. I don't want to imply that you don't believe these things also, (I think you do) but by the above quote you seem to say that one should do what one feels in one's guts is right or what will make one feel good, even if nothing creative will emerge from such an action. My article was intended to present a strategy that, from experience, I think will work. The only way to refute me is to present an alternative strategy that will work. You defeat your own argument by admitting that your own strategy will not work.

As to the last part of your letter, I am a pacifist and therefore cannot on moral grounds agree with your position on violence. But I also cannot agree with it on strategic grounds, and here is where I hope we can come to some sort of understanding. A strategy of violence by a racial minority will bring on repression. It's as simple as that. It's not inevitable, as you say, "that all black Americans who do not leave the country are going to die within eight years." There is no valid basis on which you can make that judgment. I don't deny that there may be increased racial violence in this country, and that more black people--and more white people--will die as a result. But that can be prevented by a nonviolent program of protest. Please don't use the word or concept of genocide loosely. It's a very precise word meaning the planned extermination of an entire people. I think the more realistic danger is that the Nixon Administration will continue to carry out a program that will increase black unemployment and exacerbate the situation in other respects, and this we can fight in a way that I outlined in my essay. But to speak of genocide is not only to lose touch with reality, but to act in such a way that will make, not genocide, but increased violence



-3-

more likely, And the end result will be a growing backlash and a strengthened conservatism, things which will only hurt the black man.

I write to you in good faith and with affection and I hope we can carry on our dialogue in the future.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Dear Bayard,

I have just read the article you gave me and I am very grateful for a chance to see it. Probably otherwise I would never have, because the sort of mag in which it appeared is the sort I never see. Thank you.

As we both suspected, I come away from it shaking my head, but sadly. Of course I do not have the equipment (intelligence, experience in the 'struggle', data) to argue with you. But I want you to know the reaction of a black ordinary person (the kind of person for whom presumably you all are carrying on the 'struggle'), a person who spends considerably more time thinking about the race problem as it affects most blacks than about how it affects him (I have so many fictitious and real escapes).

The paper seems to me to do an excellent job of showing the follies and futilities of each alternative modus operandi which you mention to your own. And wisely it passes over the immoralities inherent in some of them. But one can see clearly what a good job you could have done, were you so inclined, in presenting examples from the facts of recent American history which 'prove' the folly and futility of your own alternative. Still, you are explicit, for you the question is pragmatic: considering the facts, what policies, what rhetoric, what actions, which cabals will produce the most material, concrete (and most speedy and permanent) amelioration of the American oppression of black people? And implicitly, I infer, you are adding the question what ultimate stasis of relationship between the white and black people now in the U.S. is conceivably possible and acceptable or desired by both sides? Good enough.

Hold your seat, because you are about to double with laughter. In citation of 'facts', I believe you overemphasize the economic factors. The division between black and white workers in America (and I do think you fudge on the pervasiveness and permanence and intensity of that division, unions or no unions) is not the result of clever plotting by management. Nor is it the result of workers failing to see where their true interests lie. Because in America white and black are two different species, and by definition any improvement either absolutely or relatively in the black people's or any single black person's condition is detrimental to the welfare of whites. This is not the result of the manipulation of a changeable economic or political structure, or of the foci of power, the machinations of devils, etc. etc., it is the most fundamental fact in the American's perception of reality. Anything that helps mice, hurts eagles. (Even the analogy, tho clear is foolish, but I submit it is a perfect analogue to their thinking.) Thus the degree to which unionism has helped black people (a lot, a lot) has been in spite of and directly contradictory to the conscious and unconscious desires of the workers. And their desires are based on the facts of nature and god, as they perceive them. Like you they are merely being sensible; I think that most genuinely regret that "that's life." Whenever unionism has been

by excluding  
able to proceed without blacks it has steadfastly done so,  
with a fervor and heroism and selfsacrifice and deprivations  
as glorious as any other in the history of any struggles  
Americans have undertaken.

sic

I think that that last paragraph states a fact which you have left out of your paper. Restated: Americans today think exactly the same thing that Lincoln thought: a nation in which black and white people live together on a basis of equality is inconceivable in nature. (Americans today differ from him in that they think they think that it would be nice if it were possible, just as immortality would be nice, if possible. In this they deceive themselves, because they cannot conceive of what it would mean for such a condition to exist, and therefore they can not even desire it wistfully.)

Thus we come to the only serious criticism I have of your thesis. It is an absolute fact (I think) that nothing anybody else has suggested has the faintest chance of working to substantially improve the condition of blacks in America - for reasons you have well enough outlined. And nothing you suggest has the faintest chance either - for reasons which I have not outlined but which proceed from the premise I have stated. Now for my own hang-up. Hold on again. I believe in morality. I believe that you garner all the facts possible, determine how things "should" be (In this latter step I suspect you and I have precious little difference of opinion except in priorities, except in priorities!), and then you take the course most likely to produce the results you believe should be produced, even if your analysis of the facts tells you that what you want is unattainable by the path you have chosen. Take the best road to the heavenly city even if you know that no road will get you there.

So I believe that when you add my 'fact' to your facts, <sup>we</sup> you cannot take your road and pretend that it will get you where you seem to genuinely believe it might get us. (My misspellings and split infinitives reveal how intemperately I am pouring this all out. Forgive them.) I believe that all black Americans who do not leave the country are going to die within eight years, and I therefore believe that the only correct behavior is for us to die well. To die with clean hands, i.e. having tried to the end to pursue the course you outline, but also to die not as pigs, i.e. like the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, I believe that we have been writing the most glorious chapter in the history of human endurance, courage, affirmation of life and dedication to the good. I believe that chapter is coming to an end. I believe that there can be no ending more immoral, more disgraceful, than for us to repeat the passive unwitting complicity in our self destruction that the Jews did in Germany. (I am referring to Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem, I'm sure you revile that book.) And in essence that is what I am accusing you of: leading us to a gaseous mirage. If you were saying "This is what we must try although it is impossible," I would have absolutely no real quarrel with you. Because such a statement forces others to prepare for other contingencies.

I mean they  
refused to die  
as pigs

Thus futile gestures like (successfully or unsuccessfully) preventing the erection of a building are sometimes as morally imperative as shooting at an airplane with a rifle. Thus getting 'community control' may be as essential an act of 'futile' dignity as refusing the firing squad's cigarette and blindfold. On the other hand I agree with you in opposing the preaching of anything which is false or non-constructive, i.e. whites are devils, we should hate whitey, etc. I believe we should never hate white people, but I believe that at this point, the worst bad mark against our record of morality is that we have killed so few of them. (To add mention of how many brothers we have killed would make me turn in shame, And weep.)

Already I have written too much to deserve that you read this all the way through. So incase you will skip to the last paragraph I will say here what I count on your brief meeting with me to establish that I am speaking with admiration, gratitude, respect, and even poignant affection. The positions which you have taken regarding several recent racial or race-related issues, positions well founded on the principles enunciated in your article, have seemed to me to render you a dynamic force counter to the cause for which you so effectively, so constantly, so heroically, so humbly and so doggedly have devoted your life: the amelioration of a people's oppression. I feel like an insanelly megalomaniacal, indefensibly insolent pipsqueak to say such a thing to such a person as you. I can only say in apology that I know I am a flea talking to a lion, and that the pages themselves show how much I am motivated by a sense of both pathos and tragedy in, let's call it la condition noire (pace Malraux).

Sincerely (alas!),

David

Safety Harbor Spa

SAFETY HARBOR • FLORIDA 33572

2/13/70

Dear Bayard:

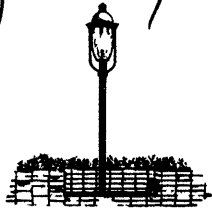
Thanks for yours of 2/10,  
glad you had a good vacation.  
We are feeling fine and keeping  
busy. I speaking engagements in  
the area in 12 days.

Yes, I know of Carl's  
marriage, we have been friendly  
with Josie & Joe for several years.  
Josie Sherman was here for two  
weeks in January.

Carl is a WONDERFUL  
young man.

Best to you & Phil

In love  
Lynn



TELEPHONE: CLEARWATER (Area Code 813) 726-1161 • NEW YORK (Area Code 212) CH 4-7280

Community News Service  
72 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York  
14 February 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Dir.,  
A. Philip Randolph, Institute  
280 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It has been some time now and many telephone calls that I have been trying to get together with you for the purpose of an interview for the Community News Service.

As I explained on the telephone, this is the only Negro news service established especially to serve black communities and their leaders by presenting ethnic news fairly and honestly for use by the white news media. A copy of a feature article from the New York Times, dated January 9, 1970 is enclosed. Our feature is modeled by its general outlines.

Would you be good enough to indicate below on the enclosed carbon copy of this letter when I can contact your secretary by telephone to set up an interview with you as you suggested? A self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

MF  
encls.

(Miss) Maria Hackshaw

George Barnar, Director.

Please telephone me at 2:30 PM o'clock on March 24 to  
(time) (date)  
arrange an interview, 533-8000   
(telephone number)



COURT OF COMMON PLEAS  
JUDGE'S CHAMBERS  
1004 ONE E PENN SQUARE BLDG  
PHILADELPHIA, PA 19107

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER  
SENIOR JUDGE

February 18, 1970

Dear Bayard:

I thought the enclosure and the comments of the speakers would be of personal interest to you and, in addition, because of their relevancy to the progress of the races on the professional level, would tend to inspire young black students who plan to enter the field of law.

The Philadelphia Bar Association, through its Portrait Committee, had a distinguished artist paint my portrait for its collection, (to use their words) "... of distinguished Philadelphia jurists..." to be placed in the new Theodore F. Jenkins Law Library Portrait Gallery, which incidentally was recently named in my honor.

I thought you would like to read about this event and particularly the addresses delivered on this occasion. These addresses appear in their entirety in our daily legal newspaper.

I feel very humble and indeed grateful to our Bar and all who joined in this significant event, making possible the honoring of a black judge in one of America's oldest and largest metropolitan centers.

*Always the best  
to you — best wishes*  
gg  
enc.  
*RPA*

Sincerely yours,

**MEMO** FROM

**THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**

BOX 271, Nyack, New York

Feb. 1970

Bayard,

We have several thousand of this reprint, done for the FOR's "100 Convocations" program of 1965. The program was dropped, or its life cut off by lack of funds, so these reprints are left over.

Do you have any use for them? Their cost must have been "written off" long ago, so they could be given away.

*Larry Swift*

*Cur.*

March 9, 1970

Mr. Larry Swift  
The Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Box 271  
Nyack, New York

Dear Mr. Swift:

Thanks for your note. We could use as many copies of "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement" as you can spare.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej



Copy

March 10, 1970

Miss Mahalia Jackson  
8358 South Indiana  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mahalia:

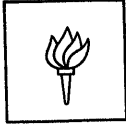
Some time ago, six years to be exact,  
I accepted the enclosed award for you. I  
thought my secretary had sent it to you, but  
unfortunately it has been sitting in my files  
for what now seems like ages. We recently  
came across it and I have hastened to get it  
to you.

With all good wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:



## NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Washington Square College of Arts and Science  
Department of Classics

700 RUFUS D SMITH HALL  
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003  
AREA 212 598-3265

March 10, 1970

Dear Bayard,

First let me say something which may make you uncomfortable, but which I would be uncomfortable leaving unsaid: I am grateful and flattered that you are willing to talk about this to me.

Second, something which may be obvious to some and therefore unnecessary: I feel a tremendous need to talk about this because the matter distresses me. The distress is not simply from the black man's condition in U.S. (For that I would be more -or less?- distressed by U.S. Africa.), but from my sense of utter uselessness, hopelessness, in our peculiar travail. I feel like a cipher powered, or worse, a negative factor in the equation. Enough of self-pity. Next point.

I don't like the current rhetoric. I accept your definition of genocide and it is a shocking word. So if I use it without warrant, it is not from loose speech, it is from a fucked up mind. I really believe that 'they' want us erased from the continent and are capable (politically, psychologically, etc.) of doing it! And will! (The 'will' I didn't start believing until '68. but what has happened since has only served to push the date up.)

I am surprised that I didn't keep a copy of my letter to you, and surprised that I might have used the word genocide, for it is so loosely used these days that it is losing its meaning, its horror. I talk about the thing, the act or the attempted act, and try to avoid the word. Besides I can easily imagine Americans being willing to allow as much emigration as the rest of the world will allow immigration. (I can't, however, imagine this saving even as many as it saved of Jews from Hitler.) Furthermore I anticipate a period in which none of us are to be found on streets, but some of us are alive (in camps). It is the eradication of black people from American life which is ~~is~~ (except for slaveholders) HAS ALWAYS been the avid desire of Americans. (It is seen as much in the old assimilationist liberals and the application or non application of the melting pot theology to us as in the Neo-Nazis.) You say that I have no valid basis for my 'Judgment'. And, thank God, you are right if you mean I have no proof that we won't be around in eight years. But that is not a judgment, nor even an assertion; it is a fear. And therefore it is not fatuous for me to counter-charge that, in the facts of American life - past or present, power-relationships, value system, military and police means, policies, etc.- you have no valid basis for discounting such a fear out of hand. Absolutely no one in the world would deny that in every sense of the word 'can', America can remove us. There is absolutely no

internal, moral, psychological or external inhibiting force. Less certain than the possibility is the probability, or even the certainty that I feel.

Thus now I can state my own personal problem and frame of mind. If it is possible, all black strategy must bear in mind the possibility, both by preparing for the contingency should it develop, and by trying to prevent it. If it is probable, such preparation becomes a concern of the first priority. And what disturbs me is that no black people seem to be conducting the struggle as if they really believed this may happen. Who's worse, the Urban League/A.P. Randolph Institute type ostriches, or the 'revolutionaries' whose exclusively rhetorical or grotesquely irrational violence, and whose unconvincing talk of genocide only increase the probabilities?

My vision must not be correct, because there are so many others so much more involved ~~in it~~ and so much more knowledgeable, but there is no one who agrees with me. I have to be the one who is crazy. But I also must act according to the Light as I see it. And here I must return to the passage you quoted from my first note, and I think, misunderstood. I do feel that one should 'do what one feels in one's guts is right (though I should prefer to say: what one has discovered by all the means of head and heart available to him to be right)...even if nothing creative will emerge from such an action,' provided, of course, that by all the reasoning available to him no other course of action has the slightest theoretical or actual potential for something creative. One could put it more paradoxically, but with exactly the same meaning: One must do the most creative thing, even if one knows that it too will create nothing.

The Light as I see it. Strategy should be based on

- 1) a plan for attempting coexistence under acceptable and defined conditions
- 2) a plan for making any coexistence which is unacceptable to us also unbearable for them and
- 3) a plan for meeting the contingency of their decision that our removal is preferable to coexistence on our terms
- 4) their knowledge that we have addressed ourselves to 1), 2) and 3).

Immediately evident: The Panthers meet the above conditions. That is the strangest case against me. For the specific strategies they adopt in pursuit of each point are so insane, so self-defeating, so unfactual, and incidentally so American and Caucasian, that I am forced to wonder... I write wondering.

Yours, David Dorsey

P.S. Please forgive the sight of these pages; I am using the only typewriter available to me on my job. My home address is:  
339 W. 29th St., N.Y.C. 10001 (Apt. 1-S)

DD

Am

March 13, 1970

Mrs. Esther S. Yntema  
Senior Editor  
The Atlantic Monthly Press  
8 Arlington Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mrs. Yntema

Mr. Rustin has asked me to answer  
your letter of February 17th.

We have been working on a book  
somewhat like the one you suggested.  
We begin in 1942, with essays I wrote  
in 1940 and 1942 and continue until  
my last articles. The project is still  
quite nebulous, but I think Mr. Rustin  
will want to discuss it with a literary  
agent before proceeding too far.

In any case, thanks for writing.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz  
Administrative Secretary

RH/ej



THE  
Atlantic Monthly Press

April 1 =  
April = 6<sup>th</sup> 1970

February 17, 1970

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Late in 1965, I wrote to ask you about the possibility of your publishing a book with us, and you replied on December 6th, "Due to an incredibly heavy schedule it is impossible for me to even contemplate writing a book." But by now, you have a book just about ready to go. I have collected and read your magazine articles since 1965; I have figured out a rough editing plan; and it is clear to me that the book can be got into excellent shape without impinging much on your schedule -- which is certainly still heavy. As it happens, I had started framing this letter without knowing that you and Robert Manning had been talking about an article on Negroes and labor unions, and without having seen your "Frustration Politics and Social Change," which is now to appear in HARPER'S, I gather. Both articles would fit perfectly into the book as I see it.

Perhaps by now you have made a commitment to another publisher; but I do hope not. If not, and if the idea of a book now attracts you -- it seems to me just the right moment, better by far than 1966 would have been -- I shall hope to hear from you. It is a long-cherished dream of mine, that the Atlantic Monthly Press should be Bayard Rustin's publisher. If there is a chance of it, I'll write you in much more detail with suggestions for the form of the book and a list of repetitions, points that need bringing up to date, and so forth.

Attached is a list of what I have read.

Sincerely yours,

*Esther S. Yntema*

(Mrs.) Esther S. Yntema  
Senior Editor

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

ESY/ng  
Enclosure

"From Protest to Politics," COMMENTARY, February, 1965  
"The Watts 'Manifesto' & the McCone Report," COMMENTARY, March 1966  
"'Black Power' and Coalition Politics," COMMENTARY, September, 1966  
(I have not read but hope to, your testimony before the  
Ribicoff Committee, December 6, 1966, as briefly quoted in  
THE NEW REPUBLIC, January 1967)  
Essay on civil disobedience in an "Occasional Paper" of the Fund for  
the Republic, 1966  
"A Way Out of the Exploding Ghetto," NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, August 13, 1967  
"The Political Response Must be Weighed," NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, November  
26, 1967  
"The Lessons of the Long Hot Summer," COMMENTARY, October 1967  
Correspondence on this piece, COMMENTARY, January 1968  
"The Myths of the Black Revolt," EBONY, August 1969  
"Frustration Politics and Social Change," to appear in HARPER'S 1970

March 13, 1970

Mrs. Dorothy Knoke  
1001 North Byrned Road  
Toledo, Ohio 43607

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for your nice note of February 14th.  
I am sorry you were ill, but I am glad to know  
that you are feeling better now.

It is always good to hear from you, I  
wish I had the time to write you a longer  
answer, but I spend most of my time in air-  
planes these days.

Stay well and active.

Love,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

This fancy paper came from Robin Kist Earlham College

(Quaker)

2-14-70

1001 N. BYRNE Rd.  
TOLEDO, Oh. 43607

Dear Bayard,

I am truly sorry.

Forgive me. We cannot work together either.

I wrote you some time ago when I sent the scarf I might not be here Christmas time so I sent it then.

I had a very bad hemorrhage of left eye. It could have been a stroke if it had been the brain but I had neither low or high blood pressure - it was the eye. It took 8 months to correct.

The specialist had me walk 2-3 miles a day after first two weeks followed by cold showers. I had to look at a distance - inside vision would not save eye. I troffie movement nauseated me so I would grab a telephone pole & vomit in the street. Slowly, I covered. I could not type. Had three pairs of lens during that time with a prism cut into left one to correct vision.

All I could do was get out of bed after two weeks and go at life again. I went back to work which I do here - professional corsetry



This is fitted to polios, amputees,  
hunch backs, and correctives.

Then I was permitted to drive  
my car. now, I'm as good as new.  
I have no handicaps whatever &  
take a.m. exercise with Betty Drake  
Ch. 13, play shuffle board & pool  
& we have a dance - formal - once  
a month here where I live.

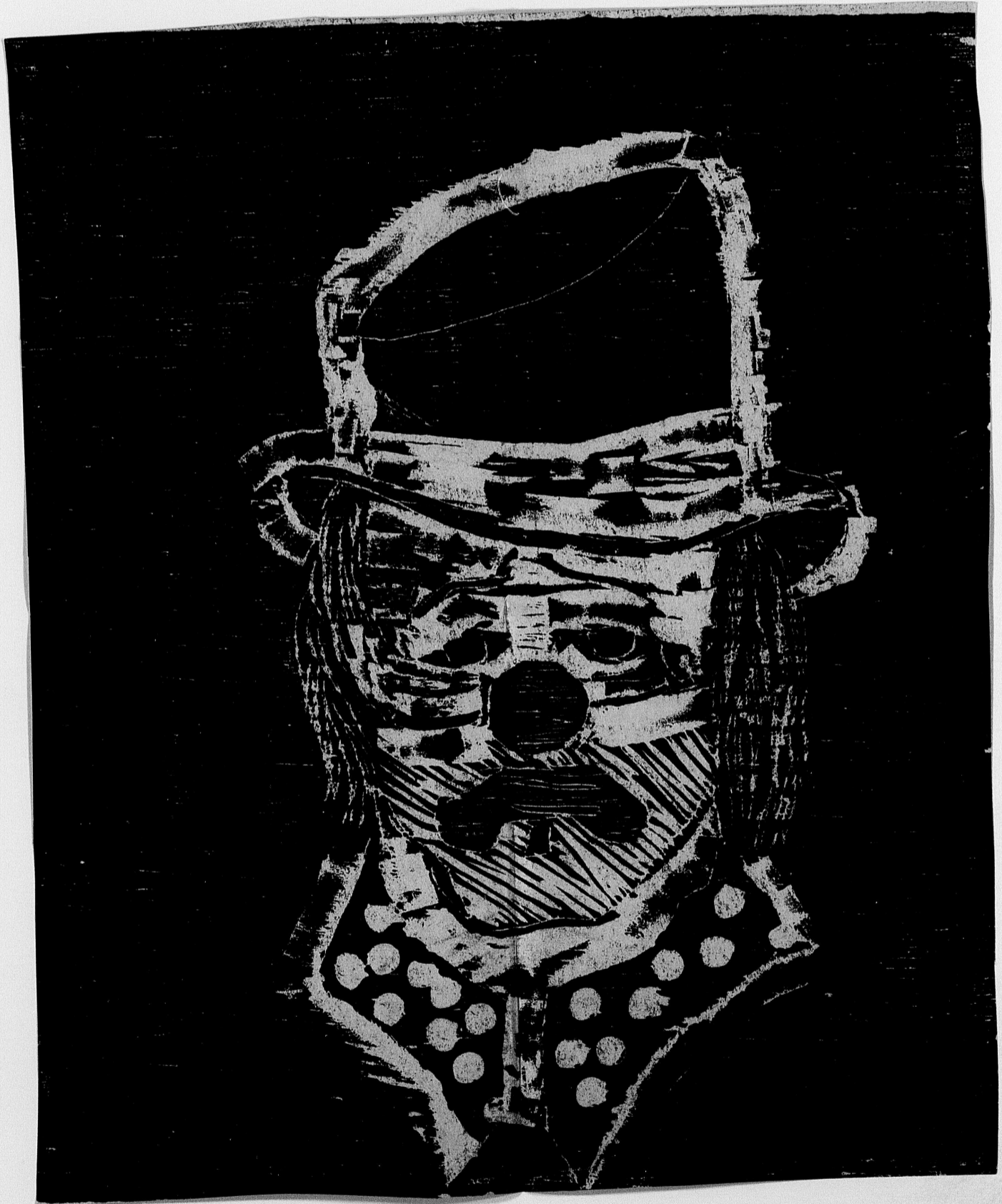
I never drop my FDR, civil rights & refuse  
to belong to any group not integrated.  
I am now working with a committee  
of wealthy civic minded folk who are  
assisting rebuilding & establishing  
Black Businesses.

