

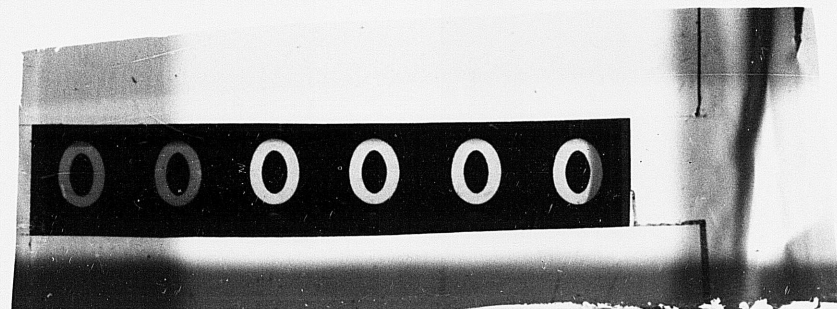
**ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH**

**SUBJECT FILE**

*White House Conference  
Eisenhower  
Correspondence*

*E-S*

*1958-59  
Updated*



March 26, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

If we are to achieve an expanding economy which will enable us to assume our proper role of world leadership in the struggle against communism, we must have a firm farm economy. Urge your approval S. J. Res. 162.

A. Philip Randolph, President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

July 16, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

You no doubt are aware of the great interest expressed by millions of Americans in the June 23 White House Conference at which time you received graciously Messrs. Lester B. Granger, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins and myself.

While our conference was concerned with many problems of great interest to millions of Americans and especially Negro citizens, I would like to quote herewith point number two in our nine point program which was submitted to you at that time:

Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings.

It was the hope of our committee in presenting these proposals that after study and consideration appropriate action in the interest of the general public welfare could be expected from the White House. However, inasmuch as the opening of school for the fall term is less than two months away it becomes increasingly imperative that a White House Conference be convened as an expression of the interest and determination of the Nation's Chief Executive to give to our Country a program which would aid in obtaining a more orderly compliance with our Constitution as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.

I can assure you that I express the hopes of millions of our fellow citizens when I say that such a White House Conference convened at the very earliest possible time would be in the interest of the general welfare and would help in achieving what the United States Supreme Court in the public school desegregation cases meant when it said, "with all deliberate speed."

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

0002

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER  
1st International Vice-President  
3947 Drexel Boulevard  
Chicago 15, Illinois

BENNIE SMITH  
2nd International Vice-President  
1308 Broadway, Room 305  
Detroit, Michigan



Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants

**AN INTERNATIONAL UNION**

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MO 2-5080 - 1



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4th International Vice-President  
11 North Jefferson Street  
St. Louis 3, Missouri

THOMAS PATTERSON  
Eastern Zone Supervisor

August 1, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You no doubt are aware of the great interest expressed by millions of Americans in the June 23 White House Conference at which time you received graciously Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Messrs. Lester B. Granger, Roy Wilkins and myself.

While our conference was concerned with many problems of great interest to millions of Americans, and especially Negro citizens, I would like to quote herewith points one and two in our nine point program which was submitted to you at that time.

"The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with the total resources at his command.

Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings."

In view of the recent victory of Governor Orval Faubus in the democratic primary election in Arkansas, which has dealt a blow to law and order at home and our status as the leader of the free world abroad, both of these points are immensely apropos at this hour.

0003

The President  
Page 2.  
August 1, 1958

We were encouraged by your reaction to the proposal for a White House Conference because in our judgement an urgent and immediate need exists for such a meeting.

In reflecting upon our discussion, it seemed to me that time had not permitted clear and precise definitions. Our proposal envisages a conference not on civil rights questions in general which are to be submitted for debate to a group with widely divergent views; rather, we are urging the convening of a White House Conference on implementing the Supreme Court decision on integrated education.

With such a subject, limited in scope, several things can be achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the civil rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of views. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law, and integration as a principle; or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs, taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be upheld, over those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realizing solutions at the earliest moment.

Such a conference could not conceivably include persons who are determined to thwart and frustrate the law. To invite them to the White House to challenge the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court decision would be politically and socially grotesque. The Chief Executive functions to enforce the laws of the nation. Those who oppose the laws have a constitutional right to express themselves, but they could hardly, in fairness to those the law seeks to protect, be given encouragement and a forum by the White House.