Our schools are doing fine work  
Our university is experimenting with  
Student Choice Program. We have the  
first speakers at Convocation each  
week. Last week Dr. Seymour Melman of  
Columbia - who told us Big Business is  
in control of our nation from politics to  
Pentagon, manufacture, far in excess  
to needs. We are having Seymour Hersh  
Tuesday, who is completing a new book  
among others, on the Pentagon, completed  
a manuscript on my Lab. His topic is  
Chemical and Biological Warfare - America's  
Hidden Arsenal. I work with Dr. Boris  
Nelson, to get - or bring Peace People here. We  
shall have Dr. George Wahlen - Harvard in  
April. He was in Washington FDR conference  
all the time.

Dear Chamber of Commerce has  
brought two top political party  
representatives here. They want U.S. to  
build submarines. They are nasty  
in presentation. I wrote George H.  
He wrote me he had intercepted  
and held an interview recorded  
with Buckley. This record could be  
played at any station - you see  
this is how I work. I had hoped  
to do the same with you but you  
don't answer until months  
afterward - the occasion has  
come and gone. Why you do not  
send me releases, I do not know.

I feel you are too serious, we are  
to laugh and love and believe it  
is still God's world. We do all we  
can but it is then up to him.  
This is why I sent you fingerless  
gloves, do it yourself with flowers, raisins  
& the cookies I wanted you to laugh  
but each thing I sent went a good  
cry at all the sacrifices & leader.  
Did you have given mankind.

I'm sorry I write badly, as you  
said in letter - but Bayard people  
could not see past the coin cloth  
Gandhi wore - so who am I, my only  
fault is I love people no matter where.  
Tonight is our Negro History Banquet  
held 1,000 east 100th  
Ave, Dorothy





First experiment with wood block  
carving by Jon Duke  
The heart was given me by Tiny Rickett  
he made it all by "himself"

March 17, 1970

Nahum Guttman  
Director of Public Relations  
Israel Histadrut Campaign  
33 East 67th Street  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Guttman:

Thank you very much for sending me  
the pamphlet based on my address before your  
convention. Please send me fifty additional  
copies.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Histadrut  
Half  
Century  
1920-1970



# Israel Histadrut Campaign

Sponsored by the NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL

33 East 67th Street • New York, N.Y. 10021 • REgent 4-6010

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Director of Community Relations

March 5, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are pleased to send you the pamphlet based on the address you delivered at our National Convention.

If you would like more copies, we shall be happy to send them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nahum Guttman  
Director of Public Relations

NG/fc  
enc.

"FIFTY YEARS OF SOCIAL ENGINEERING"

## Histadrut and the New Africa



By BAYARD RUSTIN

**N**OW as you all know, Histadrut was founded 50 years ago. But rather than talk about its founding or its anniversary, I should like to go back to 1960, a year of a tremendous development in Histadrut. Some may find a different high point, but to me 1960 is important because it was in that year that the Afro-Asian Institute was founded in Tel Aviv.

Many of you know that the Institute gives courses in labor and cooperative studies. More than 1500 students from 70 developing countries have come to Israel to learn, and many people from Israel under Histadrut have gone to these nations to aid in their development. This was a good while before the United States Peace Corps was doing anything similar.

But there is something more meaningful here. What is significant is not *what* Histadrut did for the developing nations, but *how* it did it. Other nations have set up programs of study or aid of some kind, very often with strings. I believe it is significant that what Histadrut did was to go back to the 11th century, to the teachings of Maimonides who established a "Hierarchy of Charity." The best form of charity, according to Maimonides, is that which takes away the need for charity. And that is what Histadrut is trying to accomplish. It is giving in such a way that its assistance will someday become unnecessary.

I should, therefore, like to say something about what is happening in the underdeveloped parts of the world and the genius of what Histadrut did. First of all, it is very necessary for Africans and Asians to come to Israel, just to be there. All over Africa today we are being faced with one military coup after another. That is to say that Africans are losing faith in democracy. And if you talk to them and say: "Why are you losing faith?" they will tell you it is because of the difficult circumstances in which they live. But those who have been in Israel have seen democracy maintained in the face of a world which is dedicated to her destruction. If one can see a democratic government maintained under such conditions, one cannot lose faith in democracy.

#### **Freedom and Independence**

Second, as Histadrut did in the beginning, it is important to distinguish between freedom and independence. Histadrut helped in the struggle for freedom. But simultaneously it developed an economic and social program for what was to occur if and when freedom came. Many African nations, however, have not given as much thought to what independence meant. Only now are they confronting the full magnitude of the problem of nation-building which independence has thrust upon them. The Institute can provide them with great assistance in meeting this problem.

Thirdly, my friends this is a very tragic period for aid to Africa, for technical assistance, for trade. Britain is turning her back on Africa; France has begun to turn her back; sadly, my own country, the United States, in regard to aid to the world, has put Africa at the very bottom. It is our lowest priority. We are doing almost nothing. And it is to Histadrut's credit that at this point, when Israel is surrounded by people prepared to destroy her, and has many social and political problems of her own, not the least of which is the assimilation of hundreds of people who come from some of the most disadvantaged

areas in the world, at this point Histadrut finds time to establish this Institute. In doing so Histadrut is following the precepts of Hillel who said "Who am I, if I do not love myself, but what am I if I do not love and help my brother?"

The trade unions of Africa and Asia can also learn a great deal from this center, for they can see that the working conditions which Histadrut achieved by collective bargaining can through political action be made the law of the land. The 8-hour day, paid vacation, severance pay, and other reforms have become law in Israel and are an example of intelligent political action for African trade unions.

When I was in Africa last year, a group of Africans who were living in a small village asked the Prime Minister to visit their community. He decided to go and asked me to go along with him. When we were approaching the village, we reached a little road that had been flooded by four feet of water. It was impassable. We finally crossed the road in small boats, and when we reached the village the people said to him, "You have fooled us, you told us that when the British left we would have decent roads. The British have been gone almost five years now and we still have no roads."

One of the young men who had studied at the Institute said to the Prime Minister: "Why do you not ask these villagers now to help up build a bridge, and then we can build a road?" And the Prime Minister said, "Let us get stones now, and build some kind of bridge." It was a very shaky bridge, and I was half afraid to walk over it, but it was up.

I want you to know that the spirit of hard work, self reliance, and cooperation is something which this young man learned from the Institute. I said to him later, "You know, this was a very imaginative idea, how did you come by it?" and he said, "This is what they would do in Israel."

Another thing they learn from Israel is courage. Courage to exist, to be democratic, regardless of what you have staring you in the face.



In Israel there are men with guns at their hips, planting trees to make a desert into a beautiful place. If Africans and Asians need anything today, it is the example of people against insurmountable odds, who continue to hold on to democratic concepts and to build through cooperation a decent and just society.

### **Cooperation Between Groups**

Perhaps the most important thing of all which they learn is cooperation between different groups of people. Today tribalism threatens to tear Africa to bits, in Nigeria, in Kenya in Somalia and in other lands. Yet in Israel, while Arabs from other countries are saying "we will destroy you"—Histadrut is working with the Arabs living in Israel to build a decent society. The Israeli Arabs are provided full citizenship rights, including health care and education. It is important for Africans to see this kind of cooperation.

There are only about three languages on earth in which there is a single word for "Charity" and "Justice." One of these languages is Hebrew.

"Tzadakah" does not only mean charity, it means justice. Histadrut and Israel understand this word. They are trying to make it a reality for the inhabitants of Israel—Arab and Jew—for African and, hopefully, some day—for those who threaten to destroy them. For where there is "Tzadakah" there will be no hatred and no injustice. When there is "Tzadakah"—charity and justice—men will live in peace with each other.

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*The pamphlet is based on an address delivered at the annual convention of the National Committee for Labor Israel in New York City on November 29, 1969 by Bayard Rustin, exec. director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.*

\* \* \*

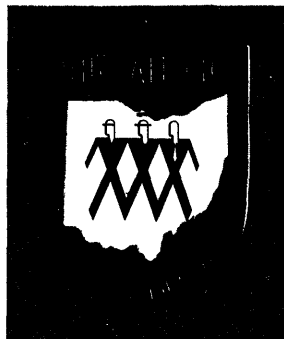
Published by the

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL**

33 EAST 67th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021





FRANK W. KING, President    WARREN J. SMITH, Secretary-Treasurer

# OHIO AFL-CIO

271 EAST STATE STREET    614/224-8271    COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215

March 18, 1970

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Ave. South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Enclosed is our check covering your expenses to our recent Civil Rights Conference.

Discussing with Norman of the meeting in Nashville, I explained to him that I wouldn't be able to attend because of conflict in schedule.

I suggested that our State Convention, June 2-5, 1970, (we hope your schedule will permit you to address on Wednesday, June 3, 1970) would be an excellent time to have a voter registration meeting for Ohio.

We would have the advantage of the delegates attending the convention. Our office will make the necessary arrangements for the meeting at Convention Hotel Headquarters.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience if your schedule will permit you to address the convention and if you approve of the Ohio voter registration meeting.

With best regards, I am

Fraternally,

Warren Pate  
Staff Representative

WP:mmp  
Enclosure  
opeiu 333

\$ 117.20

Betty - returns  
this to Harri  
Rachelle

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 18, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your recent letter and enclosure.

I disagree that the Stennis amendment by itself will slow down desegregation in the South. The South is presently proceeding under integration orders issued by the Supreme Court pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress is powerless to change these decisions.

The problem of desegregating our schools is a national problem. However, we have no national policy for this problem at the present time, and we won't have one until we involve whites in the North. It is my hope that we will now pursue a policy of true integration in the North as well as the South.

Sincerely,

  
Abe Ribicoff

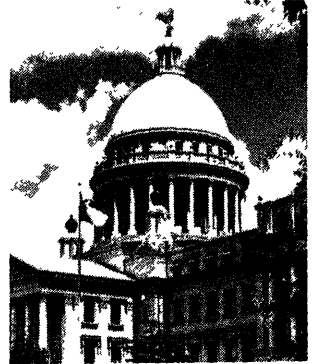
A PROGRAM OF PROGRESS FOR ALL MISSISSIPPIANS



# Mississippi AFL-CIO

Mailing Address: P. O. Box 2010 • 826 N West Street • Jackson, Miss. 39205  
Phone 948-0517

March 18, 1970



Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010

601

Dear Bayard:

The Mississippi AFL-CIO will hold its next regular convention at the Edgewater Gulf Hotel in Biloxi, Mississippi on July 27, 28, 29, 1970. In behalf of the eighty thousand AFL-CIO members residing in the state, I extend to you a most cordial invitation to address this convention. I will be happy to arrange the agenda on any of these three days at your convenience. We will of course defray all of your incurred expenses.

Bayard, I will deem it a personal honor if you can find the time to pay us a visit and address this convention. As you probably know approximately one-third of our membership is black and we expect to have a sizeable black delegation present. Even so, I think your views need to be heard by all of our people both black and white.

In closing let me once again congratulate you on the fine work you and the Institute have been doing. The people of this Nation and members of our labor organizations, in particular, owe you a deep debt of gratitude.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Claude Ramsay, President

CR/cp  
opeiu 204

p. s. I hope to be able to send in a contribution<sup>to</sup> the Educational Fund sometime in the near future. Our Executive Committee will be meeting next month and I hope to take care of the matter at that time.

CR

March 31, 1970

Don Slaiman, Director  
Dept. of Civil Rights  
A F L - C I O  
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Donnie,

Here is the letter I read to you on the  
Phone.

Best,

Rachelle Horowitz  
Administrative Secretary

RHMj

Encl:



THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

March 19, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I have received your telegram recommending that Eleanor Holmes Norton be appointed Chairman of the Human Rights Commission.

I appreciate your views and you can be assured that they will be given every consideration.

Thank you for taking the time to keep me in touch with your thoughts.

Sincerely,

John V. Lindsay  
M a y o r

from the desk of barbee william durham

344 E. 17th Ave  
Col. Ellis  
113201

March 21st

Dear Bayard,

I don't know Jim Farmer's  
present address; could you send  
this on to him.

165 Park Row Barbee  
N.Y. 10038

5-29 Chevy Chase N.W.  
Wash., D.C. 20008

304 East 17th Avenue  
Columbus, Ohio 43201  
March 20, 1971

Mr. Henry Lee Moon, Director of Public Relations  
The NAACP  
1790 BROADWAY  
New York, N.Y. 10019

C Dear Henry Lee:

"Bayard Rustin and James Farmer have the longest Communist records, James Farmer has never done anything in his life but work for Communists. Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King trained at the same Communist school, that thing was staged." *He also said that the shooting of James Meredith was staged.*

O These are some of the statements Ann and I heard last night when we went to hear Charles E. Smith, a Negro, speak for the John Birch Society. There were about seventy-five persons present, including about six Negroes, one of whom seemed to be traveling with Smith.

P As I sat there listening, I had to keep reminding myself that this is a black man saying these things. His whole presentation of about ninety minutes, was carefully put together - if you didn't listen to what he was actually saying. His appearance here was sponsored by the "Support Your Local Police" Committee.

Following are some more statements Smith made last night:

Y "Communism always comes from the top down, never from the bottom or little people. Look, they put Bayard Rustin on the trustee board of Notre Dame, see." Smith called himself tracing Communism in this country and mentioned that ~~the~~ Civil Rights is a cover for revolution. He praised Booker T. Washington because he never advocated social or racial equality. Consequently, Smith said, Washington had to be gotten out of the way, "This was the purpose of the Niagra Movement. Then the Communists through their agent ~~was~~ W.E. B. DuBois, formed their first front organization, the NAACP. Two years later they formed their second front organization, The Urban League."

"The largest group of Communists in this country is made up of protestant clergymen, the National Council of Churches. The ACLU is the legal department of the Communist Party. x"

Smith made quite a bit out of the fact that NAACP has never had a Negro president. He said the men who made the picture "Pinky" were on the Board of NAACP, that Trudeau is a Communist and that our State Department at one time refused to admit him to this country.

I am sending a copy of this to Bayard and Jim Farmer. Smith is to be back through here on the 30th, maybe they might like to come out with a tape recorder so that they can sue the gup for liable. They said that tapes of his speeches were available in ~~xxxx~~ cassettes but warned that they were not word for word because Smith does not use notes. I suspect that this means that their ~~xxx~~ lawyers have down over them so that libelous material is removed.

13678



From The Watts Area Of Los Angeles, **CHARLES E. SMITH**

Speaking On  
**CIVIL RIGHTS - A COVER FOR REVOLUTION**

*"America's enemies are using false issues like civil rights and racism to confuse and divide us — and to promote civil war as a prelude to destroying freedom for everyone."*



Born and raised in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Charles Smith settled in the Watts area of Los Angeles in 1960. He was quickly recruited into subversive groups such as the Los Angeles Freedom Now Committee and the Fair Play For Cuba Committee, whose membership included Lee Harvey Oswald.

Charles Smith learned the truth about these revolutionary groups and subsequently disavowed them. He discovered that their appealing slogans and high-sounding goals were really "a facade for revolution." He saw both the slogans and the people shouting them bring on the Watts holocaust in 1965.

In 1968, Mr. Smith began publishing a small newsletter called *The Voice of Watts*. Written primarily for local residents, this small publication has been credited with reducing the climate of violence and hatred being built by our nation's enemies. He has made it clear that "professional agitators aren't working for the American Negro; they are working on him."

Recognizing a need to inform all Americans of the sinister forces at work in our country, Charles Smith is now touring this nation as a lecturer. Audiences from coast to coast have responded enthusiastically to his message. We think that everyone can benefit from hearing this great American. Bring friends and neighbors to hear him at

**PHILLIPS AUDITORIUM**

**OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY**

Formerly at **Hayes High School — Cafeteria**

**Euclid, Delaware, Ohio**

**Monday, March 29th, 1971 — 8:00 P. M.**

**Donation \$1.50 Advance Sale**

**\$2.00 at the door.**

**SPONSORED BY**

**Delaware County Support Your Local Police Committee**

**For Information call: 363-1820 Day**

**363-4344 Evening**

**or write:**

**Fred Bender**

**Box 115**

**Waldo, Ohio 43356**

**Watch Mr. Smith on the Bob Braun Show on WLW**

**Channel 4 — Monday, March 29 1971**

I AGREE WITH YOUR PROGRAM TO SUPPORT OUR LOCAL  
POLICE – AND KEEP THEM INDEPENDENT:

- Please send me . . . . . tickets for this speech Enclosed is \$ . . . . .
- Please send me more information about the Support Your Local Police Committee, including your Statement of Principles and an application for membership.
- Please have a member of the Committee call on me to discuss the Support Your Local Police Committee and my possible participation in its activity.
- Keep up the good work. Enclosed is \$ . . . . . in support of your program.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

**SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE**  
**. . . And Keep Them Independent!**

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PLACE  
STAMP  
HERE

**Delaware County Support Your Local Police Committee**  
**Fred Bender**  
**Box 115**  
**Waldo, Ohio 43356**

April 2, 1971

Mr. James Farmer  
5129 Chevy Chase, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jim,

Barbee William Durham asked me to send  
this to you

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

**AD HOC COMMITTEE**

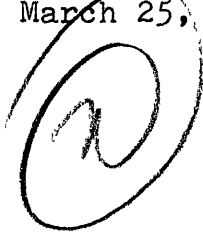
c/o HOLY NAME SCHOOL

709 Keel Ave.

Memphis, Tenn. 38107

~~526-9159~~

March 25, 1970



Mr. Bayard Rustin  
c/o Phillip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I was sorry your schedule would not permit you to come to Memphis to testify on March 25 and 26, 1970. The Committee is still very desirous of having your testimony for the benefit of the people of Memphis and the eventual published report.

The next hearings are tentatively set on the topic of peaceful protest for April 8 and 9, 1970. If you could be so kind as to find time in your busy schedule to appear on either of those dates to testify on the rights of peaceful protest and how it can cut down on criminal activity, I would greatly appreciate it.

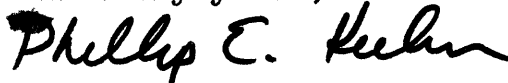
To give you a better understanding of what we are doing here in Memphis, please find enclosed the following:

1. Photostatic copies of newspaper accounts
2. Photostatic copy of opening statement
3. Copy of rules and regulations
4. Names of Committee members
5. Copy of calendar

If you could give me an answer on the possibility of your testifying as soon as it is possible, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

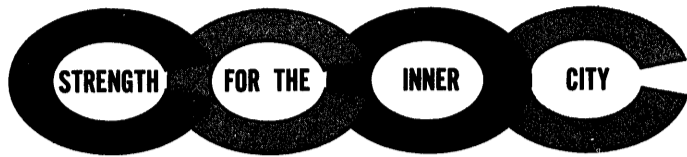
Sincerely yours,



Phillip E. Kuhn  
Attorney for Ad Hoc Committee

Enclosure

Copy to:  
Dr. Morselle, NAACP



**COSMOPOLITAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**  
840 EAST 87TH STREET CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60619 312.994-1300

Executive Director  
LEWIS A. H. CALDWELL  
National Business League  
ANDERSON TURNER

March 27, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

The Executive Committee of the Chamber and I would like to thank you for your excellent presentation on March 16. We have had numerous request for the transcript of your speech. We have also received numerous request from persons in attendance and some who were not for a possible repeat of your presence.


If it is at all possible, I would like to at this time extend an invitation to you in behalf of the Chamber for a date next year.

We were pleased with the response on such short notice and hope you enjoyed yourself.

Enclosed are some pictures of the event.

Please keep us in mind.

Best regards

  
Alvin R. Lee  
Executive Vice President

ARL:jj

Enclosures

cc: Mrs. Maida S. Kemp

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*WVON Radio Station*  
GEORGE L. WORLING  
*Drexel National Bank*

## Jobs for slum blacks called more charity

A civil rights leader told a group of Chicago businessmen Monday that their efforts to hire and train ghetto blacks is "immoral, nothing but extended charity."

Bayard Rustin, executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York, said businessmen who offer jobs to ghetto youths while at the same time supporting the Nixon administration are being "fall guys" for the administration.

"The problem is not black and white but the nature of the marketplace," Rustin said at a meeting of the interracial Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce.

Attacking fiscal policies that increase unemployment under the guise of fighting inflation, the veteran activist said:

"Nixon is playing both ends against the middle, making fall guys out of the blacks in the ghetto and making fall guys out of you businessmen.

"American businessmen better understand what the Nixon administration is up to."

Those hired under various manpower development programs are the first to be laid off during the business cutbacks being encouraged by the administration, he said.

The economic squeeze among the unskilled has resulted in the most critical period of national divisiveness since the end of Reconstruction, Rustin said.

Rustin said this economic squeeze has brought about "a society in which black is being pitted against white, a society in which rich are pitted against the poor and the old pitted against the young.

"This society is systematically teaching young black people that violence is the only means to social change," he said.

To reverse that trend, Rustin urged businessmen to join the traditional liberal coalition of organized labor, intellectuals and minorities to force the administration to realize "that new priorities must be set."

Rustin said U.S. District Court Judge Julius J. Hoffman's handling of the Chicago 7 trial was "so horrible that young people cannot look at him with any faith in the legal process."

The meeting in the Pick-Congress Hotel was one of the Cosmopolitan Chamber's regular monthly gatherings.

## Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce

840 East 87th Street Chicago, Illinois 312-994-1300

Guest Speaker

Bayard Rustin

*Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute*



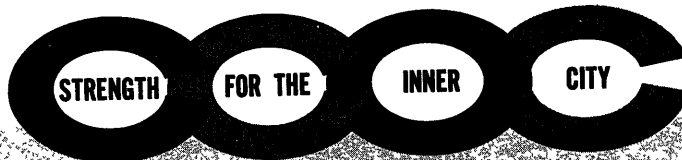
### LUNCHEON - MEETING

Monday, March 16, 1970

PICK-CONGRESS HOTEL

Michigan Avenue at Congress Expressway

12 O'Clock—Noon



*MEMBER: Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Illinois  
State Chamber of Commerce, National Business League*

## Program

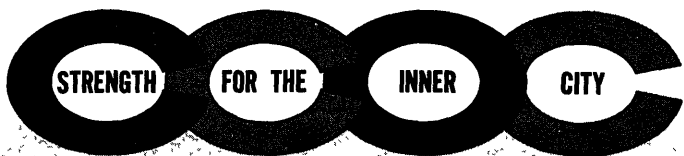
- PRESIDING ..... Alvin R. Lee  
*Executive Vice President*
- Fred Wall  
*President, Chicago Courier*
- INVOCATION.....Rev. Ralph Hopkins  
*St. Andrew's M.B. Baptist Church  
President, Baptist Ministers Alliance*
- REMARKS.....Daryl F. Grisham  
*President—CCC*
- INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER.....Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp  
*Midwest Director,  
A. Philip Randolph Institute*
- SPEAKER.....Bayard Rustin  
*Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute*
- BENEDICTION.....Rev. Ralph Hopkins  
*St. Andrew's M.B. Baptist Church  
President, Baptist Ministers Alliance*

## The Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce

The Cosmopolitan Chamber of Commerce, one of the eminently important inner City Chambers which has a broad spectrum of membership from the Black Business World as well as the White Commercial World, appreciates your support of this event.

Our programs propose to up-grade the profit potential of Small Business by providing needed service and assistance to the point where they can grow on a self-sustaining basis

Since March of 1968, the Chamber has graduated over 2500 students from its Free School of Business Management at the following combined locations, Illinois Institute of Technology, Cortez Peters Business College, Marion Business College, Malcolm X College, Thornton Junior College, Triton College . . . will initiate our first Advanced Free School at Thornton Junior College . . . setting up an affiliate office of the Better Business Bureau at Chamber facilities . . . training unemployed and under-employed young people and locating them on jobs with member employers through the U.S. Department of Labor's MA training series and the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity's Man-Power Development Program . . . establishing daytime unit of the free school of Business Management at the Illinois Institute of Technology for Metro High and University of Chicago Special Project High School students who wish to seek business careers . . . one-to-one apprenticeship of high school students with a member business organization for practical exposure . . . working with State Director of Insurance and insurance brokers in the inner city to provide adequate commercial insurance at reasonable cost to business in so called "high risk" areas . . . Co-sponsor Quaker Oats Free Super Market School . . . cooperate in enhancing the level and degree of dialog between responsible persons and organizations concerned particularly with the Black communities of our city . . . established guest speaker series for particularly small businessmen and community leaders . . . co-sponsor the Business Opportunity Suppliers Day Fair.



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**LEWIS A. H. CALDWELL**

National Business League  
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*National Insurance Association*

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*Evans Food Products Company*

**JOSEPH PALEN**  
*Signode Corporation*

**WILLIAM E. PAYNE**  
*Pepsi Cola Bottling Company*

**WILLIAM L. POSTWELDER**  
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**DIMPSEY J. TRAVIS**  
*Travis Realty Company*

**FRED WALL**  
*Chicago Courier*

**JAMES WHEELER**  
*Central National Bank*



### *Our Guests*

Daniel P. Harley, Regional Director, Manpower Administration U. S. Department of Labor.

Dr. James F. Redmond, General Superintendent of Schools.

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp, Midwest Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Rev. Ralph Hopkins, Pastor, Saint Andrew's M.B. Baptist Church, President Baptist Ministers Alliance.

Erwin France, Executive Director, Model Cities.

Donald Peters, President, Warehouse and Mail Order Employment, Local 743.

Albert Towers, Assistant to President, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Charles Swibel, Chairman Chicago Housing Authority.

James Baylor, Director, State Department of Insurance.

Rev. Donald L. Benedict, Executive Director, Community Renewal Society.

Donald M. Graham, Board Chairman, Continental Illinois National Bank.

Edwin C. Bill Berry, Executive Director—Retired, Chicago Urban League.

Dr. Charles Hurst, President, Malcolm X College.

Lewis Martin, Editor-in-Chief, Sengstacke Publication, Chicago Defender.

Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., Commissioner, Department of Human Resources.

Dr. Carl M. Grip, Jr., Dean of College Liberal Arts, Illinois Institute of Technology.

Mrs. Jessye S. Matchen, Chicago Committee Urban Opportunity.

Alexander C. Fields, Jr., Vice President, WGN Continental Broadcasting Company.

Warner Saunders, Executive Director, Better Boys Foundation.

Arthur K. Muenze, President, Wieboldts Stores Inc.

Kenneth Towers, Assistant Managing Editor, Chicago Sun-Times.

Thierry McCormick, Assistant to President, Meister Brau, Inc.

Dr. Rolf Weil, President, Roosevelt University.

Leroy H. Schakeford, Jr., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

R. C. Wieboldt, Jr., President, Wieboldt Foundation.

David J. Christensen, Executive Director Continental National American Foundation.

Judge Otto Kerner, United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit Court.

James Kemp, President, Local 189, Service Employees Union.

CONFERENCE  
ON  
THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS

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NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028  
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BUTTERFIELD 8-7676

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March 27, 1970

FOUNDING SPONSORS

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.  
HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
JAMES A. PIKE  
NORMAN THOMAS  
MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Dear Rachelle,

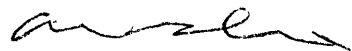
A couple of favors.

First, I would like to have Bayard's agreement to sign the enclosed letter, as a covering letter for the enclosed "Declaration", to be sent to several hundred people identical with and similar to the people who signed the statement published in 1967 in the New York Review, also enclosed here.

My hope is to release the whole thing at a press conference on Monday, April 20. So my second request is whether Bayard would be willing to be present at the press conference.

Could you call me this afternoon, so I may proceed?

Gratefully, as ever,

  
Moshe

*Yes - by phone  
7/27/70  
pa  
maybe  
for  
card*

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March 31, 1970

FOUNDING SPONSORS

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.  
HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
JAMES A. PIKE  
NORMAN THOMAS  
MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Dear ....:

The anti-Jewish campaign which the Soviets have been waging for the past two months is virtually unprecedented in its virulence, especially in its coercion of Jews -- elderly rabbis, cantors, government figures, artists and others -- to disown their brothers. We feel it is essential to mobilize public opinion on this situation, both to protest the campaign and to bolster the morale of Soviet Jews, for whom world opinion is a major bulwark.

This is why we are circulating the enclosed "Declaration of Solidarity with Soviet Jews" to several hundred prominent Americans. We hope you will support this urgent effort and indicate as much on the enclosed return card.

We plan to release the text at a press conference in April, and we hope to find the funds with which to place the statement, with the names of the signatories, as an advertisement in the press, perhaps abroad as well as here. In these ways, we hope that this message will penetrate to both the Soviet Government and Soviet Jewry.

Please sign and return the card as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Moshe Decter

#### DECLARATION OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET JEWS

We are shocked at the campaign of vilification, intimidation and coercion being conducted by the Soviet regime against its Jewish citizens. The ominous shadow of Stalinist anti-Semitism darkens the land once more.

The campaign has been a mammoth, concerted chorus of condemnation and hate of Israel whose initial purposes were to demonstrate to the Arab rulers Moscow's staunch backing, to shore up public opinion at home for this costly, unpopular, retrograde policy, and to abet the emasculation of Israel.

Swiftly it turned against Soviet Jews themselves, degenerating into an irrational anti-Semitic campaign, into which have been impressed Jews high and low, proclaiming their undying loyalty with pathetic fulsomeness, signing outrageous libels against Israel and world Jewry, reiterating official apologetics about the happy condition of Soviet Jewry. For the coerced hostages, we feel only compassion.

We stand aghast at the cynical grotesqueries that describe "Zionists" as racists and Israel as Nazi, that claim the "Zionists" cooperated with Adolf Eichmann in the liquidation of Hungarian Jewry, that an accidental air raid on a civilian factory near Cairo is comparable to the Nazi devastation of Lidice, that the "Zionists" collaborated with the Nazis in the slaughter of 100,000 Jews at Babi Yar, near Kiev.

No one is deceived by these transparently specious accusations. They are intended to intimidate Soviet Jews, to dampen their natural feeling for Israel and the desire of many to live there. For it is clear that, in the Soviet dispensation, "Zionist" is a poisonous euphemism for "Jew".

For a quarter century, since the liquidation of the Jewish cultural institutions and leaders in 1948, Soviet propaganda has viewed Judaism as the ideological progenitor of Zionism, and Zionism as the equivalent of Nazism, and the whole amalgam as a key element in Moscow's doctrine of "International Zionism" as a Jewish conspiracy, in league with Western imperialism, to control the world.

The propaganda has been a concomitant of the suspicion, distrust and hostility with which the regime views the Jews, leading to a policy of discrimination against the Jews as individuals and as a community, deprivation of cultural and educational institutions, a systematic attempt to destroy Soviet Jewry's ties to the Jewish heritage and its historic bonds with world Jewry, a process of attrition and attenuation aimed at forcible assimilation.

In the phrase of Andrei D. Sakharov, the USSR's gifted nuclear physicist (a non-Jew), in a profound 1968 underground manuscript, the regime reeks of "the stench of narrow-minded anti-Semitism".

It is precisely against this poisonous atmosphere that scores of thousands of Soviet Jews have reacted. "The time of fear has passed," they say. "The hour for action has come." At great personal risk, hundreds of audacious Jews have signed open letters proclaiming their Jewish identity and kinship with Israel. Tens of thousands have applied for exit permits to Israel. The ranks of the daring constantly grow. No amount of propaganda and pressure is likely to undo this historic spiritual transformation.

2.

We declare our solidarity with them. We say to the regime: For those who wish to live as Jews in the USSR, let them enjoy the full range of rights and institutions to which they are entitled. And for those many who wish to leave for Israel, for family and national reunion, we say:

Let them go!

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ON  
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April 2, 1970

FOUNDING SPONSORS

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.  
HERBERT H. LEHMAN  
JAMES A. PIKE  
NORMAN THOMAS  
MOSHE DECTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Dear Bayard,

Last week I spoke with Rachelle about a request I have of you, to write a brief statement. She then said you have an April 1 deadline for a major article. I decided to wait until today. Now here it is:

I am editing a booklet which will be sponsored by this Conference. It will contain forty letters sent out of the USSR by Jews in their effort to alert world public opinion to their frequently abortive and frustrating pleas for exit permits to Israel. As you will see from the texts enclosed here, they all have similar, powerful themes.

Title: REDEMPTION! REDEMPTION! REDEMPTION!

Sub-title: Jewish Freedom Letters From Russia

I am writing a kind of analytic Introduction.

And I am requesting you to write a FOREWORD. It needn't be long. On the other hand, this could be an excellent opportunity, occasion, for you to put down once and for all your major statement on this subject. The ideas of freedom, Exodus, "Let My People Go!" we share, as Jews and Negroes, as human beings. I need not expatiate on these themes for you. But this is the kind of thing I would want you to dwell on in terms of your overall concern and long-standing involvement in this problem

Please do it!! And if you agree -- can you dash it off within a week? I know it's asking too much; that's why I dare to ask.

Cordially,



FOREWORD

by Bayard Rustin

It is man's fate to suffer and his nature to endure. And as William Faulkner told us, it is his destiny to prevail--to prevail over the ~~inexorable indignities~~ <sup>wearing burdens</sup> of time and fortune and the ultimate indignity of man's inhumanity to man.

The twentieth century is strewn with the victims of human cruelty, and it is also replete with examples of human triumph. The worldwide struggles against war, racism, poverty, colonialism, and totalitarian repression all testify to the truth that while men may be oppressed by slavery, the urge for freedom will persist undiminished; and that while death may break men's bodies, it shall have no dominion over their souls. This was Martin Luther King's message to his people, and it is also the meaning of this collection of letters from Soviet Jews.

One reflects upon the ~~his~~ story of the Jewish people with the sense of ~~some~~ mystery that is reserved for all great epics. The theme of redemption ~~runs~~ runs throughout this story and seems both to explain and ultimately to justify human existence. It tells us that freedom will follow slavery, that in suffering we shall find joy, and that death shall give birth to life. To some degree all of our lives attest to this reality, but rarely if ever has it been demonstrated with ~~a~~ such shattering force as during the last fifty years of Jewish experience. The destruction of European Jewry and the founding of the State of Israel stand together as a monument to what is base and evil in mankind and ~~also~~ to what is good, beautiful, and strong. They are also a declaration of the universal human will to survive and be free, for ~~if~~ <sup>then</sup> redemption can follow the Nazi holocaust, ~~the~~ certainly there is hope for the oppressed throughout the world.

The authors of the letters in this volume ~~are~~ <sup>Suffer from</sup> victims of a form of oppression far more subtle than ~~that~~ that exercised by the Nazis. The pogrom is still a reality in Soviet society, especially during a period like the present when ~~the~~ <sup>is</sup> government ~~deliberately~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~inflames~~ <sup>inflaming</sup> ~~and~~ incipient anti-Semitism as part of its ~~propaganda~~ <sup>is</sup> anti-Israel propaganda campaign. But the major threat to Soviet Jewry is not the destruction of life but the obliteration ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the Jews as a people. The prohibitions placed upon Jewish education and

religious observance, combined with discrimination in employment, politics, and schooling have given new meaning to the old maxim that it is not easy to be a Jew.

The cry for redemption in these letters takes the simple form of the request to go to Israel. The request has been firmly rejected (and many of those who have made it have been subjected to increased persecution) since it conflicts with what is expedient for Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union wants to increase its influence among the Arab nations, the Arab nations want to cut off the flow of immigrants to Israel, and the largest source of such immigrants today can be found among the 3,000,000 Soviet Jews.

*In this sense the Jews have simply become a pawn of Soviet foreign policy.*  
*Beyond this,* ~~But exit permits have been denied the Jews for reasons beyond Soviet-Arab relations. Beyond matters of foreign policy,~~ ~~Russia has denied exit permits to the Jews for internal political reasons.~~

An important part of Communist mythology is that no national problem exists in the Soviet Union. This myth/applies to Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Armenians, and Georgians as well as to Jews, and its credibility would be totally undermined were the Jewish minority to leave the "socialist" fatherland for the State of Israel. The irony here should not be lost. Jewish emigration to Israel is being restricted in order to buttress what is thought to be the ideal of socialism in the Soviet Union. But that ideal has been perverted by totalitarianism and is far better represented by the democratic social and economic system which has been developed in Israel.

The letters in this volume are like freedom songs, and the voice that emerges from them will be recognized as a kindred voice by the oppressed in many different lands. The moving letters of Ionas Damba and the poet Kerler, Kochubiyevsky's passionate cry of "Let me go!", of men like Polsky and Rabinovich ~~who protested~~ against injustice in a country that does not tolerate any words of opposition—~~these are only a few of the instances in this volume~~

these are only a few of the instances in this volume that bear elegant witness to the irrepressible longing for human freedom. *There will be this longing wherever conditions exist which* ~~These letters are simple and forthright~~ *statements, but they carry a universal message* ~~statements, but they carry a universal message~~ *rights. That such conditions exist is a measure of our inhumanity towards each other. But it is also a measure of our transcendent humanity.*



I found myself in almost total disagreement with Bayard Rustin's article, "The Failure of Black Separatism." Rustin's thesis appeared to be that no black organization or individual outside of "...the trade union movement and the Democratic party" has any viable program for achieving freedom and justice for black people. In one sweep, Rustin has dismissed reparations, free breakfast programs, free health clinics, etc., as either impractical or "not revolutionary!"

His article boils down to a lengthy diatribe against black leaders from James Forman to Marcus Garvey in the past. Irregardless of what one thinks of their politics these leaders have received a substantial following among many blacks.

Even more disturbing is Rustin's general treatment of the legitimate ideal of Black Power. Rustin states: "If there is one common theme uniting the various demands for Black Power, it is simply that blacks must be guided in their actions by a consciousness of themselves as a separate race." On what theoretical ground did Rustin formulate this idea? On what concrete evidence does he base such a generalization? He, of course, doesn't specify. The essence of Black Power, I submit, is manifested in the demands of blacks for better housing, schools, jobs and so on and not, as Rustin implies, in separate existence.

~~At this point in the black struggle the need is for unity, not division.~~  
~~This fact seems to have escaped Rustin.~~

Sincerely,

Earl Ofari

Afro-American Cultural Association

Los Angeles, Calif.

YALE UNIVERSITY  
LAW SCHOOL  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

April 2, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I'm awfully sorry you can't join us on April 30 and May 1 as a discussant. If your schedule should change, please come anyway, and join the fray.

I should be immensely pleased to have you there, especially on May 1, when we should discuss many problems of great interest to you.

Yours sincerely,

*Eugene Rostow*

April 7, 1970

Mr. Fredrick J. Russell  
519 West 143rd Street, #22  
New York, New York 10031

Dear Mr. Russell:

Thank you for your letter of March 26th.  
I am glad you took the time to write to me.

There is much in your letter that I agree with, particularly when you say, "All I ask is that no man prevent me from getting what I can work for." I would add that no man should prevent a Negro from living in a house he can afford, or getting the education he is capable of absorbing.

I am for integration, because I believe that is the only way to achieve those goals. There is much that is wrong with America, and there is much that is wrong with politicians of all colors. Yet, it is only by engaging in united political action that any group has gotten its full share.

I thought you would be interested in seeing an article which I prepared for the AFL-CIO Convention. It is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl:

519 West 143rd Street.  
Apartment # 22,  
New York 10031 N.Y.

March 26th, 1970.

Mr Bayard Rustin, C/O  
Philip A. Randolph Institute.  
217 West 125th Street.  
New York, New York.

Dear Sir; Several years ago I had an occasion to witness a large group of New York City Citizens assembled in front of the City Hall bearing in body their grievances regard the plight of the School system. Frankly I attended that demonstration out of curiosity, but found my person marching across the Brooklyn bridge, it was this day that I learned that the bridge had a plank floor. once in front of the Board of education's huge building, we were introduced to callous regards to us the Black and Spanish mothers and Fathers whose Children provide million of dollars to the vested interest of the school system in this City. I as a Tax payer am concerned to the degree that a Black child or any child is unable to read or write consistent with the age level or what ever criterion may be. Having worked in the area as a volunteer in the area between 125th and 155th Street on Broadway with Young People in Athletics and social study type subjects, The Spanish Speaking boys who attended The Catholic Schools have done well in that some of them have Married and four out of thirty Boys are enjoying higher education at University of Chicago, Brooklyn Tech, Manhattan Community College- Our Black members are confined to menial jobs today that pay less than seventy five Bucks. the reading and writing level of the Boys of my People ( Black), all attended the New York School system for 12 years or less and these kids now young Mrn can't read a damn clear sentence and I ma as hell! What I ask you and other Black politicians from Shirley Chisholm now in Washington to Charles Diggs not mention Rangle, Sutton, Jack, Powell, Patterson ect, yes I have crossed party lines,,,,,as I well understand that social needs transcends party lines, Living in a Black skin 54 years beginning in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania where My Grandfather migrated from Barnsvill just out of Atlanta about 1913, now living in Philadelphia with his brood, my Mother included worked and saved his money so he could buy a beat-up deserted house on North 48th Street, at the seat of a large Catholic institution namely The Mother of Sorrow Church, Schools, social halls ect, This so-called Christian job beat and mauled us, bricks found its way to our windows time after time until purchased a gun from the local pawn shop, after it was very clear that the local Police did not protect his Family. The night the missiles made their mark again Peppa fired his gun-----then the Police stood on our porch all most before the smoke had cleared that gun, What are you doing threatening live of the People of this area, humph! The One Black Cep among that group advised My Grandfather that he had a right to defend his home, Now I ask you Mr Rustin what are you doing to protect the Black, Spanish speaking and poor Whitekid from this school system that relegates them to low paying jobs that leads them no where, ( period). Enclosed please find the

(2)

What I would like to see som much is to see the day that the Black Politician do exactly as other mMen has done, climb over the back of others to get what it takes to live in this society, I do believe it is no crime to look out for one's own, I saw the Irish climb over the backs of us, at the same time beat us at the same time. the bag of Intergration lulls me to sleep as I think of the early days of my youth spent fendin g off white Christians, simply because guys like you and more whom I shall not name are still crying to intergrate.....Hell I careless for this B.S. All I ask is that no Man prevent me from getting what I can work for, Thats all, and no lest.

Yours Truly

Frederick J. Russell

*The Commercial Appeal* 4/8/70

## Rustin Expected To Testify That Protests Create Order

A public hearing conducted by the NAACP's ad hoc committee into police-minority group relationships is expected to hear today what a veteran civil rights leader terms "evidence that protests have historically created order rather than disorder."

"To the degree that we can get the masses engaged in protest activity, to that degree will their need for violent activity subside," Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, said last night. He is to be one of six persons to appear before the third ad hoc committee hearing.

Mr. Rustin arrived in Memphis last night and is expected to leave this afternoon after appearing at the 9:30 a.m. hearing in the County Court chambers of the Shelby County Administration Building.

Other persons scheduled to appear at the hearing are George W. Lee and the Rev. Milton Guthrie.

Jim Peterson, a law student on the committee's investigative staff, said the hearing will

deal with "the nature of the relationship of the Police Department with groups seeking first-class citizenship."

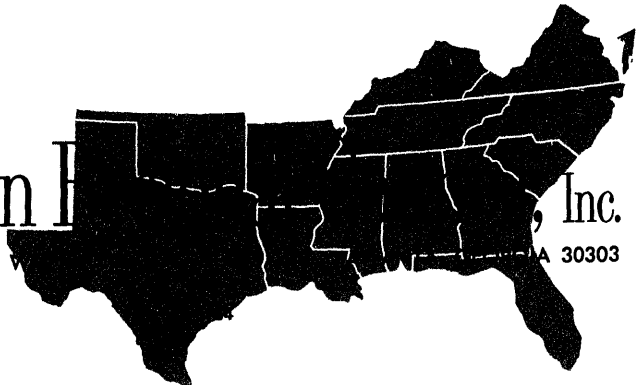
The committee also is expected to hearing testimony comparing the Memphis Police Department to other departments in cities of a half-million or more in population. Among other things, data on pay scales has been prepared.

The first hearings, which dealt with inequities in the bail bond system, were held March 18 and 19. Additional hearings are scheduled April 15, 22 and 29.

Thank  
you

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT  
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT  
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE PRESIDENT  
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT  
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT  
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL  
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Home, Inc.  
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303



A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 8, 1970

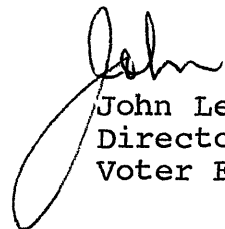
Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

This is just a note to express my most sincere thanks for sending your warm words of congratulations. Your thoughtfulness makes my new role even more meaningful.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

  
John Lewis  
Director  
Voter Education Project

JL: js



April 9, 1970

Allen Weinstein  
Associate Professor  
of History  
Smith College  
Northampton, Massachusetts 01060

Dear Professor Weinstein:

Thank you very much for the copy of your review of our pamphlet. Is it definitely going to be published? If it is, I think we would like to take an ad in that issue of Trans-action.

I wonder also, if you could suggest some people to whom complimentary copies should be sent? The pamphlet was published last September, and we have sold and distributed about 25,000 copies. I'm sure there are people we are still not reaching. Although, all the authors have suggested institutions and people to receive copies. Needless to say, we circulated complimentary copies to the heads of the history and sociology departments of the leading Negro and white colleges. I'm not worried about duplication though, any new person who hasn't seen it will more than make up for the useless expense.

Once again, thank you for writing. By the way, I've enclosed some material about the Randolph Educational Fund, and its sister organization, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, along with lists of literature we have available which you might find useful in your



-2-

Allen Weinstein

April 9, 1970

classroom. I've also taken the liberty of  
adding your name to our mailing list.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosures:

SMITH COLLEGE  
NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS 01060  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

April 5, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I thought that you might be interested in seeing an advance copy of a review that I just completed for Trans-action Magazine. It treats both your pamphlet, Black Studies, Myths and Realities, and the Yale conference volume on Black Studies. As I indicate in the review, I thought your pamphlet extremely sane and, in the context of today's events, extremely useful.

Sincerely yours,

*Allen Weinstein*  
Allen Weinstein  
Associate Professor of  
History

Black Studies In The University, A Symposium. Edited by Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, and Donald H. Ogilvie. New Haven and London. Yale University Press. 1969. 231 pp.

Black Studies, Myths and Realities. Introduction by Bayard Rustin. New York. A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. 1969. 45 pp.

Reviewed by Allen Weinstein\*  
Smith College

\*/credit line/ Allen Weinstein teaches history at Smith. With Frank Otto Gatell, he co-edited American Negro Slavery: A Modern Reader and The Segregation Era, 1863-1954: A Modern Reader.