I am enthusiastic about the constructive results such a conference would inevitably yield. I earnestly believe the majority of Americans, white and Negro, after years of debate and tensions, genuinely desire that both justice and social peace be attained. Their honest

0004

The President  
Page 3  
August 1, 1958

conscience will respond warmly to a serious statesman-like quest for plans which accomplish results, eliminate violence and reduce tensions.

As it has often been stated, this is not a Negro problem but an American problem, and the white citizens of the nation surely will at this point welcome the definitive and promising character of a White House meeting.

It is further my considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held at the earliest possible date. I am convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South with the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence.

In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infests many Negro people, who fervently look to their government to take the moral and educational leadership that the situation requires, just as it took the leadership under your firm hand in cleansing the Capitol and the armed forces of our nation of the evil of segregation, for which, you may be assured, citizens of color are deeply grateful.

Needless to say, I greatly appreciate how very busy you are, but I have nevertheless written you at some length since, in the eyes of the world, and in the hearts of millions of Americans, the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American democracy.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

0005

August 1, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

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Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings."

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The President  
Page 2.  
August 1, 1950

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With such a subject, limited in scope, several things can be achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the civil rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of views. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law, and integration as a principle; or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs, taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be upheld, over those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realizing solutions at the earliest moment.

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The President  
Page 3  
August 1, 1958

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It is further my considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held at the earliest possible date. I am convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South with the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence.

In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infects many Negro people, who fervently look to their government to take the moral and educational leadership that the situation requires, just as it took the leadership under your firm hand in cleansing the Capitol and the armed forces of our nation of the evil of segregation, for which, you may be assured, citizens of color are deeply grateful.

Needless to say, I greatly appreciate how very busy you are, but I have nevertheless written you at some length since, in the eyes of the world, and in the hearts of millions of Americans, the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American democracy.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

0008

October 10, 1958

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

With Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas and Governor J. Lindsey Almond, Jr. of Virginia cynically and brazenly gambling with the future of public schools adversely affecting Negro and white children; with a veritable tirade of abuse and denunciation of the United States Supreme Court by prominent southern state officials merely because of its decision for desegregation and integration proceeding apace; with the so-called massive resistance movement of Virginia against federal judicial power growing more menacing, together with demagogic appeals to the passions and prejudices of misinformed southern people, resulting in explosive outbursts of violence in the form of the bombing of schools and the churches and homes of Negro civil rights leaders; with the strange, amazing and incredible behavior of a governor of a state making a national appeal to America for sympathy and financial support for the maintenance of segregation in schools, in utter defiance of the law of the land, and the reckless police brutality against The Reverend Martin Luther King who preaches the doctrine of non-violence and love for one's enemies; a few Negro and white citizens in New York City, shocked and outraged by the aforementioned state of affairs, came together in my office to discuss some form of social action to speak to the conscience of the nation in the interest of upholding the law of the land and the principle of interracial brotherhood, and agreed that some form of massive demonstration should be developed for the dramatization of the cause of integration of public schools.

Since both white and Negro youth are the victims of segregation which is deliberately designed psychologically to condition the former to the belief in their superiority and the latter in their inferiority, which

0009

The President  
October 10, 1958  
Page 2

can only tend to split our population, with a division of a yawning chasm of human hate, it was felt that whatever type of social action is proposed it should be interracial.

Thus, it was decided to stage an interracial Youth March in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1958, with a view to informing, awakening and arousing public opinion to the grave danger of Faubusism and that the specious doctrine of massive resistance and interposition may have in undermining, if not effecting the ultimate destruction of the confidence of the American people in the integrity of the Supreme Court and its role in our governmental system.

Now, it has come to my attention that there is some disquiet in Washington, D. C. regarding the proposed Youth March for Integrated Schools with respect to its purposes, sponsorship and operation.

In order that there may be no confusion in the mind of anyone, may I convey on behalf of the Committee some facts that I am certain will be clarifying and reassuring.

First of all, let me definitively and positively state that the objectives of this March are not directed against you or your administration. It is not to our interest to weaken but to strengthen your hand to uphold the law of the land. This demonstration is wholly non-partisan. You may be assured that I would not permit this March to be utilized to embarrass you or your administration for this would only tend to mar its moral grandeur.

On the contrary, this March is an organized expression of support to your forthright position on the United States Supreme Court decisions for desegregation of public schools which will ultimately help to achieve an orderly transition from segregation to integration, despite efforts of some state government personalities who would defy the President of the United States and repudiate the Constitution.

Its further purpose is to express specifically the attitude of white and Negro people in behalf of the principle of integrated schools and particularly to applaud the achievement of such integration in some schools in certain areas of the South.

It seeks to demonstrate that, contrary to the misrepresentation and attacks by Communist Russia to the effect that Negro and white people are in an irreconcilable racial war in this country, Little Rock is not typical of America and that Negro youth and their parents are not marching down the path to first-class citizenship and human dignity alone but they have many friends among the white population in our country in government, in labor unions, the church and business, as shown by this interracial demonstration.

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The President  
October 10, 1958  
Page 3

It will also indicate that there are responsible organizations that have welcomed the decisions of the Supreme Court and executive steps of yourself and United States Attorney General William P. Rogers in implementing the federal court decisions to complete the process of orderly democratic change.

Let me also assure you that this demonstration is wholly free from the taint of communists or communism since the leadership of this enterprise rejects uncompromisingly any support or cooperation from that source.

May I say that the finest representatives of our community have joined in the active direction of this non-partisan, non-violent effort. Our leadership includes representatives of the church, labor unions and educational groups.

An executive committee has met weekly in my office, under my chairmanship, superintending all details. Also, a children's committee has met weekly under the personal direction of some of the distinguished women of our community.

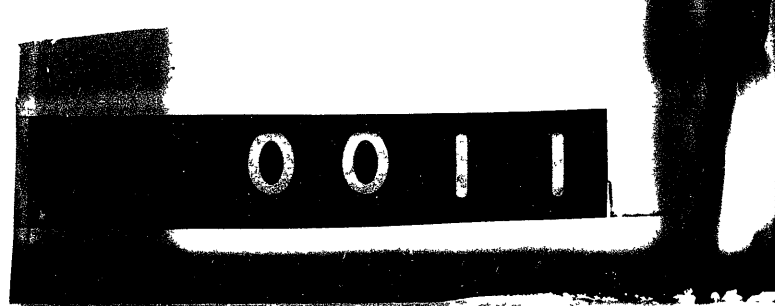
In short, our leadership has not merely given expression to the form and method but has maintained administrative direction so that the character of the March will fully carry out the meaning it is intended to express; namely, democracy in education through integration.

In the opinion of our leadership, this March, symbolic of our true democracy, is an opportunity for registering positive, moral and spiritual achievements and enrichment of our great democratic heritage as well as for redefining our next steps in a great struggle for human dignity and our American way of life.

May we suggest that we would welcome immensely your cooperation in this endeavor by receiving a few of the youth at a convenient place in the White House in order that they may express to you their hopes and aspirations and receive your blessings and inspiration, with a brief statement concerning what your administration has done and is doing to give force, effect, reality and integrity to the great decisions of the United States Supreme Court for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

One of the basic and cardinal purposes of the March is to make it unmistakably clear to the South and other parts of our nation, as well as the world at large, that the Negroes are inflexibly determined never to retreat from the position they have taken for complete integration in public schools and other areas of our national community.

We are confident that your personal greetings to a few of the youth will give them heart, hope and faith for future democratic dedication



The President  
October 10, 1958  
Page 4

and moral commitment in service to our great American family, of which you  
are the respected, honored and distinguished head.

If it may be convenient for you to serve us in the aforementioned  
manner, I will be pleased to get word concerning same.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

0012

LT956)

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing you both to express our thanks for the courtesies shown to us in our conference of Monday, June 21st, and to clarify the discussion around one of our proposals. We were encouraged by your reaction to the proposal for a White House Conference because in our judgment an urgent and immediate need exists for such a meeting.

In reflecting upon our discussion, it seemed to us that time had not permitted clear and precise definitions. Our proposal envisages a conference not on Civil Rights questions in general which are to be submitted for debate to a group with widely divergent views; rather, we are urging the convening of a White House Conference on Implementing the Supreme Court Decision on Integrated Education.

With such a subject, limited in scope, several things are achieved:

First: The development of a program will be facilitated by setting realizable goals. While many other areas of conflict exist and require attention, it is wiser to select one for intensive, serious study to insure substantial progress. Furthermore, the integration of schools has become a crucial and symbolic effort which affects all other aspects of the Civil Rights struggle.