"America is catching hell and that's why white folks are interested in black studies." Gerald A. McWorter, from Black Studies in the University.

The historian C. Vann Woodward recently discussed the problem of Black Studies in a talk that he called "Clio With Soul". Perhaps "Up Against the Wall, Clio" would have been as appropriate, considering the vehemence with which Black Studies proponents have attacked previous academic neglect of the Afro-American experience. Because of the rapid inauguration of Black Studies programs by ~~leading~~<sup>many</sup> universities and colleges in recent months, Yale's 1968 symposium, organized by the college's Black Student Alliance and reprinted as Black Studies in the University, appears to have exercised significant influence on the conversion process itself. Hundreds of educators and administrators, largely white, gathered for the two-day meeting, where they confronted a group of speakers who had come, most of them, to urge immediate establishment of such programs. The speeches and subsequent discussion revealed more give than take, therefore, and reflected the participants' basic underlying concern for proselytizing the word on Black Studies rather than suggesting how to execute the deed. Although the volume's final selection reprinted Yale's later Black Studies proposal, the symposium's speakers generally avoided discussion of curriculum or administration.

The conference centered instead on the purposes of Black Studies and on the new field's putative educational goals, perhaps recognizing that the manner in which a program functions in practice will depend largely on the nature of its aims. Among the speakers, only Martin Kilson, McGeorge Bundy and

David Brion Davis supported the concept of a thoroughly "professional" major that, as with other fields, would devote itself to training scholars and promoting knowledge of the Black experience but without assuming any special missionary role. Most participants dissented from the minority view, however, and viewed Black Studies programs instead as training camps for a new generation of Afro-American activists, who would be prepared through their "boot camp" period in these majors for combat duty and service in the Black community. Debate at the symposium concerned the educational implications of these divergent goals, whether to train a student in a method of inquiry or to attempt instilling in him specific ideological aims.

All but one of the Black speakers favored the latter course. "It is inescapable," Harold Cruse observed, "that whatever is included and implied in...a black studies curriculum has to reflect and be connected in some way with what is happening beyond the campus." Other speakers made the connection more explicitly than Cruse. Thus Maulana Ron Karenga: "The only relevance I see for a white institution in terms of blacks is for learning technical skills; there is little else that whites can teach them. As far as the humanities and social sciences are concerned, white people have little or nothing to offer." Both Karenga and psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint stressed the importance of instilling racial pride in Afro-American values and culture through Black Studies, thereby helping to undo the psychological consequences of centuries of white oppression ("We are only using it in this crisis period," remarked Nathan

Hare, "for therapeutic reasons.") Cruse and Hare also dwelt on the role that the new field would play in organizing Black neighborhoods, "involving the black community, wedding, so to speak, the black community and the black student." All these speakers endorsed Gerald A. McWorter's suggestion that the radical transformation of American society be directed from command headquarters in the Black Studies centers: "the point is to create a microcosm on the campus, a microcosm of the society at large."

Among the Black participants, all but one envisioned Black Studies programs as entirely or predominately separatist, geared to the special interests of Black students, faculty and community. Only Martin Kilson defended the enterprise primarily as a vehicle for increasing knowledge of the Black experience itself and, among the white speakers, only Bundy and Davis endorsed Kilson's sharp distinction between academic and political rationales for Black Studies. A questioner in the audience posed the conflict with even greater clarity:

...I'm puzzled about the expectation of that phrase "the black experience," because there are two moments here in the black experience---one was the moment of knowledge, the other was the moment of commitment. Not to put too fine a phrase on it, it was really a revolutionary commitment which was implied in Mr. Cruse's position.

Several ~~speakers~~<sup>talks</sup> avoided direct involvement in the major line of argument over the purposes of Black Studies. These included Robert Farris Thompson's exhaustive treatment of African influences on American Black art, Edwin S. Redkey's superb discussion<sup>of</sup> research and teaching opportunities in Black history, and Boniface Obichere's lively comments on textbook treatments of Africa. Furthermore, several of the more militant participants

dealt most frankly, if too pessimistically, with the educational dilemmas of Black Studies. Their concern for the new field, after all, depended far less on its potential intellectual achievements than on the strong links between academy and ghetto that they wished the programs to help forge. "The simple fact is research does not exist," ran one such overstatement by sociologist Gerald A. McWorter, "the findings do not exist, when it comes down to the black community...the literature doesn't exist; it just doesn't exist."

McWorter envisioned a Black Studies program that would be deliberately separatist, working only nominally through its sponsoring college or university. Teachers and students in such a major would either be Black or, as Nathan Hare observed elsewhere on this point, "any white professors involved in the program would have to be Black in spirit in order to last. The same is true for 'Negro' professors." Black Studies majors, according to Hare and McWorter, would be trained to advance the program's primary goal of stimulating community involvement, a proposal that Poussaint, Karenga and Cruse also subscribed to in their speeches. "Collective stimulation," again citing Hare, would supplant critical inquiry as the major's basic concern. Teachers would therefore inevitably be assessed in part by an ideological loyalty oath, a potential 'Committee on Un-Black Activities' foreshadowed in last year's pronouncement by the Director of Cornell University's Afro-American Center that scholars such as Kenneth Stampp, C. Vann Woodward and Stanley Elkins would not be welcome as visiting lecturers in his program.

To judge from the Black Studies proposal appended to the symposium's proceedings, Yale itself chose to disregard this approach. Despite the conference's weekend of largely separatist rhetoric, Yale's planning committee decided apparently to graft its Black Studies proposal on to the university's already-existing African, Caribbean, Latin-American and United States area-studies courses. The curriculum that emerged seems an amalgam of many existing Yale courses and some newly-created ones, all of them fitting comfortably within the university's traditional concept of an interdisciplinary major. Although the reviewer claims no familiarity with the manner in which this program has fared since it was inaugurated, the draft proposal clearly anticipated both critical detachment from, as well as familiarity with, the Afro-American past. It also implied that Black students could work in the surrounding community privately rather than as a required element in their chosen major. Pluralist rather than separatist in spirit, the Yale proposal rejected "collective Black stimulation" in favor of an effort to train students---presumably both Black and white---through rigorous comparative cultural analysis. How strange the symposium's separatist and communalist rhetoric appears when juxtaposed with Yale's pluralist and 'professional' Black Studies program!

Challenging the separatist analysis that dominated the Yale conference is a small pamphlet, Black Studies, Myths and Realities, edited by Bayard Rustin. The booklet contains a half-dozen brief counter-statements on the new discipline's proper functions that cluster around C. Vann Woodward's eloquent commentary on the



problems of Black history, "Clio With Soul". All six of the writers---political scientist Martin Kilson, psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, economist Thomas Sowell, NAACP head Roy Wilkins, Federal Reserve Board member Andrew Brimmer and civil rights activist Norman Hill---attack as unwise and cowardly the academic community's ~~general~~ indulgence of even the most extreme demands made by its growing black student population. The writers' objections, as Rustin points out in his introduction, fall generally into three related types.

They reject the use of Black Studies proposals as a "pretext for separatism" (quoting Norman Hill) and as an excuse for Black withdrawal from the larger university world, whether "as a result of fear of failure, defensive pride or racial chauvinism." Secondly, they argue that Black Studies programs, if improperly designed or managed, would produce an untrained generation of Afro-American college students that lacked the academic competence or skills with which to exploit the "rapidly expanding opportunities" for Black Americans in an increasingly scientific and technological society. Finally, Rustin's half-dozen authors, still committed to basic liberal and integrationist goals, protest the cultural nationalism and separatism proposed by the new militants. The universities, they argue, are not the proper milieu to "train cadres of ghetto organizers." Furthermore, along with Woodward, they fear an attempt to rewrite the Black experience for political purposes in as distorted a fashion as much of its previous treatment by American scholars. In short, the Rustin pamphlet offers a critical <sup>corrective</sup> ~~antidote~~ to the much of the Yale symposium's totally-deferential tone.

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Some closing words on the Woodward essay seem appropriate at this point, especially from a historian.

"Now is a time to do honor to heroes [in Black history], Woodward wrote at one point. "The demand for such history is understandable, but the historian will keep in mind that the stage of history was never peopled exclusively by heroes, villains and oppressed innocents, that scamps and time servers and antiheroes have always played their parts." Recognizing this truth suggests another dilemma of Black Studies, namely the need to study adequately both the Negro experience as a Black man and his experience as an American. Black Studies, after all, treats both the Afro-American's inner ethnic group history and his relationship to the broader national experience. Legitimate concern for a more balanced portrayal of that experience need not lead to a romantic and unwarranted obsession with Black uniqueness.

The first historian, himself an ethnic studies man of considerable achievement, defined the functions of history in the opening paragraph of his work on the Persian Wars in a way that I find helpful, ~~indeed~~ even 'relevant', when summing up the potential and problems of Black Studies today. "These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus," he began,

which he publishes in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud.

History had three overlapping functions for Herodotus, a trio of roles to play and a trio of voices: narration, commemoration, and analysis. When we examine the historiography of the Black

8

experience in the United States, it seems fair to say that the first of these, the narration of that experience, has undergone remarkable expansion in recent years. Monographs and primary sources on the Afro-American past are being published as soon as they become available or rediscovered. The latter especially, those "hidden sources of Negro history," a people's own record of oppression and survival, are now becoming readily available to scholars and students, and Black history has become the most popular field for new research within American Studies during the past decade.

The commemorative aspect of Black Studies, Herodotus's second historical role, requires neither apology nor defense. For two centuries, young people have been fed a ceremonial and heroic historical diet prepared by white Americans about themselves. That Black Americans should finally demand their rightful piece of the ceremonial pie need neither surprise nor dismay us. Those millions who struggled to retain their humanity under slavery, who suffered in the South after emancipation, and who trekked northward into ghetto deprivation deserve their "due meed of glory" from all Americans, but especially from historians.

Commemoration need not mean falsification, however, since as Woodward observes, more than enough real heroism exists in American Black history without trading new mythologies for older ones. "If we are trying to build something for black people," Vincent Harding noted recently, "...we have to take our chances with truth." Furthermore, commemoration and analysis, although not incompatible for the historian, must remain clearly distinct. "Commemoration in Lucy Davidowich's words requires eulogy,


respect, and love for the dead---a softness of heart---/while/  
historical investigation...requires rigor, distance, and a  
passion for truth---a hardness of head." The careers of Black  
leaders, for example, should be analyzed honestly and critically  
by the historian, whatever his emotional commitment to their  
lives and struggles. Herodotus's insistence that both the  
Greeks and their enemies, the Persians, receive their "due  
meed of glory" expressed hope for a balanced portrayal of the  
past that remains our responsibility today. Hopefully, then,  
future scholars trained in the new Black Studies programs  
will display even more "rigor, distance, and passion for  
truth" than had their predecessors. Vann Woodward, as usual  
puts the matter succinctly: "In times like these, the historian  
~~wilxxbxxkaxxxpuxxxixxxx~~  
will be hard put to it to maintain his creed that the  
righteousness of a cause is not a license for arrogance, that  
the passion for justice is not a substitute for reason, that  
race and color are neither a qualification nor a disqualification  
for historians, that myths, however therapeutic, are not to  
be confused with history, and that it is possible to be  
perfectly serious without being oppressively solemn."

Samuel Cooper

April 9, 1970

I hope this answers some of your objections. And I hope you don't write me a note about the cost of this letter--although Sylvia Porter wrote a column which estimated the average cost of a typewritten office letter at \$2.30. Nevertheless, I think it is important to clear-up your misconception about our mailings.

Sincerely,

  
Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Greetings, Bayard:

No, I'll not counter you on the cost of this letter to me, except to point out that your message would have taken but ONE sheet of Bond paper, better than I use; and it was NOT so urgent as to give it wings-(air mail), don't you know that most mail now goes by air for regular 6¢ postage?

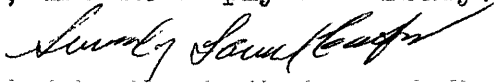
Just for entertainment I have taken your figures: 18¢ per piece, and a return of 6%, which brings it to \$3.00 + 8¢ for the Business return, makes total of \$3.08 out of \$12.50. If my figures don't lie that brings it up to 2466% cost. I may have mis-interpreted your figures, but in any case I can't honestly stomach the expences which so many, you <sup>not all</sup> only one that I contend on this score, and for my part, my income on savings from weekly wages of \$25.00 per week!!, don't stack up very evenly.

I do make contributions, and most generally where the publicity is keep DOWN, in cost, and the salaries etc, "over head" likewise. I don't see the justification for offices in N.Y.C. where your rent must be a large item, and 'phone on which I suppose you pay the war tax. (I don't have one).

So I am writing, mainly, to advise you that it will be a saving to you if you will delete my name from ALL your mailing lists, and thus raise your return average % a mite! And not use other contributors to tell me your story-needs!!

I recognize you are doing good work, but I am sure you could economize, and get as much money; and what if the postage rates go UP// that may be 40% on First class. And just watch your weights, keep under the one ounce, IF you will mail 1st, or use 3rd, or Non-profit org. permit.

Just suggestions, no charge, and no reply necessary!



BOSTON COLLEGE  
CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS 02167

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 9, 1970

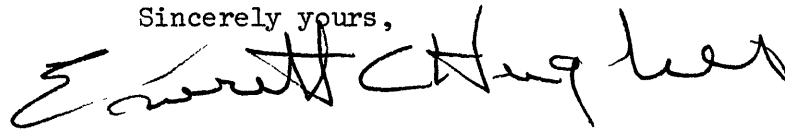
Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I was very pleased indeed, to have and to read your piece on Benign Neglect. I had not seen it. I enclose a memorandum I wrote the night the Moynihan statement occurred in the press. It is in a different mood than yours, but states I hope, the same basic principle.

A good many fairly decent people are giving aid and comfort to the enemy, these days. They do not always quite know they are doing it. I think we have to alert people who believe in real social justice, and in making all the efforts necessary to bring it about, that almost anything they say will be picked up by the enemy. Never was an enemy so eager for comfort and support as the present enemies of racial and general social justice.

Sincerely yours,



Everett C. Hughes

ECH/su  
ecn.

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April 10, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Phillip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

*Assoc Ref  
for  
225-6876*

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is to confirm your appearance before the Select Subcommittee on Labor to present testimony on the proposed manpower bills, H.R. 10908, H.R. 11620, and H.R. 13472, on Monday, April 20. The hearing will be held in Room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, beginning at 9:30 a.m.

Please send 30 advance copies of your prepared statement at least 24 hours prior to the hearing to the Subcommittee Counsel, Daniel Krivit, 402 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C.; and bring an additional 75 copies with you to the hearing for the press. There are a great many people interested in testifying on manpower before the hearings conclude on April 30, and in the event that time is limited, I would appreciate it if you could be prepared to summarize your statement in order to allow the Subcommittee ample opportunity to question you.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, and with all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

*Dominick V. Daniels*

Dominick V. Daniels, Chairman  
Select Subcommittee on Labor

DVD:sn  
Enclosures

*Walter*

*own.*

# A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010  
(212) 533-8000

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C. Vann Woodward  
Andrew Young

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Administrative Secretary

Emma Thomas  
Office Manager

*HCA change*

April 9, 1970

Samuel Cooper  
P.O. Box 842  
Camp Verde, Arizona 86322

Dear Mr. Cooper:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 31st. I'm afraid I do not remember you clearly, and I'm very sorry. This is just a note to reply to your questions about our expenditures on fund raising.

Actually, the great bulk of the mailing did go out with third class postage. Some lists which were in our office went out first class--that was no more than two or three hundred pieces out of a mailing of 20,000 pieces. It went out 1st class because the letter was dated February, and it was being mailed late. And, secondly, because there was threats of a postal strike and we wanted to get the mailing out as soon as possible. As for the business reply envelope, it has been proven time-and-time again that the margin of cost on a business reply envelope is more than covered by the additional responses. We estimate our cost per item in this mailing at 18¢, which is the traditional fund raising figure I believe. In the past, our appeals have netted a 6% response with an average contribution of \$12.50. This mailing is not complete yet so I don't know what the response will net, but I assume it will be as good as previous mailings.

*waited - margin*



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MORRIS PIZER  
President  
FRED FULFORD  
Secretary-Treasurer

● INTERNATIONAL OFFICE

*United Furniture Workers of America*

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

700 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 • GRAMERCY 7-9150

April 15th, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am delighted that you have agreed to address our Convention which will be meeting at the New Yorker Hotel, and have scheduled your appearance for Wednesday, May 20th, 1970, at 10:30 A.M.

Trusting this is agreeable with you and looking forward to seeing you then, I remain,

Sincerely & fraternally,

*Morris Pizer*

MORRIS PIZER  
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MP/br  
opeiul53

*May 20*

April 16, 1970

M. S. Novik  
300 West 23rd Street  
Suite 1200  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Morris,

Please do send me the tape of  
Hubert H. Humphrey's greeting to  
Mr. Randolph.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/ej

M. S. NOVIK

300 WEST 23rd STREET • SUITE 1200 • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011 • ALGONQUIN 5-4385

Radio  
Consultant

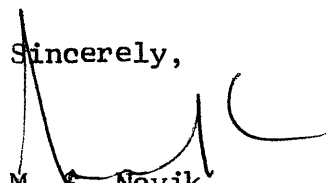
April 2, 1970

Dear Bayard,

In cleaning some accumulated material, I found your letter of May 19th.

Do you still want to tape?

Sincerely,



M. S. Novik

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

May 19, 1969

Morris S. Novik  
300 West 23rd Street  
Suite 1200  
New York, N.Y. 10011

Dear Morris,

Thank you for your letter of May 9th. I'm sorry you could not reach me by phone, but I'm sure you understand that I am terribly busy. I am most sorry for what happened during the dinner on May 6th.

I'm sure that you, more than most people understand the difficulties, both logistic and political, in organizing such an event. I had hoped to be able to use the tape, but found that the program was lagging during the second half. And while Hubert Humphrey is a magnificent speaker, tapes have a tendency to slow down a program. You know also, that Mr. Randolph is not terribly vigorous, and I did not want to have the program so long that he would be over-tired and made ill.

Can you send me a copy of the tape, so that I may give it to Mr. Randolph for his personal collection? We taped the entire evening for him as well.

I thought you'd want the enclosed photo.

Sincerely and with best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

M. S. NOVIK

300 WEST 23rd STREET • SUITE 1200 • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011 • ALGONQUIN 5-4385

Radio  
Consultant

May 9, 1969

Bayard,

Tried to reach you.

I'm not mad, just hurt that I  
wasn't informed of the change in  
plans.

I carried out my assignment in  
good faith and spent alot of time,  
energy, money and heart aches the  
last day.

It's all over, now that I got it  
off my chest I'll forget it.

As ever,

  
M. S. Novik

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y.

**HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**  
**FROM LONDON, ENGLAND**

**HUMPHREY:** Mr. Chairman, Bayard Rustin, and Reverend Clergy, George Meaney, Mrs. Kind and Roy Wilkens, Whitney Young and members of the AFL-CIO Council, and so many of my old friends on the dais there and throughout the audience - friends all, this statement is coming direct from London, England. I find myself here in this great city on this birthday testimonial dinner occasion for A. Phillip Randolph. Believe me, I surely wanted to be back with you in New York, but my work tells me to be here.

As some of you may know, I am associated with a very fine company, The Encyclopedia Britannica and I am here visiting with some of our editors and visiting the great universities of Oxford and Cambridge, meeting with members of government, with our good friend Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister and members of his government, and I also met with the leader of the opposition, Mr. Heath(?).

Now I imagine that everybody has some heroes, and one of my long time heroes is A. Phillip Randolph. And I happen to believe that my selection is pretty good. I was

asked to serve as a member of the A. Phillip Randolph Birthday Committee and was delighted to be able to do so and honored to be asked. At that time I had looked forward to attending the birthday party celebrating the 80th birthday of this remarkable American and this great human being. And as I said to you earlier, I now find that I must be in London on the night of May 6 when all of you are gathered together in an evening of festivity and of testimonial and good fun, celebrating the 80th birthday of our mutual friend, A. Phillip Randolph.

Now there is a great deal I would like to say about Mr. Randolph \_\_\_\_\_ but I scarcely know where to start. I'm afraid some of you will wonder if I know how to stop or where to stop. Well, I do know this, and all of us I am sure would agree, that he has given a life - yes, a lifetime of service and dedication to the American labor movement, to the American nation, to the cause of freedom for all peoples, and above all to the American Negro.

He stands out as one of the truly great leaders of the Twentieth century. A. Phillip Randolph in my mind is a man of idealism and a man who can list many practical accomplishments. He's always been a staunch and firm supporter of organized labor, and of racial integration. He has called upon the black man to be an active participant in the life of the community, and he has brought into



the American labor movement literally hundreds of thousands of American Negroes, fine, wonderful people to become a part of the great labor force of the American economy.

It is estimated that up to two million Negroes are active participants today in the American labor movement. Now that's a remarkable achievement, and A. Phillip Randolph has worked unceasingly to create in our country a grand alliance between the Negro and organized labor in order to achieve true equality for black Americans through the democratic processes and through peaceful change. He has what I call democratic militance(?). He's a democratic militant in the sense that he believes in working through the democratic processes but never giving up, persevering action.

And above all I think the life of A. Phillip Randolph represents a steadfast battle against racism and violence of any kind, wherever it is and for whatever reason. So how fortunate we are to have a man of this quality and of this character. Oh, it's fitting and appropriate that we honor him not only on his 80th birthday but on every day.

He is one who has stood up against the powers of government when he thought government was wrong, and one who has insisted in the ranks of labor that it open its doors to people of every race, color and creed. And A.

Phillip Randolph is one that has recognized that in order for a man to have genuine freedom he must have some form of economic security. By the way, I would like to emphasize that this one particular aspect in the life of A. Phillip Randolph in the labor movement is a very unique one.

Mr. Randolph has known and has preached that the Negro can never be socially and politically free until he has economic security, job potentiality and job skills, and this is why he has advocated such programs as his Freedom Budget, and why he has insisted that the best protection for the Negro worker was in the free labor movement, union movement itself.

Now this 80th birthday of our friend, A. Phillip Randolph gives us a moment to reflect once again on how we obtain change in the American society and how we correct the inequities and the injustices which have all too long prevailed. Here is a man who says democracy, peaceful change is the best way, and here is a man who says social action, economic action is the better way, and here is the man who says place your faith in the institutions of peaceful and democratic change and go to work ~~in~~ <sup>through</sup> political action, through economic action to gain the objectives that are so essential for any genuine freedom or human dignity.

■

Now friends, A. Phillip Randolph may be an old man to some people in this day of youth, but to me he is a young spirit, and more importantly he represents what's right and what's good in this country of ours. And anyone who has had the rare privilege of even a modest association with him is the better for it. So I want to join in the chorus of voices tonight and in the years to come that salute this fine American, this wonderful human being, this good spirit, and I say he is a young man, young in heart and young in every sense of the word.

And when I think of A. Phillip Randolph tonight I am reminded of some lines I read some time ago that seem<sup>ed</sup> right appropriate, from Samuel Ullman who said, Youth is not a time of life; it is a state of mind. We grow old only by deserting our ideals. You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubt, as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear, as young as your hope, as old as your despair.

So I think it's fair to say that we're saluting tonight a very young man, a man who has great faith, great confidence, who has hope and who has ideals, and these are the qualities of the man of youthful spirit and a man of great dedication. So to A. Phillip Randolph, my dear friend, happy birthday at eighty. May you have many more years to give to all of us, because I know of no person who has given

any more and to whom we owe so much, sir. My best wishes. I hope you're all having a great time, and by the way, I am privileged to tell you that the distinguished Prime Minister, the Honorable Harold Wilson, with whom I had dinner at Chequers(?) Saturday night last, wanted to be included in this little message of good wishes to a friend in the American labor movement.

END

April 22, 1970

*Pauline  
Follett  
TN 7.4900*

SUGGESTED CO-CHAIRMEN FOR  
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR GOLDBERG-PATERSON

*Get [unclear] [unclear]*  
*Mary [unclear]*

Ramsey Clark  
W. Averell Harriman  
Robert C. Weaver

Other possible names for co-chairmen if larger group is desired:

Morris Abram  
Charles Desmond  
Justin Feldman  
Thomas K. Finletter  
Robert Garcia  
Theodore Kheel  
C. Eric Lincoln  
Dennis Riordan  
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.  
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

*Harold Achies*  
*Kurt Gaus* *Curtis Gaus*  
*Dick Goodwin*  
*Walt Wilner*  
*Walt Borden*  
*Sam Brown*  
*Peter Edelman*  
*... ? (Kinney Action Corp.)*

CITIZENS FOR GOLDBERG-PATERSON

(Confirmed Yes's)

Abraham, Morris  
Adamese, Vincent  
\*Alexander, Clifford  
Anderson, Mrs. William R.  
Backer, George  
Benjamin, Mrs. Robert (Jean)  
Blinken, Donald  
\*Brizill, Dorothy  
Carey, John  
\*Carter, Lisle C. Jr.  
Chatman, Abraham  
Clark, Ramsey  
Desmond, Judge Charles S.  
Dewind, Adrian  
Dowling, Robert W.  
Elliot, Donald H.  
Feinberg, Abe  
Finletter, Thomas  
Fleischman, Harry  
Forrestal Michael V.  
Frankel, Charles  
Garcia, Robert  
Gardner, Richard N.  
Gimbel, Elinor (Mrs. Louis S.)  
Gotbaum, Victor  
Graff, Henry  
Gunther, John  
Hamilton, Fowler  
Harriman, Averell W.  
\*Harris, James T.  
Heilbroner, Robert  
Hillman, Mrs. Sidney  
\*Howell, Ernest M.  
Karelson, Frank E. Sr.  
Kheel, Theodore W.  
Kleinman, Seymour  
Krim, Arthur  
Lasker, Mrs. Albert  
\*Lincoln, Eric  
Morgenthau, Hans J.  
\*Mourning, Estelle  
Murphy, Anna S.  
Nielson, Waldemar  
Nizer, Louis  
Rifkind, Hon. Simon H.

Schleisinger, Arthur Jr.  
Schneider,  
Schrader, Abe  
Schwartz, Sturat  
Stein, Robert  
Temple, Mary N.  
Templesman, Maurice  
Vance, Cyrus  
\*Weaver, Robert C.  
Weisl, Edwin L. Sr.  
Wilmot, James  
Woodruff, Mrs. Edward (Claire)

April 27, 1970

Confirmed Yes Additions:

Berle, Adolph  
Fleischman, Harry  
Johns, R. Elizabeth  
Longstreth, Vevis  
Millonzi, Robert I.  
Simon, Ken

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR GOLDBERG-COMMITTEE

(Pending or to be pursued)

Aiken, Richard (FDR)	Curran, Joseph FDR
Akers, Anthony & Jane (FDR)	Curran, Paul FDR
Alshuler, Frank	D'Amico, Francis Maguire
Arndt, Hannah (Gardner)	Davis, Leon
Ascoli, Max (Abram)	Denson-Gerber, Dr. Judyane
Bacall, Lauren (will ask Mary Ellen Gault to call)	Doar, John NO
Ball, George NO FDR-will call again	Dorsen, Norman NO
Bancroft, Anne	Dubos, Rene Gardner
Barnes, Edward L. (Maguire)	Eisendrath, Rabbi Maurice Abram
Barr, Earl	Eldridge, Mrs. Ronnie
Basey, Catherine (Pugh)	*Ellis, Bill Maguire
Bassine, Charles NO	Engel, Irving LATER
Benjamin, Robert S. NO - because of ONA	Espy, Dr. Edwin R.H. NO
<del>Berle, Adolph</del> (YES)	Fairfax, Jean Maguire
Bernstein, Leonard Krim; Jean Smith?	Farley, James LATER
Borden, David	Fell, Mrs. John FDR
*Booker, James Abram	Ferguson, Glen R. CLARK
*Booth, Hon. William Maguire	Field, Ruth (Mrs. Marshall) Abram
Bowman, John Maguire	Fishman, Seymour
Breslin, Jimmy	*Fleischman, Harry YES
Brooks, Mel	Foner, Mo
Bennett, John C. NO	Fowler, Clem
Bernhard, Bobby LATER	Fredricks, Wayne
Bundy, McGeorge	Frey, Tom
Buttenweiser, Ben Abram	*Galamaison, Dr. Milton
Campbell, Alan "Scoty" R Clark	Gallagher, Buell Abram
Campbell, Ernest Maguire	Galson, Alan
*Callendar, Gene NO	Gardner, John
Canfield, Cass FDR	Gazzara, Ben Maguire
Carey, William L. <del>LATER</del> NO	Geyer, David Maguire
Carmines, Al Maguire	Gibbons, Hal FDR
Carrigan, Charley FDR	Gibbons, Ray Maguire
*Carter, Robert NO	*Gibson, Paul Maguire
Cerf, Bennett NO	*Gifford, Bernard
Cherkasky, Dr. Martin Maguire	Gilpatric, Roswell NO - but report of death
*Clark, Dr. Kenneth B. NO	Ginsburg, Carole
Cobb, Charles Maguire	Gladioux, Bernard
Cohen, Arthur LATER	Goyen, William
Connor, Jack FDR	Green, Adolph
Cordier, Andrew	Green, Betty
Costikyan, Ed & Frances FDR	*Green, Ernest
Cousins, Norman NO	Greenfield, Jeff Abram
Cox, Harvey	*Gregory, Dick
Cummins, Jerry Maguire	Guggenheimer, Ellie





Reznik, David T.  
~~Richmond, Fred~~ YES  
~~Riordan, Dennis P.~~ YES  
 \*Robinson, Rev. James *Maguire*  
 Roche, Kevin  
 Roosa, Robert  
 Roosevelt, F.D.III  
 Rosenman, Sam LATER  
 Roth, Chester FDR  
~~Rothman, Irwin~~ YES  
 Rovere, Richard NO  
 Rudin, Sam *Krim*  
 Ruggieri, Bernie  
 \*Rustin, Bayard LATER  
 Schary, Dore FDR  
 Scher, David *Mram*  
 Schneider, Alex  
 \*Schultz, Michael  
 Shaw, Stanley  
 Sheen, Bishop Fulton J.  
 Shinn, Roger NO  
 Sibley, Harper  
 Silvers, Robert  
 Simon, Neil FDR  
 Sohler, Walter  
 \*Solomon, Victor  
 Spivey, Dr. Charles  
 Stern, Alfred *Maguire*  
 Stern, Issac *Krim*  
 Sternhell, Richard NO  
 Stevens, Roger FDR  
 Strasbourg, Lee  
 Straus, Peter & Ellen FDR  
 Stringfellow, Bill  
 Stuhlberg, Louis LATER  
 Sugarman, Bob  
 Sviridoff, Mitchell  
 \*~~Franklin~~, Thomas, FRANKLIN (*Pugh*)  
 Tisch, Robert LATER  
 Tree, Marietta NO  
 Trowbridge, Alexander NO  
 Tuchman, Barbara  
 Van den Heuval, Bill LATER  
 Van den Heuval, Jean  
 Wagner, Robert FDR  
~~Waldman, Roger~~ YES  
 \*Walker, Wyatt T. *Paterson*  
 Wallach, Eli  
 \*Ward, Douglas Turner  
 Warren, Dean William FDR  
 Waterston, Sam  
 Watson, Thomas J. LATER  
 Wehle, Jack FDR  
 Welles, David  
 Wesley, Edwin J..  
 \*Weston, Moran *Pugh*  
 Whittet, Jean  
 \*Wilkins, Roger  
 \*Wilkins, Roy  
 \*Williams, Frank  
 Wilson, Donald  
 Wilson, Joseph NO  
 \*Wilson, Rev. Mannie Lee *Paterson*  
 \*Young, Whitney  
 WILMOT, JAMES NO  
 WOFFORD, HARRIS NO

PARTIAL LIST OF NEGRO CIVIC LEADERS, NEW YORK AND VICINITY

February, 1968

MR. & MRS. WILLIAM (Count) BASIE. Wife: Catherine, civic leader; member of Board of Directors, New York Urban League. Res: 174-27 Adelaide Lane, St. Albans, NY 11433, He is the musician

MR & MRS CHARLES BUCHANAN. Bus: President, United Mutual Life Insurance Company, 310 Lenox Ave, NYC 10027. Wife: Bessie, member of the State Commission for Human Rights, 270 Broadway, NYC 10007, 488-4141. Res: 150 West End Ave., NYC 10023

DR. & MRS. GEORGE D. CANNON. Bus: 216 W. 139th St. NYC 10030, AU-3-7707 Former Nat'l President, Alpha Phi Fraternity. Res: 1200 Fifth Ave., NYC 10029, CH-2-1507

MR. WILLIAM M. CHISHOLM. Bus: Atty., 26 Court St., Brooklyn 11201 625-4592. Former Chairman of Bedford-Stuyvestant Youth-In-Action, Inc. Board of Directors. Member of New York Urban League Board of Directors.

DR. & MRS. KENNETH CLARK. Bus: President, Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC), 330 West 58th St., NYC 10019, 765-9889. Prof. of Psychology at NYC College; Co-Director with wife, Dr. Mamie Clark, operates North Side Center for Child Development, 31 Central Park North, NYC, EN-9-6464. Member, State Board of Regents. Res: 17 Pinecrest Dr., Hastings-On-Hudson, NY 10706, (914) GR-8-2004.

DR. & MRS. JOHN A. DAVIS. Bus: Head of American Society for African Culture (AMSAC) and head of Political Science Department of City College. Wife: Librarian. One son graduated from Williams College, like his father; the other son is at Wisconsin Univ. Res: 25 Wood Place, New Rochelle, NY 10801, (914) NE-2-9392

MR. & MRS. OSSIE DAVIS. Bus: President, Carver Federal Savings & Loan Assn., 75 W. 125th St., NYC 10027, TR-6-4747. Res: 56 Ethelton Rd., White Plains, NY 10603

MR. & MRS. DAVID N. DINKINS. Bus: atty., 401 Broadway, NYC 10013, WA-8-7149. Children in Fieldston School. Wife: Joyce

JUDGE & MRS. EDWARD R. DUDLEY. Bus: Administrative Judge, New York City Criminal Court on leave from New York County Supreme Court, 566-6278. Res: 549 West 123rd Street, NYC 10027, M)-3-2780 Wife: Rae.

DR. JAMES R. DUMPSON. Bus: Dean of the Fordham University's School of Social Work, Bronx, NY. Former Commissioner of Welfare Dept. for NYC Res: 1270 Fifth Ave., NYC., 10037, 348-3761

DR. DUKE ELLINGTON. Composer and band leader. try: 333 Riverside Dr.,  
N.Y.C. His sister, Mrs. (Ruth Ellington), 116 Central Park South.  
Her son is Steven James Stamatiou. Mercer Ellington, 180 W. End Ave.

MR. & MRS. FREDERICK W. EVERSLEY, JR. Bus: President, Trans Urban  
Construction Company, 271 W. 125th St., NYC., 10027, MO-6-7800,  
866-9652; leading Negro construction company (built Freedom National  
Bank). Treasurer, Board of Directors, New York Urban League,  
204 W. 136th St., NYC 10030. Res: 189-03 113th St., St. Albans,  
NY 11412, GL-4-5872. Wife: Beatrice

DR. HILDA O. FORTUNE. Bus: Prof., Department of Student Services,  
Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, NY, UL-9-2400, Ext. 212. Res: 246 W. 150th  
St., NYC 10039, AD-4-4759.

MR. & MRS. PAUL GIBSON, JR. Bus: Legislative Counsel to the President of  
the City Council, City Hall, New York, NY 10007, 566-4936. Res: 177-45  
Leslie Rd., Jamaica, NY, FI-1-0432

JUDGE & MRS. WALTER H. GLADWIN. Pres., Bronx Borough Council of Boy  
Scouts of America, 1010 Skerman Ave., Bronx, NY

MRS. LOUISE GLOVER. Bus: International Business Machines. Member,  
City Commission on Human Rights: Chairman, Committee on Religion and  
Education of the Commission; active in Catholic Interracial Council.  
Res: 134 Bainbridge St., Brooklyn, NY; HY-3-3809

MR & MRS FRANK GREEN. Wife: Margaret Baker, reading consultant with  
Board of Education. Res: 5800 Arlington Ave., Bronx, NY; KI-3-6725

MR. & MRS. EWART GUINIER. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.,  
Res: 114-38 204 St., Hollis, NY; HO-4-1873

MR. & MRS. DEAN HARRISON. Bus: United Community Corp., Newark, NJ.  
Wife: Vinie Burrows, successful young Shakespearean actress and star of  
"The Blacks". Res: 63 Ave. A, Apt 19-1, NYC 10009; 677-4667

MR. GLESTER HINDS. Bus: People's Civic And Welfare Assn. (Membership  
Dept.), YMCA, 180 W. 135th St., NYC 10030; AU-6-0700

DR. & MRS. JOHN L.S. HOLLLOMAN. Bus: 2160 Madison Ave., NYC; AU-6-3233.  
President of Board of Trustees, Virginia Union; Chairman of Medical  
Committee for Human Rights; Pres. of National Medical Assn.; Medical  
Director, Riverton Laboratory. Res: 27-40 Ericsson St., E. Elmhurst,  
NY; HI-6-2366. Wife: Charlotte

MISS LENA HORNE. Res: 300 West End Ave., NYC; TR-4-4619

MR. & MRS. WILLIAM R. HUDGINS. Bus: President, Freedom National Bank, 275 W. 125th St., NYC 10027; 865-6400. Also President, Interracial Council for Business Opportunity. Res: 51 W. 94th St., NYC; 866-7166  
Wife: Myrtle

MRS. JEAN BLACKWELL HUTSON. Bus: Curator, Schomburg Collection, New York City Public Library, 103 W. 135th St., NYC 10030; SW-4-4000. Co-chairman, Harlem Cultural Council. Res. 2255 Fifth Ave., NYC 10037; FO-8-1515

MR. & MRS. BERNARD H. JACKSON. National Football League, 410 \_\_\_\_\_  
Former Pres., Bronx Chapter, NAACP. Graduate work in labor law and arbitration. Res: 555 Walton Ave., Bronx, NY.; 669-5903, also 238 Vorhees St., Teaneck, NJ.; (201) 833-2268. Wife: Hazel

MR. & MRS. NORMAN B. JOHNSON. Bus: Attorney, 1 Bainbridge St., Brooklyn, NY; PR-8-3769; State Housing Chairman, NAACP

REV. & MRS. ROBERT R. JOHNSON. Bus: St. Albans Congregational Church, Linden Blvd. & Marne Pl., St. Albans, NY. Active in civic and educational organizations.

MR. & MRS. DAVID D. JONES. Bus: Director of Harlem Teams for Self-Help, 179 W. 137th St., NYC' 268-1100. Former Deputy Comm., Dept. of Correction and Director of JOIN. Education: Amherst and Harvard law graduate. Wife: Dr. Jane Wright, eminent cancer specialist is Asst. Dean, New York Medical College, Flower & Fifth Ave., Hospital, 1249 Fifth Ave., NYC; TR-6-5500, Ext. 804; she is the sister of Mrs. Samuel Pierce. Res: 315 W. End Ave., NYC; TR-3-0220.

MR. JAMES EARL JONES. Bus: Actor, 19 Allen St., NYC; WA-5-9734

MR. & MRS. J. RAYMOND JONES. Bus: NYC Councilman; Chairman of Council's State Legislative Committee. Former Democratic Leader, NY County. Wife: Ruth, Collector of Customs, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. Res: 270 Convent St., NYC.

DR. JOHN B. KING. Bus: Professor of Education, Fordham University, Fordham Rd. & 3rd Ave., Bronx, NY. Also Education Consultant. Former Deputy Superintendent of Schools, NYC. Res: ~~116th St. & Broadway~~ 1414 E. 49th St., Brooklyn, NY 11219.

MR. JACOB LAWRENCE. Artist & Author. Exhibits at Terry Dintenfass Gallery, 18 E. 67th St., NYC, RH-4-1580

DR. & MRS. JAMES OSCAR LEE. Bus: Minister. Director, Program Planning, Division of Christian Life and Mission of National Councils of Churches; Member, NYC Board of Higher Education. Res: 618 McDonough St., Brooklyn, NY 10233.

DR. & MRS. EDWARD S. LEWIS. Bus: Director of Cooperative Education, Borough of Manhattan Community College, 134 W. 51st St., NYC 10019; 582-9300. Formerly: Executive Director, New York Urban League. Wife: Mary, is librarian by profession. Res: 100 LaSalle St., NYC 10027; M)-3-0209.

MR. & MRS. J. BRUCE LLEWELLYN. Bus: Deputy Commissioner Special Improvement Program, Housing & Development Administration, 2 Lafayette St., NYC 10007; 566-4966. Res: 555 Kapprock St., Bronx, NY 10463; KI-6-7959. Wife: Jackie is sister of Mrs. Connie Korford, also of 555 Kapprock St.

DR. & MRS ARTHUR LOGAN. Bus: ~~Staff~~-Beard-of-Education; Board-of Examiners; ~~110-Livingston-St.~~, Surgeon, 1865 Amsterdam Ave., NYC 10031; T)-2-7100. Formerly Chairman NYC Council Against Poverty. Wife: Marion, civic leader, was President of Negro physicians auxiliary. Res: 121 W. 88th Street, NYC 10024; 799-5747.

DR. LONNIE MAC DONALD. Bus: Administrator and coordinator, Community Psychiatry for Harlem Hospital, 136th St., & Lenox Ave., NYC 10030; AU-6-3300. Res: 41 Central Park West, NYC 10023; TR-4-0404.

MR. & MRS. BENJAMIN F. MCLAURIN. Bus: Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 W. 125th St., NYC 10027; MO-2-5080. Member Board of Higher Education; Liberal Party. Res: 3320 Fish Avenue, Bronx, NY 10461; TU-2-3941.

MR. & MRS. ROBERT NESBITT. Bus: National Representative, National Maritime Union, 36 Seventh Ave., NYC, WA-4-3900

MR. & MRS. GEORGE E. NORFORD. Bus: Executive, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., 90 Park Ave., NYC 10017; 983-5098. Wife: Thomasina, Personnel Director, HARYOU-ACT. Res: 24 W. 95th St., NYC 10025; RI-9-8074.

MR. & MRS. FREDRICK O'NEAL. Bus: President, Actor's Equity, 226 W. 47th St., NYC 100361 PL-7-7660. Res: 41 Convent Ave., NYC; 662-3683.

MR. & MRS. L. JOSEPH OVERTON. Bus: Business Agent, Local 338, Retail, Wholesale, Chain Store & Food Employees Union, 130 W. 42nd St., NYC 10036; WI-7-7364. Executive Director, Negro Labor Committee, 312 W. 125th St., NYC 10027; MO-2-4700. Res: 29-05 Curtis St., East Elmhurst, NY 11369; 478-1830. Wife: Gloria,

MR. GORDON PARKS. Bus: Photographer, Life Magazine, Time & Life Bldg., NYC 10019; JU-6-1212

MR. & MRS. JOHN T. PATTERSON, JR. Formerly with Bache & Co. Res: 372 Central Park West, NYC 10025; 866-6595. Wife: Jamelle.

MR. SIDNEY POITIER. Actor. Bus: 155 West 68th St., NYC 10023.

(5)

MR. & MRS. RANDOLPH A. RANKIN. Res: 114-29 177th St., St. Albans, NY 11434; 739-8086. Formerly coordinator, Neighborhood Boards, HARYOU-ACT.

MR. & MRS. HARVEY C. RUSSELL. Bus: Vice President, Special Markets, Pepsi Cola Co., 500 Park Ave., NYC 10022; MU-8-4500. Res: 9 Alta Vista Dr., Yonkers, NY 10710; (914) DE-7-0452. Wife: Jackie.

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN. Bus: Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 W. 125th St., NYC 10027; 669-9510. Res: CH-2-7993.

MR. & MRS. RAMON S. SCRUGGS. Bus: Personnel Director - Urban Affairs, American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 195 Broadway, Room 540-C, NYC 10007; 393-9800 Ext. 4736. Res: 51 Clifton Ave., Newark, NJ; (201) 482-9401.

MR. & MRS. THOMAS V. SINCLAIR, Jr. Bus: Attorney, Sinclair, Holland & Rhone, 200 W. 135th St., NYC 10030. Res: 156-20 Riverside Dr. West, NYC; AD-4-0044.

AMBASSADOR & MRS. HUGH SMYTHE. U.S. Ambassador to Malta. He taught anthropology at Brooklyn College. Wife: Dr. Mabel Smythe, Principal, New Lincoln School, 31 Central Park North, NY 10026; YU-9-3645. Temporary residence: 345 Eighth Ave., NYC; YU-9-3645.

MR. & MRS. HOPE R. STEVENS. -Bus:-Supreme-Court,-Appellate-Division, First-Dept.,-27-Madison-Ave.,-NY6-10010.  
Bus: Attorney, 209 W. 125th St., NYC 10027; M)-2-2350. President, Uptown Chamber of Commerce. Res: 1073 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, NY 10701; (914) YO-5-7857. Wife: Allie.

MR. & MRS. WILLIAM TAYLOR (BILLY). Bus: WLIB Radio Station, 310 Lenox Ave., NYC 10027; TE-1-1000. Pianist-composer, lectures at universities. Res: 555 Kapprock St., Bronx, NY 10463; 884-4613.

MR. & MRS. FRANKLIN A. THOMAS. Bus: Bedford-Stuyvestant Restoration Corp., Hotel Granada, Brooklyn, NY. Wife: An editor. Res: 1511 A President St., Brooklyn, NY 11213.

MR. & MRS. WILLIAM H. TOLES. Bus: Assistant Director, Public Relations, Continental Baking Co., P.O. Box 731, Rye, NY 10508; (914) 597-6161. Wife: Dr. Gloria Allen, pediatrician. Res: 104-27 192nd St., Hollis, NY; GR-9-3135.

JUDGE & MRS. IVAN WARNER. Supreme Court of Bronx, 851 Grand Concourse, Bronx.

MISS GRACE WATSON. Bus: Acting Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, State Department, Washington, D.C. Sister of Judge James Watson.



rev. 7 mrs. moran weston. Rector, St. Philips Episcopal Church.  
Res: 253 Boulevard St., New Rochelle, NY 10801; (914) 636-0635.

MRS. OSCAR WHITFIELD. Bus: Teacher,--Associated-Negro-Pres  
Exec. Vice President, Carver Federal Savings & Loan Assn., 75 W. 125th  
St., NYC 10027; TR-6-4747. Res: 245 Storer Ave., New Rochelle, NY 10803.