Second: The persons invited are not selected to represent different points of view. Rather, the character of the conference requires that invitees be those who have accepted the Supreme Court decision as law and integration as a principle, or those whose adherence to law and order and respect for the Court are paramount beliefs taking precedence over distaste or personal dislike for the Supreme Court decision. It is particularly important that the character of the conference be established as an assemblage of leaders whose minimum view is that law and order be upheld, over to those whose convictions concerning the Constitution and laws of morality motivate them to realizing solutions at the earliest moment. Such a conference could not conceivably

include persons who are determined to thwart and frustrate the law. To invite them to the White House to challenge the 14th Amendment and the Supreme Court decisions would be politically and socially grotesque. The Chief Executive functions to enforce the laws of the nation. Those who oppose the laws have a constitutional right to express themselves, but they could hardly, in fairness to those the law seeks to protect, be given encouragement and a forum by the White House.

We are enthusiastic about the constructive results such a conference would inevitably yield. We earnestly believe the majority of Americans, white and Negro, after years of debate and tensions, genuinely desire that both justice and social peace be attained. Their honest conscience will respond warmly to a serious statesman-like quest for plans which accomplish results, eliminate violence and reduce tensions. As we have all often stated, this is not a Negro problem but a white problem, and the white citizens of the nation surely will at this point welcome the definitive and promising character of a White House meeting.

It is further our considered view that it is imperative that such a conference be held this summer prior to the opening of the next school term. We are convinced that such a conference will not only reduce tension at the opening of school in September, but it will also provide people of good will in many parts of the South the courage and wisdom to deal creatively with the small minority of local citizens who attempt to create confusion and stir up violence. In addition, such a conference will help us deal with the frustration and bitterness that infests many Negro people, who frankly feel that their government has not taken the moral and educational lead that the situation requires.

Needless to say, we appreciate how very busy you are, but we have nevertheless written you at some length since in the eyes of the world and in the hearts of millions of Americans the problem we have discussed is the barometer of American Democracy.

We hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

/Suggested Signatures/

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Roy Wilkins  
Lester Granger  
A. Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your recent telegram concerning S. J. Res. 162, a bill to stay temporarily any reduction in support of prices or acreage. The President appreciated the expression of your views on this matter.

After giving the most careful attention to all of the factors involved, the President felt that he had no alternative but to withhold his approval of this legislation. A copy of the President's veto message is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely,



Gerald D. Morgan  
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph  
President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
217 West 125th Street  
Suite 301  
New York 27, N. Y.

Enclosure

APR 7 REC'D






THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I thought you might like extra copies  
of the picture taken on June 23.

Sincerely yours,

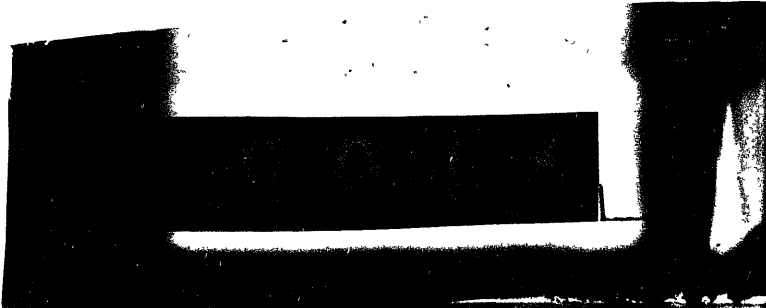


Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph  
International President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
217 W. 125th Street  
New York 27, New York

Enclosures

JUL 9 REC'D



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked that I reply for him to your thoughtful letter of August 1, 1958. In your letter you again urge the importance of the first and second points of the nine-point program that you, Dr. King, Mr. Granger and Mr. Wilkins presented to the President during your conference with him on June twenty-third.

With respect to the first point, the President has been and continues to be firmly of the view expressed by him at his August twentieth press conference. At that time, he issued a statement again emphasizing the duty of all persons to comply with the orders of the Federal courts and his own determination to fulfill the responsibility of the Federal government to secure such compliance.

With respect to the second point, urging a White House conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of obtaining peaceable compliance with the court rulings, the President believes that in view of the cases now pending in the Supreme Court and in the lower Federal courts this is not an appropriate time for the calling of such a conference.

The President wishes to express again his appreciation for your constructive suggestions.

Sincerely yours,



Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph  
International President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
217 West 125th Street  
New York 27, N. Y.