MR. & MRS. ROY WILKENS. Bus: Executive Director, NAACP, 1790 Broadway,  
NYC 10019; 245-2100. Wife: Minnie, works for Department of Welfare,  
NYC; DI-4-8700. Res: 147-15 Village Rd. Jamaica, NY; AX-7-9487.

MR. & MRS. LIVINGSTON L. WINGATE. Bus: Executive Director, New York  
Urban League, 204 W. 136th St., NYC 10030; AU-6-8000. Chairman, Harlem  
Council for Quality Education. Wife: Mamie, teaches. Res: 10 W. 135th  
St., NYC 10037; FO-8-2510. Three children.



April 27, 1970

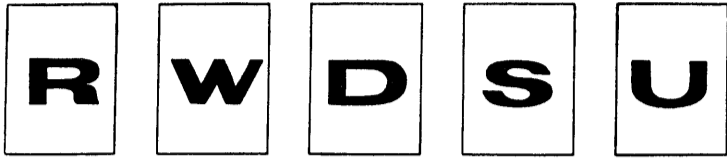
*additional black names  
- just received  
- to be pursued*

Banks, Hugh  
Branch, George  
Branch, Matthew  
Carter, George  
Lacey, Rae (Mrs. Hugh)  
Edwards, Junius  
English, Miriam  
Green, Bill  
Howell, Ernie  
Lane, Hugh  
O'Neil, Fred  
Rich, Evelyn  
Simms, Harold  
Smythe, Mabel (Mrs Hugh)  
Trent, Bill  
Williams, Frank  
Wright, Ben  
Wright, Stephen

April 27, 1970

*Spanish names - to be  
pursued*

Betanzos, Ami  
Cabrera, Angie  
Díaz, Manuel  
Monserrat, Joseph  
Morales, Juleo  
Nunez, Louis  
Pantoja, Antonia  
Torres, Jose  
Vasquez, Hector



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RETAIL, WHOLESALE AND DEPARTMENT STORE UNION  
101 West 31 Street, New York, N. Y. 10001 (212) 947-9303

May 5, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

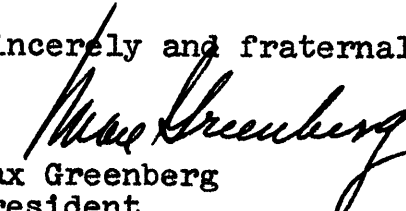
Dear Bayard:

I am very pleased to know that Max Steinbock of my office and Rochelle Horowitz of your office have worked out an itinerary so that you will be able to address our convention at a time convenient for you. As you know, the convention will be held from June 1 through June 5 at the Americana Hotel in Bal Harbour, Florida.

Reservations have been made at the hotel for your arrival on Wednesday, June 3. At the moment it is not yet certain whether you will be addressing the convention some time Thursday or on Friday morning. I am sure you will not mind being held in reserve for either date.

I know our delegates and I will be looking forward to hearing your address and I look forward to greeting you personally.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

  
Max Greenberg  
President

MG:fs

# TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

Affiliate of the AFL-CIO and CLC  
99 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003  
(212) 673-1400

OFFICE OF THE  
GENERAL PRESIDENT

485

May 11, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
217 West 125th Street  
New York, New York 10027

Dear Brother Rustin:


I am delighted to have your acceptance of our invitation to address the Sixteenth Biennial Convention of the Textile Workers Union of America in Miami Beach, Florida.

We are scheduling your appearance for Wednesday morning, June 10, in the Napoleon Room of the Deauville Hotel.

If you will let us know the time of your arrival, we will be most happy to meet your plane, provide hotel accommodations and take care of any additional arrangements you may require.

I am looking forward to meeting you personally and presenting you to our delegates.

Sincerely,

  
William Pollock  
General President

120

May 14, 1970

Kenneth W. Duckett  
University Archivist  
Southern Illinois University  
Carbondale, Illinois 62901

Dear Mr. Duckett:

Mr. Rustin saw your letter as he was preparing to leave town for several days. Nevertheless, he is quite interested in seeing you. Won't you drop us a line the next time you are preparing to be here, and we'll certainly arrange a time for you to see him.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz  
Administrative Secretary

RH/ej

Southern Illinois  
University

CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS 62901

*University Archives*

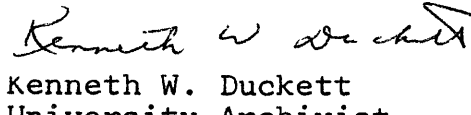
Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
217 West 125th Street  
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Rustin:

When I was a graduate student in history at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1950's I was a close friend of Larry Gara, and I heard a great deal about his time in prison with you and your work for the FOR. In the intervening years I have followed your career with interest, and when I saw Larry a week ago I was reminded of my long-term intention to write to you.

I will be in New York May 6-9, and if you have a few moments during that time I would like to talk with you about a project here at SIU. After I arrive I will call your secretary to try to make an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

  
Kenneth W. Duckett  
University Archivist

KWD:csa

April 29, 1970

EDWARD M. KENNEDY  
MASSACHUSETTS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 18, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

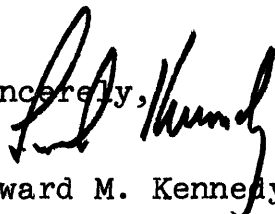
Dear Mr. Rustin:

I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of a speech I made recently on the Warren Court and on the current threat to constitutional liberties.

I hope you will have a chance to read it and let me have your thoughts on it, because I think that we must all focus more attention on this area if we are to halt what I perceive to be a very dangerous trend both here in Washington and across the country.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy

*Wish to see you the other day  
if just to say hello.*

June 4, 1970

Senator Edward M. Kennedy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

Thank you for sending me your speech on former Chief Justice Warren and the current crisis in civil liberties. In my opinion the address contains many significant and forceful ideas.

In response to your letter of May 18, 1970 asking to know my reaction to the speech, let me set down several thoughts. In the first place, I think it is important to retain a clear set of priorities. In your long list of the "symptoms" of repression, the Administration's opposition to the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, its disgraceful performance in the area of school desegregation, and its equally disgraceful nominations of Haynsworth and Carswell to the Supreme Court were placed somewhere toward the bottom. They were consequently lost in the profusive list of acts which, while no doubt important in themselves, can hardly be placed in the same category of significance. In no way do I feel that this reflects your own set of priorities, but it is important to be very clear and precise in our discussion of these issues. The Nixon Administration has made a dramatic and unequivocal retreat on civil rights, †This must be protested and opposed as such. We can only do injustice to this particular cause by linking it up with other issues, such as the harrassment of T.V. networks or the federal inspection of incoming foreign mail, which call for a different strategy of opposition.

Second, precisely because our national politics is so infused today with emotionalism, I think we must make every effort to present as sober an appraisal as possible of what is happening. I do not doubt for a moment that certain acts of the Nixon Administration pose a serious threat to civil



Senator Edward Kennedy

June 3, 1970

liberties, but over-reaction is as much to be avoided as complacency. The mood of liberal thinking today too often tends towards a kind of dimestore apocalypticism. The new book by Andrew Hacker is one example of this way of thinking which, while fashionable, is also demoralizing and self-defeating. Things have not gotten that bad yet--and until they do we need confident and unifying leadership of the kind that a person like yourself can provide. With such leadership, the false Jeremiahs in our midst would disappear.

My final point was spoken to by Senator Margaret Chase Smith in her speech to the Senate on June 1, 1970. It is essential that, like Mrs. Smith, we condemn the confrontationists on the left in the same breath as we denounce the reactionaries on the right. It goes without saying that there is a qualitative difference between young people who engage in violence and the forces of reaction. But granted this qualitative difference, our concern must be with political realities, and politically, the two groups do not differ at all. Repression is a dynamic process. It cannot take place unless an atmosphere of fear and hostility is created, and it is one of the great tragedies of the 1960's that many young people on the left, for whatever reason, acted in such a way as to foster this atmosphere. It is, of course, unconscionable that there are those on the right who will exploit this fear for their own political advantage, but the stage has been set for them by those who presume to be their political opposites.

I might add that a liberal Democrat, especially one who might someday be President, must go beyond the kind of analysis presented by Mrs. Smith. That is to say, while she warns of repression, a liberal must also speak out against the threat to progressive social reform that is posed by the vicious cycle of confrontationism. Leftwing confrontationists must be firmly criticized because their actions divide the liberal coalition and strengthen the conservatives so that the social programs that our nation needs so badly are impossible to achieve. In this sense, a liberal can be critical of certain abuses on the left from the point of view of someone who passionately desires the strengthening of the progressive forces in the nation. I see no other way that liberalism

-3-

Senator Edward Kennedy

June 3, 1970

can emerge from the present crisis not only with its moral vision intact but also with its political power enhanced, even to the point where it can once again attract the loyalties of a majority of the American people.

I hope you find these few thoughts helpful, and of course I am willing to discuss them further with you at any time. I wish you great success in your Senate campaign. If there is anything I can do to be helpful, feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Can

May 19, 1970

Mr. Allen Harris  
1703 73rd Avenue  
Baton Rouge, La. 70708

Dear Mr. Harris:

Thank you for your letter of May 3rd.  
I know it is very difficult to reach me,  
because I am out of the office most of the  
time. You can write to Dave Dellinger,  
c/o of The War Resisters League at  
339 Lafayette Street, New York City,  
10012.

It was good to hear from you after  
all these years. I've enclosed an article  
I wrote that I thought you might be  
interested in.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl: FBS

Baton Rouge La  
70700

5-3-70

Dear Bard  
I have tried to reach you by telephone time and again I left word for you to call me and Reverse the charge to me. and still no word from you. Bard here is what I want, please send me Dave Dillinger's address I am doing just fine we have 2 homes down here my phone No. 504. 357. 0345 you are always welcome at my home my house is open to you or yours

2

I came here on Nov: 9th 1969  
I am married now.  
We have two cars  
and every thing to go  
along with it. "Smile"  
I lived with Dave and  
the others at 37 Wright St.  
Newark N.J. I am sure  
you recall me now I was  
in Chicago for quite a  
while before coming  
down here as a matter of  
fact I got married in  
Chicago. June 14th 1968  
I wrote several letters to  
Dave to the Cook County  
jail. I am sure he did  
not get my letters and  
I decided to call you each  
time you was out.

3  
I sincerely hope that you  
will send me a mailing  
address where I can write  
to David. I would like  
to donate some money  
to the cause. "Smile"  
it would be a real joy  
to hear from you Bud  
So write soon

Yours with love

Allen Harris  
1703.73rd and  
Baton Rouge La  
70708

504.357.0345

May 26, 1970

Kivie Kaplan  
280 Boylston Street, Apt. 601  
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167

Dear Kivie:

Thank you for your nice note of May 6th. My ears are feeling much better now, but I have a chronic condition because of too much air travel and I never know when it will flair-up again.

My home phone number is 242-2885. I'm very glad for you to have it, but I hope you will not give it to anyone.

Mr. Randolph is doing very well.

Please congratulate Edward for me.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

KIVIE KAPLAN  
280 BOYLSTON STREET, APT 801  
CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS 02167

May 6, 1970

Mr Bayard Rustin  
340 W. 28th Street - Apt 9-J  
New York, N. Y. 10001

Dear Bayard:

I missed you at the League for Industrial Democracy Luncheon on Saturday although I did hear from either Carl or Rochelle that you weren't going to be there anyway but that you were going someplace else, but you were grounded on account of some trouble with your ears. I do hope that it is not serious and that you are well over it, by now.

I tried to get you on the phone after the luncheon to see how you were but evidently the old home phone number that I had was incorrect, and if you would give me your new telephone number at home, I would appreciate it so I would have a record of it. I might not use it for a year or more but I would like to have it in case I did need it for something special.

Hope Mr. Randolph is well and Emily joins in sending best, to you both.

I thought you might like to know that our son Edward got his PhD at Columbia last week.

Sincerely yours,

*Kivie*  
Kivie

KK/lp



May 26, 1970

Dr. James C. Goodwin  
Assistant to the Vice President  
University of California  
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Dr. Goodwin:

Thank you for your letter of May 18th. Unfortunately, the proposal to the Ford Foundation was prepared at the office of the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund. They will have to forward the material to you directly, and I have asked them to do so.

Thank you for writing to us.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

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CHARLES J. HITCH  
*President of the University*

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

GRAEME C. BANNERMAN  
*Vice President—Business and Finance*

May 18, 1970

A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Sir:

I read about the grant you received from the Ford Foundation to help extend the Joint Apprenticeship Program.

As you can see from the attached letter, I am very much interested in receiving a copy of your proposal to the Ford Foundation. At the Foundation's suggestion, I am requesting this information from you, as long as you do not consider it classified.

I will appreciate any help and information you are able to give me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James C. Goodwin" with a small "cn" at the end.

James C. Goodwin  
Assistant to the  
Vice President

/cn

Attachment

April 29, 1970

News from the Ford Foundation  
320 East 43 Street  
New York, New York 10017

Dear Sir:

In your April 8 release, I was pleased to read about the grant to the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund which will help extend the Joint Apprenticeship Program (J.A.P.) now being conducted in cooperation with the Workers Defense League. Would it be possible to receive a copy of their proposal to you?

My position at the University is working in the area of equal employment opportunity. The proposal is of much interest to me, as is the progress of the J.A.P.

Thank you very much for your help with this request. I will be looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

James C. Goodwin  
Assistant to the  
Vice President

JCG/cn

May 19, 1970

Virginia Patterson  
West Friendship Haven  
Fort Dodge, Iowa

Dear Virginia:

Thank you very much for your nice note. I'm looking forward to seeing Jane, but as usual my schedule is terribly hectic. I will probably get there on the 21st of May, but we're going to have to move the appointment up from 5:30 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.

I dictate this note as I leave for Walter Reuther's funeral. It is a terribly tragic death, and the labor and civil rights movements shall miss him dearly.

I've enclosed some articles that I've written, as well as, some publications of the A. Philip Randolph Institute that I thought you might want to see.

Best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl: FBS  
WP  
#5, #6

Dear Boyard; <sup>Sunday</sup> <sup>just now</sup>  
rang me a Happy Mother's Day (whatever  
that means) from N.Y.C. gang <sup>to</sup>  
said the Brass Band had arrived  
from Helen Rolls -  
Jane said she had phoned  
your office & tried to get you -  
your Sis - said you were all  
dated up & made tentative date  
for May 21st (on a Thursday) for you  
at 5:30 or thereabouts for dinner -  
to pick up the band - you could  
change date if doesn't fit your  
schedule (how to spell) - am in no  
hurry about the band getting to  
you - but she seems thrilled  
that you might come - She's  
wanted to meet you -  
Talked about: 45 min. on phone  
just now & no word about

Did I want her apt. this summer?  
Talked about leaving in June for  
Dahlgatia this June - I didn't ask  
her about the apt. - Maybe she  
has rented to some N.Y. people  
- Sometimes when knocked out  
feel I shouldn't go to N.Y.  
City. (ain't bothers me) & can't  
see sidewalk very well at  
nite - But am anxious to  
see that dirty old city - in the  
the rush & above all to look  
(while in the park) at all kinds  
& ages of faces - this sameness  
of Iowa old people is deadening  
plus "up-tight" religious rigidities  
is hard to describe & I think  
of the N. Yorkers - many doing  
their own thing in their own  
way - Here the hellings we all go

in to eat - (no choice ~~of~~ on food - eat (3)  
What is served - veal, veal - bologna  
etc.) really you wouldnt believe  
it.

Anyway when you go to  
James let me know what she  
says about the apt. The first  
summer I had it I paid  
something on the rent -  
not last summer because she  
said if I'd take care of the  
painting ~~the~~ <sup>pay cleaning lady</sup> ~~get~~ <sup>no</sup> mounds of  
laundry (they all left there) ~~do~~  
etc. <sup>things</sup> ~~but~~ I could pay something  
but not the full rent - it is  
terrific -

In rushing to get this  
off on 2 P. M. mail -  
I know how busy you are  
~~over~~ → how generous with your  
time - Don't hesitate to cancel

driveway date with Jones family  
if it doesn't exist -  
Have fun now + be well  
PEACE

Virg. Pat.  
Have been following with interest  
the happenings with youth after  
Nixon's (his Satanic) talk about  
ordering military into Camp  
Every solid 9orra come into  
the picture at 9orra City  
Univ.

Da. letters -  
West Friendship  
Haver  
Fort Wadk, FOW



May 27, 1970

Thomas M. Sherman  
The University of Tennessee  
College of Education  
Knoxville, Tennessee 37916

Dear Dr. Sherman:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 13th. You are, of course, quite right when you deny that civil rights leaders have only made negative statements in terms of public education.

Unfortunately, I have misplaced some of my statements dating back to the 1950's and 1960's. My position has not changed, however. I have always been an advocate of quality integrated education. Enclosed are some statements you might find interesting and helpful.

I'm sure you have already contacted Dr. Kenneth Clark. He is certainly one of our foremost spokesmen on this question. Reverend Milton Galamison at the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, and Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P. should be contacted as well.

I would appreciate knowing the results of your studies, and hope you will be in contact with me about them.

qzx

uuuu

u

u

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Encl:

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE  
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION  
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37916

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND SERVICE

May 13, 1970

Bayard Rustin  
Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Black spokesmen are often charged with only making negative statements and never offering constructive suggestions regarding the improvements of institutions in the United States. I doubt the veracity of this charge and in an attempt to answer it I am gathering together the suggestions of Black leaders concerning the improvement of public education. This information will serve a very useful purpose both as an answer to those who accuse Black leaders of negativism and as a focus for research and development of improved public education.

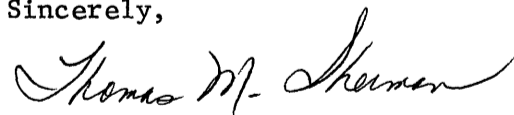
There is a definite need for public education to be improved and changed so that it may better serve Black children in the United States. I would appreciate you forwarding to me speeches, articles or papers you have or changes in your position on public education would be extremely helpful to me.

I am also interested in other Black people who you feel are concerned with public education. The identification of other Black leaders interested in education, who acknowledged Black leaders such as yourself feel are important, would be most helpful to me, as a source of additional information.

In summary, there are three items which I would appreciate your forwarding to me: the statements you have made for the improvement of public education, your present views if they differ from your previous position, and the names of those people you feel are leaders in Black public education. Your help in this task will be of great service and I greatly appreciate your consideration of this request.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Thomas M. Sherman

sq



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**Tuskegee Institute**

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

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June 1, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

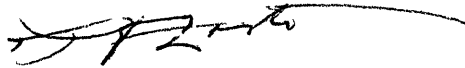
Yours was a magnificent address at Tuskegee Institute yesterday! We are deeply grateful for the timely message you brought to our graduating seniors and all in attendance at the 1970 Commencement Exercises. It was generous of you to accept our invitation.

We were delighted to have you at Tuskegee Institute to see something of our program and to talk with faculty, students and community citizens. We hope the experience was as rewarding to you as it was to all of us who had the privilege of a brief association with you.

Please visit Tuskegee Institute again whenever you are in this section.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,



L. H. Foster  
President

LHF:p



# Tuskegee Institute

VOL. VII

MAY, 1970

NO. 3

## *Alumni Classes Reunite*

### Rustin, Commencement Speaker

Bayard Rustin, nationally known civil rights leader and organizer, and pacifist, will deliver the commencement address at Tuskegee Institute May 31. Among his listeners will be some 525 candidates for bachelor's and master's degree and the alumni from classes, 1955, 1960 and 1965, gathered on the campus for reunion activities.

Acclaimed as ace strategist of successful civil rights movements, Rustin has been the director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in New York City since 1964. The Institute, a service center and clearing house for civil rights groups, is named after its founder, former president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union and civil rights leader.

In the 1960's, Rustin organized the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and also directed the New York City school boycott. In the 1950's, as advisor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., he was one of the architects of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In the 1940's, he served as secretary and race relations secretary for the Fellowship of the Reconciliation, a religious organization, dedicated to the solution of problems through nonviolence. During this time he organized the New York branch of the Congress of Racial Equality.

In 1947, he helped organize and participated in the first "freedom ride into the South." He was arrested and served twenty-two days on a North Carolina chain gang. His experiences as recounted in the **Baltimore Afro-American** and reprinted brought about an investigation and the subsequent abolishment of chain gangs in North Carolina. Rustin was also the director of a committee which persuaded former President Harry Truman to order the elimination of discrimination in the armed forces.

A peace worker and a conscientious objector to military service, Rustin

(Continued page 2)



BAYARD RUSTIN

### Tri-Annual Meeting To Be August 14-16

The Tri-Annual National Convention of the Tuskegee Institute Alumni Association has been scheduled for August 14, 15 and 16 at the Regency Hyatt Hotel in Atlanta, Ga. According to President Edward W. Brice, activities have been in the serious planning stage for the past seven months and "the Tri-Annual should be the greatest in our history." Details of events will be given in the July Alumni News Bulletin, but announcement is made at this time to alert alumni to plan their vacations around convention dates.

In a recent interim report to alumni club officers, President Brice announced the creation of a housing foundation by the Tuskegee Alumni Association. An initial project of 208 units of housing is presently under

(Continued page 2)

### Brimmer Supports Basic Income Plan

President Nixon's proposal for a guaranteed basic income for impoverished families was explained by Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, Tuskegee Institute trustee and member of the Federal Reserve Board in his Founder's Day address March 22. In his opinion, there is more reason to support the plan, now being considered by Congress, than to oppose it.

The convocation commemorating Tuskegee Institute's 89 years of service was attended by the daughter of Dr. Booker T. Washington, Mrs. Portia Washington Pittman, and his granddaughter, Mrs. Fannie Kennedy, both of Washington, D.C. The large audience also included a large gathering of alumni from throughout the nation and reunion classes of '40, '45 and '50.

Dr. Brimmer warned his listeners not to be lulled into believing falsely that the economic problems of Negroes have been dispelled, although there have been gains in some areas.

"A closer analysis of the available data shows clearly that a definite economic schism has arisen within the Negro community," he said. "Individuals in male headed households appear to be able to share fairly well in economic advances, while those in female headed households are sinking backward into poverty." He added that individuals with higher education are gaining economically while the untrained are lagging.

Dr. Brimmer said that the Administration's family assistance proposal "would have the federal government pay a basic income to all families who could not provide for themselves whether they are employed or unemployed. It would be geared to dependent families with children. It would replace entirely the largest of the federally supported public assistance programs (i.e. aid to families with dependent children). Under the proposal, persons (except mothers with preschool children) who accept assistance would

(Continued page 4)

## Reunion Classes of '40, '45, '50 Present Generous Gift to Alma Mater

The reunion classes of 1940, 1945 and 1950 were presented to the audiences at the Founder's Day Convocation and at the spring concert of the Tuskegee Institute Choir.

Spokesman for the three classes was William Morris, '40, president of the alumni club of Columbus, Ga., who presented the reunion classes' gift to Tuskegee Institute to President Luther H. Foster.

The gift on the evening of the presentation was well over the \$5500 mark, one of the largest gifts to be presented at a reunion ceremony, and its announcement drew sustained applause from the audience. At the time this bulletin goes to press the gift has grown to \$5,933.81.

The reunion weekend was marked by class meetings and social get-togethers in addition to official ceremonies. Those who registered at the Alumni Office in The Oaks were:

### 1940

Alice B. Matthews, Tuskegee Institute  
Clarence B. Canson, Sacramento, Cal.  
Jessie Abbott, Tuskegee Institute  
Julia Ray Rhea, Adrien, Mich.  
Mary Louise Thomas, Miami, Fla.  
Henry P. Hutchinson, Charleston, S.C.  
James W. Clark, Chicago  
LaVerta Homer, Tulsa, Okla.  
Henry Howard, Tuskegee Institute  
Robert L. Judkins, Tuskegee Institute  
Marian B. Judkins, Tuskegee Institute  
Ruth Wright, Tuskegee Institute  
Harvey E. T. Hall, Savannah, Ga.  
Percy A. Williams, Tuskegee Institute  
Noel C. Mitchell, Tuskegee Institute  
E. W. Underwood, Eutaw, Ala.  
Charles G. Leslie, Florence, Ala.  
William Morris, Columbus, Ga.  
O. L. (Toby) Downs, Tuskegee Inst.  
Jacob Armster, Tuskegee Institute  
E. L. Donald, Tuskegee Institute  
Freddie W. Williams, East Orange, N. J.  
J. A. Walls, Tuskegee Institute  
Gracie M. Walls, Tuskegee Institute  
Charles R. Fox, Norfolk, Va.  
Ardelle Lewis Cooper, Tuskegee Inst.  
Bishop Holifield, Tallahassee, Fla.  
Fred H. Parks, Cleveland, O.  
Mary M. Chandler, Tuskegee Institute  
Rowena Hunt Bracken, Tuskegee Inst.  
Charles Dobbs, Detroit, Mich.

### 1945

Elaine Thomas, Tuskegee Institute  
Felix P. Parrish, Jacksonville, Fla.  
Della McZeal, Los Angeles  
Lillie C. Scott, Chicago  
Theresa Hawes, Cambria Heights, N.Y.  
Ruth Moore, Los Angeles  
Bernice Douglas, Los Angeles  
Millie Norman, Los Angeles  
Beatrice M. Donaldson, Tuskegee Inst.  
Anna B. Fitzpatrick, Tuskegee Inst.  
Luther Brazil Graves, Hempstead, N.Y.

### 1950

Earl W. Shurn, Waynesboro, Va.  
Earlie Lee Adkins, Dothan, Ala.  
John H. Jones, Uniontown, Ala.  
Harold L. Rosen, Birmingham, Ala.  
James W. Woodson, Tuskegee Inst.  
Jenkins Bryant, Jr., Newbern, Ala.  
Willie B. Kendall, Griffin, Ga.  
Henry W. Thomas, Quincy, Fla.  
Eugenia Lowe Butler, Isabele, Fla.  
Foster E. Anthony, Sr., Gallatin, Tenn.  
Stanley B. McMullen, Gloucester, Va.  
Mr. and Mrs. S. F. Kilgore and daughter, Gary, Ind.  
Edward F. White, Tuskegee Institute  
Junius B. Reaves, Springfield Garden, N.Y.  
Marie Rush Lawson and daughter, East St. Louis, Ill.  
Felton L. Lamb, Sr., Little Rock, Ark.  
Blicky Vines Lamb, Little Rock, Ark.  
Earnest L. Lamb, Little Rock, Ark.  
Maud E. Adair Sanders, Houston, Tex.  
Delores Daugherty Randall, Springfield, Ill.  
Knowledge Lee, Tuskegee Institute  
H. E. Spencer, Tuskegee Institute  
Sanford Holliday, Villa Rica, Ga.  
Hezekiah Brown, Indianola, Miss.  
Sidney H. Bates, Sr., Decatur, Ala.



**FOUNDER'S DAUGHTER.** Mrs. Portia Washington Pittman (center), daughter of Booker T. Washington, was a special guest on the campus Founder's Day. Following the morning convocation, she was photographed with the main speaker, Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer (left) of the Federal Reserve Board, and Tuskegee Institute president, Dr. L. H. Foster.

## RUSTIN, C'd

was imprisoned for two and a half years during World War II, during which time he taught himself to play the guitar and lute. He had earned his living as a nightclub singer during the '30s.

Rustin was born in and received his early education in West Chester, Pa. He was a high school honor student and a member of many school organizations including the state championship football and track teams. Following high school, he attended Cheney State Teachers College in Pennsylvania, Wilberforce University in Ohio, and City College in New York City.

## TRI-ANNUAL MEET, C'd

way in Washington, D.C., Brice reported. Also to be developed are projects in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Knoxville, Tenn., and Baltimore, Md.

Some sites in Tuskegee, Alabama, in the vicinity of the Institute have been surveyed and are being considered for an alumni residential and recreational facility.

Among other alumni association accomplishments is the organization or reactivation of eighteen clubs. New clubs have been formed in Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk and Boston. A Southwest Region has been organized and a regional meeting held in Houston. Two state alumni organizations have been formed. The first is in Georgia, under the leadership of William Morris of Columbus, Ga. The second is in Alabama under the leadership of Robert Jones of Montgomery.

Roscoe A. Williams, Montgomery  
Andrew Belle, Dothan, Ala.  
Roberta D. Atkins, Tuskegee Institute  
Julia Alexander, Tuskegee Institute  
Leslie E. House, Indianapolis, Ind.  
Elbert V. Kimbrough, Tuskegee Inst.

## President Foster Is Recipient of Honorary Degree

President Luther H. Foster was the recipient of an honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, from Loyola University of Chicago at its Centennial Year Convocation April 8.

Dr. Foster was cited "for his contributions to American higher education as a distinguished spokesman and administrator in the Negro college sector and for leadership in the Association of American Colleges." The degree was conferred by the Very Rev. James F. McGuire, S. J., president and chancellor of Loyola University of Chicago.

## Trustees Cite Plight Of Black Institutions

The Federal Administration and the Congress were called upon by Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees "to recognize the grave danger to our (Negro) institutions of higher education and give high priority consideration to new and expanded programs which would provide them with critically needed financial assistance."

The appeal was in the form of a resolution framed by the trustees at their annual spring meeting on the campus during Founder's Day weekend.

"We are deeply concerned that rapidly increasing costs of maintaining educational institutions have created situations approaching financial crisis for many colleges and universities, with the clear and present threat of reduction in standards and even the closing out of valuable programs," the resolution read.

The resolution further pointed out that predominantly Negro institutions are in greater jeopardy than other schools because their access to sources of voluntary gifts is limited and their students are less able to pay increased fees.

"We believe the unique resources of talent, experience and commitment available in the predominantly Negro colleges provide educational opportunities for young blacks of promise which they would not otherwise be able to obtain," the trustees said.

Copies of the resolution were mailed to the President's Cabinet, the Alabama congressional delegation, members of the House and Senate education committees, major education associations and selected colleges.

## Mrs. King Names War and Racism As Foes of Creative Christianity

War and racism were named as foes to creative Christianity by Mrs. Coretta S. King in an address at The Tuskegee Chapel April 12. She spoke to an overflow crowd of students, faculty and staff members, and visitors, later holding a conference with students and eating her mid-day meal with them at the Institute cafeteria.

"If we are to develop creative Christianity so needed in the world, we will have to rediscover Jesus, the radical," she said.

"Jesus did not timidly and ambiguously imply the brotherhood of man. He proclaimed it. He did not mildly disapprove of war. He blessed the peacemakers. He did not worry about his popularity with the rich and powerful. He scorned them for their indifference and greed."

She deplored that "80 percent of the United States annual budget is spent for death and destruction while only 20 percent is spent for life and the preservation of it."

Mrs. King reminded her listeners of the Negroes' recent struggle for legal rights in education, public accommodations, voting, housing and job opportunities, adding that "despite the continued presidential appointment of blue-ribbon panels and subsequent disregard for their findings, our nation is becoming more polarized because America is so deeply racist."

"War and racism are deadly partners because all over the world we face the dangerous situation of having most of the world's wealth in the hands of the small percentage of people who are white skinned while the majority of the people who are colored live in poverty."

She appealed to black Alabamans whose voting strength has increased five fold in nine years to display a creative Christianity by sending men and women of competence and high morals standards, sound judgment and impeccable integrity to the Congress, the governorship, and upper and lower houses of the legislature.

Alluding to the recent U.S. Senate rejection of two southern judges for the Supreme Court, she answered the President's complaint of regional prejudice.

"No, Mr. President, we are not prejudiced against a Southerner. There are Southerners serving on the Supreme Court and there are others who can serve with honor and distinction



MRS. CORETTA S. KING

on the Supreme Court, but we are prejudiced against mediocrity, deceit and those who would have us repeat our struggle toward achieving first class citizenship and moving into the main stream of American life."

In a time of material abundance, the United States has the worst climate of alienation in its history, Mrs. King pointed out, because "Christians, conformed but not transformed, continue their daily routine with apathy and indifference toward the crushing conditions under which their brothers and sisters exist, not live."

Following her message, Mrs. King unveiled a bas relief of her husband, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., given to Tuskegee Institute by Mrs. William Tanner of Green Valley, Ariz., Bashka Paeff of Boston was the sculptor.

## DANIEL JAMES, JR., IS NEW AF GENERAL

The nomination of Daniel (Chappie) James for Brigadier General has been confirmed by the U.S. Senate making him the highest ranking Negro in the Air Force. At a televised Pentagon ceremony this spring, General James was also sworn in as deputy assistant secretary for public affairs by Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird.

## Parents' Day Attracts Crowd

Upward to 1100 mothers and fathers of Tuskegee Institute students attended Parents' Day activities at Tuskegee Institute this spring.

Following an address by President L. H. Foster in which he appealed to parents "to trust young people in the new stance they have taken," the Parents of the Year Award was given to Mr. and Mrs. Curtis O. Cheek of South Boston, Va., and to Mr. Walter James Williams, '58, of Tuskegee.

Mr. and Mrs. Cheek are the parents of six daughters, five of whom are either graduated from Tuskegee Institute or are currently enrolled. The youngest daughter, June Cheek, is expected to be graduated from high school in 1971 and will enroll at Tuskegee the following fall.

The father is a foreman at Dan Rivers Fabrics in South Boston, and the mother has been a practical nurse for some twenty years. She now teaches pre-school children in a federally funded program, and is also enrolled in the University of Virginia extension program.

Walter Williams was honored for serving as a father to and providing a home and education for his six sisters following his mother's death in 1955. He is currently employed at the Veterans Hospital in Tuskegee.

Two of Mr. Williams' sisters are teachers in New York and Chicago. Another is a dietitian in Washington, D.C. Three other sisters—a beautician, a homemaker, and a bank teller—live in New York.



**PARENTS' DAY HONOREES.** Recipients of the Parents of the Year awards at Tuskegee Institute this spring were Mr. and Mrs. Curtis O. Cheek of South Boston, Va., (left) and Walter James Williams of Tuskegee (extreme right). They are congratulated by President L. H. Foster (center) and by Mrs. Williams (right of President Foster).

## Former Chapel Organist, Mrs. Alberta Simms, Dies

Mrs. Alberta L. Simms, choir director and chapel organist, died in Tuskegee April 8. Mrs. Simms served the Institute in several capacities for some thirty-five years.

A native of Anson County, N.C., Mrs. Simms received her first musical training from her mother. She later studied piano, organ and voice at Oberlin Conservatory of Music in Ohio.

After retiring from Tuskegee Institute in 1957, Mrs. Simms formed her own school of music and served as Washington Chapel Church choir director almost until the time of her death.

Mrs. Simms is survived by a daughter, Mrs. A. Lillian Thompson of Washington, D.C., three sons, Harry, Ernest and Robert of New York, Boston and Miami, respectively (all graduates of Tuskegee Institute); three sisters, Mrs. Hattie W. Kelly and Miss Ester V. Simmons, both of Tuskegee Institute; and Mrs. Anne Simmons Dixon of Chicago. Also surviving Mrs. Simms are eight grandchildren, four great-grandchildren and other relatives.

## BRIMMER, C'd

be required to register for work or training. It is estimated that in the first year of the program, over half of the families covered would have one member employed or undergoing training."

## Summer Institutes To Be Conducted

Two summer institutes—in chemistry and agricultural science—will be conducted this summer with grants from the National Science Foundation.

A \$30,949 NSF grant will support the Summer Institute in Chemistry for Secondary School Teachers, and a \$42,324 NSF grant will support a Summer Institute in Agricultural Science for Secondary School Teachers. Both institutes are scheduled during Tuskegee Institute's regular summer session between June and August, 1970.

The chemistry institute has been conducted at Tuskegee for some 12 years. The program is designed to give high school chemistry teachers a better knowledge of their subject matter.

The 40 participants in the agricultural science institute will be concerned with increasing their general scientific knowledge in biology and in the biological aspects of animals and plants, food science and isotope technology.

The agricultural science institute is also designed to give its participants a better understanding of the continual changes in the technology of production and conservation and to increase the participants' effectiveness in the use of scientific methods and equipment.

Graduate credit is offered for courses in which participants enroll in both programs. Tuition, a stipend and some dependent allowances are provided both chemistry and agricultural science students.

## Faculty and Staff

Mrs. Louise Trigg, director of social work at John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital since 1946, received one of two special awards for service at the Alabama Conference on Social Work this spring. Mrs. Trigg has served on numerous executive committees, advisory councils, and task forces of national, state and local health and social work organizations, including the 1950 and 1960 White House Conferences on Children and Youth.

Daniel T. Williams, director of professional libraries and archivist at Tuskegee Institute, has been named to the governing council of the Martin Luther King Center, Library Documentation Project. Also on the governing council are Harry Belafonte, Negro historian John Hope Franklin and Georgia State Representative Julian Bond. The Martin Luther King Center in Atlanta was recently dedicated as an Institute of the Black World.

Albert Murray, fiction writer and former Tuskegee Institute English instructor, is the author of a new book attracting wide notice, "The Omni-America: New Perspectives on Black Experience and American Culture," published by Outerbridge and Dienstfrey. According to a Newsweek reviewer, Robert Gross: "Murray's book pulls an ironic twist on the arguments of the white and black ethnocentrics: white discrimination, it turns out, has left American society as a whole culturally deprived."

Arthur Victor Jett, Jr., manager of the Computer Center and assistant professor in the School of Engineering, has begun a six-months appointment as professor in residence in the Special Projects Office of Oak Ridge Associated Universities. He will be concerned primarily with the development of programs to assist traditionally Negro institutions in the strengthening of their programs in science and engineering.

The electrical engineering department of the School of Engineering has established a branch of Eta Kappa Nu honor society under the leadership of Dr. M. R. A. Erdey. Thirty-three members were initiated in 1969.



**AWARD WINNERS.** Dr. Demetrice Lyles, '49 (left), and Dr. Roger Estep, '62, were the recipients of the Distinguished Alumni Award of the School of Veterinary Medicine at a dinner this spring during the fifth annual Veterinary Medicine Symposium. Dr. Lyles was a member of the first class to graduate from the Tuskegee Veterinary Medicine School. He is credited with having the longest record of service in veterinary medicine of any graduate of the School. He earned his doctorate degree from Ohio State University.

Dr. Estep organized the laboratory animal medicine section at Howard University following his graduation from Tuskegee Institute. He is president-elect of the American Association for Laboratory Animal Science.

Dr. Eugene W. Adams, School of Veterinary Medicine, has been appointed to the "task force on aquatic animal medicine" of the National Academy of Science and National Research Council. At a recent meeting in Washington, D.C., he presented a paper on diseases of public health importance that would result if fish became an extremely important source of protein in the human diet.

Howard D. Curtis has completed all the requirements for a Ph.D. in mechanical engineering at Purdue University.

Edward L. Pryce has been awarded second prize in the Atlanta University Art Show for Black Artists in the United States. Prize-winning work, a sculpture in primitive African style was carved from a black walnut log, four feet high, and was entitled "Fisherman with Cormorant."

Mrs. Elizabeth L. Wright, director of the College Union, has been named a regional representative of the Association of College Unions-International.

Charles V. Hamilton, former Tuskegee Institute faculty member, now at Columbia University, was a recent speaker on Tuskegee Institute campus. His topic was: "They Demand Relevance: the Black Student Movement."

Lt. Col. Calvin O. Carter, professor of Aerospace Studies, was recently awarded the Air Force Commendation Medal for meritorious service as deputy director of intelligence, Headquarters, Third Air Force, Germany.

Sgt. Phillip L. McLaurin, administrative specialist of the Air Force ROTC at Tuskegee Institute, also received the Air Force Commendation Medal for meritorious service with the 12th Combat Support Group, Republic of Vietnam.



## Pollard Appointed Senior Consultant

Freeman T. Pollard, '63, was recently named senior consultant with the Bell and Howell Human Development Institute of Atlanta and Los Angeles. The Institute engages in the application of behavioral science knowledge and techniques to personal growth, interpersonal relationship improvement and greater effectiveness of work groups and organizations. Pollard has been with this organization since 1968.

Pollard was the program director and one of three authors of a recently released Institute program, entitled "Encountertapes for Black/White Groups: A Racial Encounter Program." The program is designed to bring about honest encounter between blacks and whites.

After his graduation from Tuskegee Institute, Pollard spent two years in Buea, West Cameroon, West Africa, where as a Peace Corps volunteer, he taught English as a language and English and African literature at the Baptist Teachers Training College. Upon his return to the United States, he studied at Harvard University, University of Wisconsin and New York University, receiving a M.A. degree in 1967 from the latter institution's Center for Human Relations and Community Studies.

During the school year, 1967-68, he was a Southern Education Foundation intern.



**OUTSTANDING ALUMNI:** Leadership in community activities, support to the Tuskegee Institute Alumni program and outstanding achievement in their professional fields have earned four alumni the Southeastern Region's Meritorious Award. During a recent convention in Mobile, Ala., Dr. G. W. Taylor, regional director, made the presentation to: (left to right) Mrs. Hattie Kelly, retired dean of women at Tuskegee Institute; Alex Herman, president and chairman of the board of directors of the Unity Burial Life Insurance Company, Mobile; Dr. B. D. Mayberry, director of Institutional Development at Tuskegee Institute; and Jacob Ross, a longtime Butler county agent with the Alabama Extension Service, Greenville, Ala.

## Dr. Harris Coordinates Black Studies Program

Dr. Jody M. Harris, B.S. '38, has been appointed the coordinator of the Black Studies program at Edinboro State College in Edinboro, Pa.

He will be involved in all aspects affecting black students including the recruitment of black students, recreation and academic planning. He also acts as advisor to the Association for the Advancement of Black Collegiates and consultant to the Minority Relations Committee.

Dr. Harris will be involved with a pre-college training program designed to recognize deserving local black high school students. This will be a remedial program for students who through testing show promise of being able to produce the required college work.

## Mrs. Love Is Subject Of Newspaper Feature

Mrs. Bernice Love, '65, was the subject of a cover story in *The Denver Chronicle* recently. In her capacity as Home Service Advisor of the Public Service Company of Colorado, she works closely with homemakers, educators and students in the Denver community.

Mrs. Love holds a bachelor of science degree in food administration from Tuskegee Institute. Her husband, James R. Love, who also attended the Institute, is a staff executive of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and is president of Progress Personnel, Inc.

## Memorial Roll Call

Amos S. Bartlett, '13 (class president)

Ora Frances Porter, '04

George F. Rovers, '04

Mrs. Anna Regina Moss Mimms, '42

Mrs. Anna Ayers Campbell, '06

George F. Rovers, '04

Miller I. Naggles (staff)

Alonzo T. Cephus, '41

Mrs. Cattie L. A. Johnson, '20, '49, '54

J. W. Esau (staff)

Mrs. Alberta L. Simms (retired faculty member)

Mrs. Emma Lou Roberts, '40

## C. Grier Now Supervisor

C. Charles Grier, '67, who began his career with John Hancock Insurance Company in Boston as a management trainee, is now supervisor of the Progressive Protection Unit. He also visits the Tuskegee Institute and Alabama State campuses as a recruiter for his organization.



**NATIONAL CITATION:** The Vice President for Academic Affairs at Tuskegee Institute, Dr. Edward L. Jackson (left) was one of four recipients of a Presidential Citation from the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation during the organization's recent convention in Seattle. AAHPER President John M. Cooper (right) cited Dr. Jackson for his "contribution to human relations." Dr. Jackson who was Director of Athletics and head of the physical education department at Tuskegee for twelve years is credited with playing a prominent role in effecting the entrance of black athletes from predominantly Negro colleges into professional football and basketball.

The National Association of Collegiate Directors of Athletics has recommended Dr. Jackson for the Helms Athletic Hall of Fame award.

## Warren Reynolds' Winning Formula Is Team's Desire to Repeat Victory

"A year 'round program. The more they do it, the more they want to do it . . . better." This is the prescription for winning prescribed by Warren Reynolds, a 1964 physical education graduate.

Reynolds is certainly qualified to give winning prescriptions for his basketball teams at Ballard-Hudson in Macon, Ga., have compiled an impressive 78-14 record during the last four years. His teams have finished first in a region of 15 teams twice, and on one occasion they finished fourth.

Reynolds' basketball teams at Ballard-Hudson have also produced All-American players. Elmore Smith is at Kentucky State, Danny Curry is at North Carolina State College, and James Outlaw is a member of the North Carolina A.&T. basketball team.

Winning wasn't new to Reynolds at Ballard-Hudson. When Warren, his brother John, and a high school teammate, James Crawford, came to Tuskegee Institute, they were among the most sought after athletes in the State.

Carver High School in Dothan, Ala. (now Carver Junior High) won the District Championship for some 16 years in basketball. Warren Reynolds played on three of these district championship teams. He was an All-Stater

in basketball for two years, played on three championship football teams and had a spot on three championship baseball teams at Carver.

The only thing that has eluded Reynolds as basketball coach at Ballard-Hudson is the state championship. The school desegregation plan in Macon, Ga. calls for Ballard-Hudson to become a junior high school in the fall. And after sifting through several new coaching opportunities—including the Southwestern Complex in Macon, Jacksonville University in Florida, and Gordon Webb in North Carolina—Reynolds is taking his winning ways to North Carolina A. & T. College.

At A. & T., Reynolds will be assistant basketball coach and teach physical education.

Edward W. Frazier, '28, president and co-owner of a Tuskegee automobile agency has been appointed to the Alabama Small Business Advisory Council. Frazier is a former Tuskegee faculty member.

James E. Little, '57, has been appointed supervisor of industrial arts for the public schools of East St. Louis, Ill.

## Two TI Linesmen Chosen by Pros

Professional football scouts kept watchful eyes on the Golden Tigers again this season, and later drafted two defensive linemen.

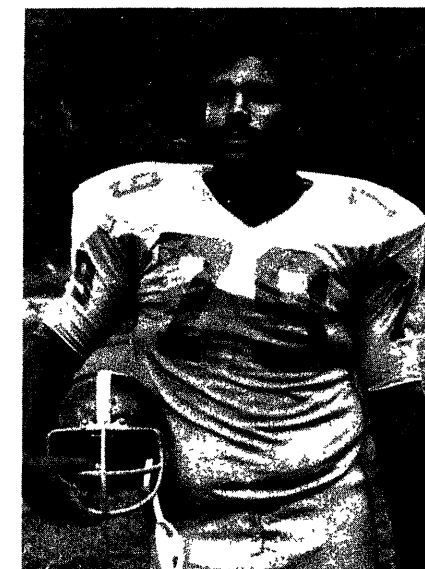
The Boston Patriots took Otis McDaniel. Maurice Fullerton was the draft choice of the Denver Broncos. Both are defensive linemen.

Fullerton played defensive tackle for the Golden Tigers and also served as the team's kick specialist in his senior year. McDaniel played defensive end at Tuskegee.

McDaniel, at 250 lbs., is from Repton, Alabama. Fullerton, at 280 lbs., is from Birmingham.



OTIS MCDANIEL



MAURICE FULLERTON



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TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA  
FRANCES VERNON, EDITOR

Tuskegee Institute

## Alumni Complete Officers School

Four Tuskegee alumni have recently completed the Air University's Squadron Officers School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. They are 1st Lt. Thomas L. Oates, '67, Capt. Arthur T. King, '62, Capt. Clarence L. Gardner, '64, Capt. Reginald Jones, '63 and Capt. Calvin H. Jackson, '66.

The 14 weeks school included instruction in communicative skills, leadership, international relations and responsibilities that prepare junior officers for command-staff duties.

## SERVICE AWARDS AND PROMOTIONS

U.S. Air Force Major Isiah Johnson, '53, has received his third through seventh awards of the Air Medal for air action while assigned at Nakhon Phanom Royal Thai Air Force Base, Thailand. The award was presented at Andrews Base in Maryland where he now serves as a staff development engineer with the systems security engineering branch in the office of the Inspector General, Air Force Systems Command.

Captain McArthur Fields, '65, is a member of a unit that has earned the Air Force Outstanding Unit Award for the fourth consecutive year in Vietnam.

Captain Robert Golsby, '65, is a member of the 1974th Communications Group that has earned the Outstanding Unit Award for communications support to combat units in Southeast Asia from July, 1968, through June, 1969.

### PROMOTIONS

Willie C. Lawrence, '68, to first lieutenant in the U.S. Air Force. Lt. Lawrence is a supply officer at Grissom Air Force Base, Indiana, with the 305th Supply Squadron.

Edward Levell, Jr., '53, to lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Air Force. Colonel Levell is an air officer commanding at the U.S. Air Force Academy. He previously served at Bien Hoa Air Base, Vietnam.

Walter E. Smith, '63, to captain in the U.S. Air Force. He is attending the base civil engineering course at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio.



**OAK LEAF CLUSTER.** Major Govan C. Thomas, '57, (right) received the First Oak Leaf Cluster to the Bronze Star recently from Col. Leland D. Wamsted of the Army Satellite Communications Agency at Fort Monmouth, N. J. Major Thomas was cited for outstandingly meritorious service in connection with military operations in the Republic of Vietnam.

Second Lieutenant Palmer Sullins, Jr., '68, has completed a 16-week helicopter pilot course at the Army Primary Helicopter School, Ft. Wolters, Tex.



June 2, 1970

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey  
1510 "H" Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Hubert:

I understand that you have invited leaders of the peace movement to meet with you early next week. The treasurer of the Randolph Institute, Robert Gilmore, will be at the meeting in his capacity as President of the Center for War/Peace Studies.

I think you will enjoy knowing Robert Gilmore. He has been one of the truly constructive and democratic people in the peace movement. Most important, I believe, he has always given domestic problems high priority and participated in movements for domestic reforms. He contributed to your campaign in 1968, and has made it possible for the Institute to carry on its work in Negro communities across the country.

I'm sorry this is such a short note and that we haven't had time to see each other recently, but I dictate this as I leave for speaking engagements in Ohio and Miami. I look forward to seeing you soon.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

June 2, 1970

Mr. Horace Rubinstein  
7 Martin Place  
Syosset, New York 17761

Dear Mr. Rubinstein,

I am writing to tell you how important I think the War Resister's League is. In fact, it is more important today than it has been in the past. I believe this is so because of the many more young people who need help and counselling about the draft.

You should also know that it was through the efforts of the War Resister's League that the regulations and laws governing those who could be qualified as Conscientious Objectors were changed. Prior to the League's effort only people who had religious objections to war were granted C.O. status. But now after law suits and cases brought by the League have been won, young men who have a principled objection to war may be granted C.O. status-- even if they are not religious.

I have been happy to serve as a member of the National Advisory Committee since my resignation as Executive Director. As you know, I left that post to function in the civil rights movement on a full time basis.

I hope that you will contribute to the WRL's work.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/ej

Copy

June 2, 1970

Dr. Herbert Levine  
Labor Education Center  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Levine:

I have been told of your splendid cooperation with the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund and its Black Studies Conference, and I want to take this opportunity to thank you and your staff for your splendid assistance.

The Educational Fund has called upon the Rutgers Labor Center for help in the past and you have never failed us. Your latest cooperation is only an example of the kind of help we can always expect from you and your associates, Norman Eiger and Roy Kirkley.

I know I speak for Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill and Ernest R. McKinney when I say, thank you once again.

With best regards,

A. Philip Randolph  
President

APR/ej

62  
June 8, 1970

Thomas Sowell  
Professor of Economics  
Brandeis University  
Waltham, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Sowell:

This is just a brief note to tell you that I thought your letter to the New-York Times was magnificent. My schedule is terribly crowded, but I stand ready to give full-time assistance to the Committee To Eradicate White Guilt.

There are endless organizational possibilities, but to begin with I suggest we reprint Tom Wolf's article, "Racial Chic: That Party at Lenny's," which appears in the June 8th issue of the New York Magazine.

With best wishes,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

June 8, 1970

Mr. Floyd E. Smith, President  
International Association of Machinists  
and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO  
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Brother Smith:

I am writing to ask if you will accept a nomination to serve on the Executive Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The Board serves in an advisory capacity and meets once a year. Our fiscal year ends on August 31st and the annual meeting is scheduled in the fall.

I have enclosed our last two Annual Reports for you to see.

I know I speak for Mr. Randolph when I say the Institute will be honored to have you as a member of its Executive Board.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej  
Enclosure:

June 8, 1970

Mr. Hunter P. Wharton, President  
International Union of Operating  
Engineers, AFL-CIO  
1125 Seventeenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Brother Wharton,

I am writing to ask if you will accept  
a nomination to serve on the Executive Board  
of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The Board serves in an advisory capacity  
and meets once a year. Our fiscal year ends  
on August 31st and the annual meeting is  
scheduled in the fall.

I have enclosed our last two Annual  
Reports for you to see.

I know I speak for Mr. Randolph when  
I say the Institute will be honored to have  
you as a member of its Executive Board.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

June 8, 1970

Mr. David Sullivan, President  
Service Employees International  
Union, AFL-CIO  
900 17th Street, N.W. Suite 708  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Brother Sullivan:

I am writing to ask if you will accept a nomination to serve on the Executive Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The Board serves in an advisory capacity and meets once a year. Our fiscal year ends on August 31st and the annual meeting is scheduled in the fall.

I have enclosed our last two Annual Reports for you to see.

I know I speak for Mr. Randolph when I say the Institute will be honored to have you as a member of its Executive Board.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

June 8, 1970

Mr. Max Greenberg, President  
Retail Wholesale Department  
Store Union, AFL-CIO  
101 West 31st Street  
New York, New York 10001

Dear Brother Greenberg:

I am writing to ask if you will accept a nomination to serve on the Executive Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The Board serves in an advisory capacity and meets once a year. Our fiscal year ends on August 31st and the annual meeting is scheduled in the fall.

I have enclosed our last two Annual Reports for you to see.

I know I speak for Mr. Randolph when I say the Institute will be honored to have you as a member of its Executive Board.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:



June 8, 1970

Mr. I. W. Abel, President  
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO  
1500 Commonwealth Building  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dear Brother Abel:

I am writing to ask if you will accept a nomination to serve on the Executive Board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The Board serves in an advisory capacity and meets once a year. Our fiscal year ends on August 31st and the annual meeting is scheduled in the fall.

I have enclosed our last two Annual Reports for you to see.

I know I speak for Mr. Randolph when I say the Institute will be honored to have you as a member of its Executive Board.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

Enclosure:

Am

June 12, 1970

Professor Warner Gundersheiner  
Department of History  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Gundersheiner:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the University Council Report as well as the correspondence between you and Martin Kilson.

My own position is similar to Martin's. I would, as a matter of principle, be opposed to establishing a separate School for Black Studies. In addition, I find your proposals inconsistent with the recommendations of the Task Force on University Governance.

I am not in the academic profession, and consequently hesitate to suggest curricula to one who is chairman of a department, but there is clearly something wrong with a report which lists without comment the type of courses being offered or suggested in black studies departments throughout the country. Any serious historian, sociologist, philosopher, or psychologist (black or white) must be outraged by course titles as, "The Afro-American and the Sociology of American Sports," or "An Introduction to Black Philosophy," or "Psychology in Community Settings." I am surprised you didn't spend more time discussing an improved curricula in your report. I am also surprised that you did not discuss the objectives of black studies courses. Do we not want to train historians, sociologists, with particular fields of expertise who can teach and function in this society? If so why is that not mentioned? Since your report includes as its major recommendation the creation of a school of Black Studies but omits any

-2-

Professor Gundersheiner

June 12, 1970

responsible discussion of curricula, One can agree with Martin Kilson's conclusion that the proposal is "intellectually cheap."

Thank you for writing to me, and I am sorry to have been so harsh. Please let me know how the program develops.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej

P. S. I am enclosing an article by John Hope Franklin that you might find interesting.

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19104

The College

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

30 May 1970

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I enclose documents pertinent to the letter from Martin Kilson, of which you seem to have been sent a copy. I would be grateful - and honored - to have your reactions to the report, which attempts to deal with the three points you make in your preface to the Institute's pamphlet, among others.

Sincerely,

Werner Gundersheimer

The following original page is of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
5 DEARBORN AVENUE  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

Werner Gunder Heister  
Department of History,  
University of Pennsylvania,  
Phila, Penna.

May 17th, 1970

Dear Werner,

I appreciated receiving copy of the University of Pennsylvania Ad Hoc Committee on Black Studies Report.

I was, however, thoroughly dismayed at the shallow and even dishonest arguments used in the Report to dismiss ways of academically organizing black studies at Penn other than the proposed School of Black Studies.

Such a School at the University of Pennsylvania will, as I argued in testimony to your Committee, be a second-class institution, if not worse. It will train black kids who will be distinctly inferior products compared to the other students (who will remain overwhelmingly white!) trained through Penn's regular undergraduate curricular.

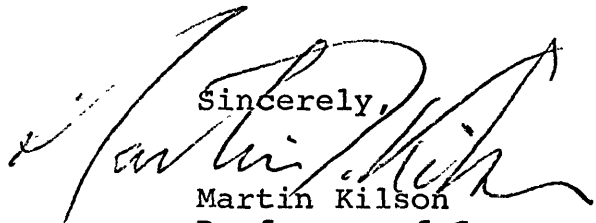
In short, I think the Report and its proposal are intellectually cheap--nay, vulgar--and constitute a cruel ruse played upon Negroes. Your signature to the Report, and that of other members of Committee, disturbs me, for it is evidence perfect that white liberals have not the courage and moral stuff required to solve America's racial problems. I take some hope, nonetheless, in Professors Mundheim's and Schrieffer's minority statement, and if Penn's officials have any sense they

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CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
6 DIVINITY AVENUE  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

(2)

will accept this statement, or something like it, in opposition to the perverted and intellectually pathetic white racism of the majority of Penn's Ad Hoc Committee on Black Studies.

Sincerely,



Martin Kilson  
Professor of Govern-  
ment

cc: Members of Ad  
Hoc Committee  
on Black Studies

Research Associate,  
Center for Inter-  
national Affairs

Provost, University of Pennsylvania  
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director,  
A. Philip Randolph Institute

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.



*UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA*

PHILADELPHIA 19104

*The College*

May 20, 1970

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Professor Martin Kilson  
Professor of Government  
Harvard University  
Center for International Affairs  
6 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Martin:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 17, bringing us your forthright comments in response to the report of the University of Pennsylvania Ad Hoc Committee on Black Studies. I somehow suspected that the results of our work would not elicit a very favorable response from you, but I would have hoped that in addition to your denunciation, you might have taken the trouble to clarify precisely what you take to be "shallow and even dishonest" in the Committee's report.

Clearly, the document represents a compromise among a great number of conflicting points of view, which at many times throughout the year appeared to be totally irreconcilable. Though it does not embody what I consider to be academically optimal conditions for Black Studies, it represents what seems to me to be a viable program, and one that--in view of overwhelming enthusiasm by both black faculty and student members of the Committee--seemed worthy of serious consideration by the University community as a whole. I should add that your contribution to the work of the Committee played an important role in enabling us to introduce into the document what I and other faculty members of the Committee regard as essential safeguards for the academic quality of such a program, should it be introduced.

I might add that I regret your statement that my signature, along with those of other white members of the Committee, constituted evidence that white liberals do not have "the moral stuff necessary to solve America's racial problems." Apart from your failure to take the reactions of a few individuals as symptomatic of an entire segment of the population, I would simply like to say to that that it has always been my feeling with respect to

Professor Martin Kilson  
May 20, 1970

-2-

The issue of black studies that this is a problem on which men of good will may reach significantly different conclusions, and that in a sense the least helpful of all responses is the kind of furious and dogmatic self-righteousness that your letter displays. Moreover, your intemperate, inflammatory and gratuitous charge of "white racism" seems to me to belittle the few unquestionable strengths of your own position. If there is anything hopeful and useful about our report, it is the fact that scholars and students of diverse persuasions, black and white, were able after long discussion (and after studying the broadest possible range of other experiences and points of view) to agree in principle on the general lines of an academically-oriented program in Black Studies for this university. The group included three black professors and four black students. If you would like their names so that you can denounce them separately as black racists, I shall be happy to make them available.

Sincerely,



Werner L. Gundersheimer  
Chairman  
Ad Hoc Committee on Black Studies

WLG:pfh

com

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA  
PHILADELPHIA 19104

pleby  
D. W.

The College

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

June 16, 1970

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
A. Philip Randolph  
Educational Fund  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of June 12, 1970. I have admired your work for many years, and particularly appreciate your taking time to let me have your reaction on my committee's report.

I think I should tell you that I share, to one degree or another, all of the reservations and misgivings that you and Martin Kilson have so eloquently expressed concerning the committee's work. As a teacher of Renaissance History, I have neither a personal expertise nor professional concern with the nascent field of Black Studies. But in the course of my duties as chairman of this committee, a position into which I was somewhat reluctantly drafted, I have tried to be both a good listener and a fast learner. In signing this report, most of the members of my committee, myself included, realized that they were inviting risks that are difficult to calculate precisely. These risks, as you will know, are those of setting up a school characterized by mediocrity, segregation, and destructive or nonsensical ideology. Therefore, we tried to do everything possible within the scope of the document to insure that this school would be devoted to academic excellence, the values of integration, and no particular political or racial philosophy. For example, it was felt that the fact that all undergraduates would be together in the freshman and sophomore years would serve in a variety of ways to prevent segregation, and would also maintain the standards of admission of the university in general. Naturally, the intellectual integrity and academic quality of such a program depend very much on the ability of its initial faculty appointees to resist pressures that are now being

Mr. Bayard Rustin

June 16, 1970  
page 2

felt in all fields. Our report recommends that only people with demonstrated abilities to function in face of such pressures be appointed to the faculty of this school. I can understand, and in fact I myself have, a certain measure of scepticism about whether or not such a program can in fact work in the present state of things. However, I am not prepared to regard it, as my respected colleague Martin Kilson would have me do, as a racist cop-out, nor do I believe it to be intellectually cheap.

You have pointed, quite acutely, to the presence, in our list of courses offered throughout the country in Black Studies, of some that are clearly ridiculous. I can only reply to that that the human limitations of our committee made it impossible for anyone to spend the time analyzing the value of the courses listed. No one has ever doubted that an indiscriminately compiled list, put together for the purposes simply of encompassing information, will contain more and less valuable material. This would be true if one attempted to list courses given nationally in any field of knowledge, or if one attempted to list the titles of doctoral dissertations from two or three universities in a given year. All that I can conclude from this, then, is that there is a great deal of nonsense floating around, and one should try one's best to contribute to the supply as little as possible.

You also cite the committee's avoidance of the issue of the curriculum of the proposed school. The decision not to be specific on this subject was of course deliberate, but I think that the report indicates in general terms the kinds of subjects, and the kinds of intellectual values, that the committee thought important. The section D, on pages 9 and 10 of the report, set forth the reasoning with respect to this decision.

Incidentally, my impression is that there is very little chance that our proposal will be accepted by the governing bodies of the University. In the current financial crisis there is little likelihood that our faculty, which includes many people who have great misgivings about conferring on a program of Black Studies the kind of autonomy we recommend, will stand for the commitment of substantial funds for such a program. Moreover, I suspect that our society of Afro-American students may also repudiate the report, because they are currently embracing a program of Black Nationalism,

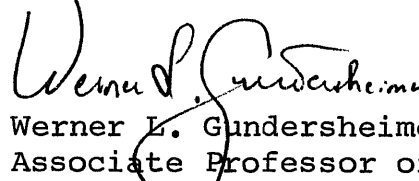
Mr. Bayard Rustin

June 16, 1970  
page 3

stressing the need for a republic of New Africa, and part of their current ideology is that Black Studies should not be contaminated by contact with a white academic institution. Thus, as you can see, we are pretty well pinned down in the crossfire. I do hope, though, that suggestion No. 2 of part G of our report will be accepted in some form, so that this university can begin to give needed attention to areas of the human experience that it has thoughtlessly dismissed over the years.

Warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Werner L. Gundersheimer  
Associate Professor of History

WLG:hh

xc: Professor Martin Kilson  
xc: Provost David R. Goddard

*over*

June 22, 1970

Ralph L. Jackson  
Room #3A-104B  
Bell Telephone Laboratories  
Mountain Avenue  
Murray Hill, New Jersey 07974

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 5th. I'm sorry it has taken me so long to answer it, but I've been out of town since it arrived. Unfortunately, the files for the March on Washington Movement, and the Committee to Protest Discrimination in the Armed Services are not available at this moment. I thought they were with Mr. Randolph's papers, but apparently they are in a different office or library.

I'm sorry I could not be more helpful.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director

BR/ej



**Bell Telephone Laboratories**

Mountain Avenue, Murray Hill, N. J. 07974

Telephone 201-582-3000

June 5, 1970

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN, DIRECTOR  
A. Phillip Randolph Institute  
West 125th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am a Martin Luther King Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Foundation, Princeton, New Jersey. I am presently engaged in a research project concerning the policy of the United States government as it pertains to discrimination in employment practices. I was referred to you by Mr. Richard Clarke of Richard Clarke Associates, Incorporated for any information that you may have on government action against discrimination in employment beginning with the executive order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941 banning discrimination in industries holding government contracts. (I would also appreciate your furnishing me any information that you may have concerning the confrontation between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Randolph.)

Also, please send me any information that you may have concerning Congressional action, action of governmental agencies, court decisions, and other directives concerning the problem of discrimination in employment. Also if you have any information concerning the attitude of labor in their legal action, I should appreciate your sending it to me.

Your information and advice will be greatly appreciated. A prompt reply will also be appreciated. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

*Ralph L. Jackson*

RALPH L. JACKSON  
Room 3A-104B

MH-8412-RLJ-EB

*Om*

Southern Illinois  
University

CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS 62901

*University Archives*

Mr. Bayard Rustin  
Executive Director  
Philip Randolph Institute  
260 Park Avenue South  
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It was very pleasant to meet in the flesh the almost legendary figure from Larry's past. I wish we could have talked a little longer because this University is as interested in your papers as those of a CO as much a civil rights leader.

Do your travels ever bring you to St. Louis? I'd like very much for you to visit our campus. How much are you on the lecture circuit these days?

If I can't get you out here, perhaps I can see you again in New York. Meanwhile, I hope you will keep SIU's interest in mind. If you have any questions I'd be pleased to try to answer them.

Sincerely yours,

*Kenneth W. Duckett*  
Kenneth W. Duckett  
University Archivist

KWD:csa

June 23, 1970



cm.

Dear Bayard,

While you were in  
Morocco we were at the Gilmore's  
Scotland Farm - I thought about  
you and decided to send you  
this thing I wrote a long  
time ago because you gave  
a tried old world That  
good day

Love in the New Year -

Ga. Delano

Eden, D.C.

Remember that day  
That beautiful, beautiful August day  
When with the wand of work and love  
Magically a great city was Eden

Hallelujah!  
Lena Horne was all shook up  
And Martin Luther King, he dreamed -  
He dreamed out loud  
A great big wonderful  
Hanukkah - Christmas package dream  
(a little Zen - Buddhist and Moslem, too)  
in fact a package for the whole wide world.

Hallelujah again!  
The great men spoke  
(And when a man  
Feels with all his heart  
And thinks with all his mind  
And then speaks  
It makes you jump, man -  
And with what a mind and what a heart  
You know it's A. Philip Randolph I mean)

The great ladies sang  
(And Marian Anderson cried  
Stuck in traffic, she was too late  
But on that great day  
Nothing but love was forever  
And she had another chance  
To sing her best song)  
(And when the great Mahalia sang  
We were so revived by love  
We were weak and strong  
At the same time  
And we could understand  
The whole, wide world)

Oh Lord what a day!  
Nobody fighting, nobody killed  
Everybody loving, everybody so polite  
"Excuse me's" "I'm sorry's" everywhere  
As toes were stepped on or elbows jostled

People looked pained, really ashamed  
Because they couldn't find a trash barrel  
For their ice cream papers  
Oh Lord! Oh Lord! what a beautiful day!

The world had never looked so good  
People had never been  
So nice, so happy, so clever, so sure -  
Remember when the start of the march  
Was delayed because one of the leaders  
Was gone astray and  
The people began to move  
Down Constitution Avenue  
And a March worker said  
"Hey wait for the leaders"  
And one of the marchers shouted  
"Leaders, hell the people are ahead of the leaders!"  
And the 'March' went on -  
Hallelujah we were all great that day!

And on that great day far away  
A poet died with this to say  
A poem in prose  
Which only shows  
That great prose is poetry and poetry is power  
And man, don't you forget it:

"I have loved my work  
I have loved people and my play  
But always I have been uplifted by the thought  
That what I have done well will live long  
And justify my life

That what I have done ill or never finished  
Can now be handed on to others  
For endless days to be finished,  
Perhaps better than I could have done,  
And that peace will be my applause

One thing alone I charge you  
As you live and believe in life  
Always human beings will live and progress  
To greater, broader and fuller life.  
The only possible death  
Is to lose belief in this truth  
Simply because the great end comes slowly,  
Because time is long."

Hallelujah! Amen!

People looked pained, really ashamed  
Because they couldn't find a trash barrel  
For their ice cream papers  
Oh Lord! Oh Lord! what a beautiful day!

The world had never looked so good  
People had never been  
So nice, so happy, so clever, so sure -  
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Hallelujah! Amen!

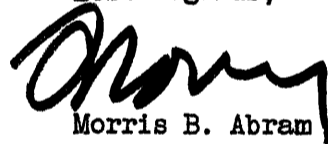
111 West 40th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

On Wednesday, March 18th at 11:00 a.m., in the Jade room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, I will announce my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate.

Many of my friends will be attending, and I very much hope that you can join with us as we open what I feel confident will be a successful campaign.

Best regards,

  
Morris B. Abram

*I need you, Bayard.  
Please to come.*