SFP RECD



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Though no written reply was sent to your letter of October 10 in which was requested an appointment with the President to meet some of the marchers, I met, as you know, with Mr. Theodore Brown as well as the Reverend C. Shelby Rooks and Mr. William Bowe. Subsequently, I had several conversations with Mr. Brown about the request.

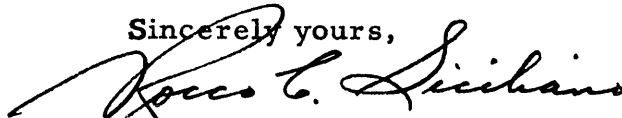
On Friday, the day before the March, I talked with Mr. Brown three times and indicated that unfortunately it would not be possible to arrange an appointment with the President. At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff. As you can appreciate, it was with some surprise that I read in the papers that the group came to the gates of the White House last Saturday afternoon and asked to see the President.

The reports I have indicate that after being told it was not possible for them to see the President, they then pressed to see a White House staff member and my name was mentioned. Needless to say, though I was not in the office at that time, I would have been very happy to meet with the group had I known this was desired. I regret that an impression has been given to the public that these people "were turned away."

I assure you that the statement which was left at that time is being given careful review and consideration.

With best regards,

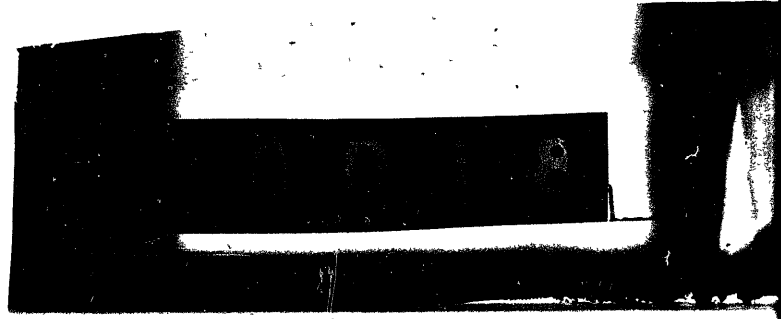
Sincerely yours,



Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph  
International President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
217 West 125th Street  
New York 27, New York

OCT 30 REC'D



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
International President

MILTON P. WEBSTER  
1st International Vice President

BENNIE SMITH  
2nd International Vice-President



ASHLEY L. TOTTEN  
International Secretary-Treasurer

C. L. DELLUMS  
3rd International Vice-President

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**AN INTERNATIONAL UNION**

Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

217 WEST 125th STREET — Room 301

NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

MO 2-5080-1



November 19, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

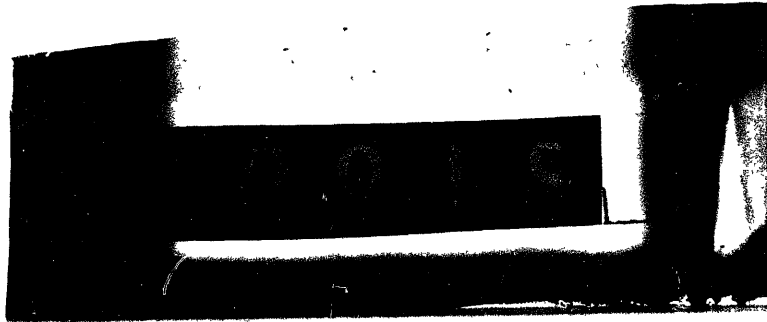
This letter acknowledges receipt of yours of October 29. Needless to say, I was a bit disappointed not to have received some reply from the White House to my letter of October 10, prior to October 25, the date of the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

It is quite true, as you say, that Mr. Theodore Brown did not specifically request an appointment with any Presidential aide. However, it is not clear that Mr. Brown understood that an appointment with the President was completely out of the question. According to Mr. Brown, he was under the impression, even as late as Friday afternoon, October 24, that the President might be willing to receive a delegation of the youth marchers, October 25, at the White House. Beyond this, I was inclined to assume that the White House would have initiated some dignified and proper reception of the delegates by one of the aides to the President if he was unable to receive them.

Now, I note that you state: "At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff."

While no explicit request was made to have the youth delegation meet a member of the President's staff, I am sure Mr. Brown and myself assumed that this request was implicit in our efforts to have the youth delegation received at the White House.

There were three reasons for the aforementioned assumptions:



- (1) The March was composed of over ten thousand young people from the North and the South. They represented some of the major trade unions, colleges, church and civic organizations of our nation.
- (2) The young people sought to express to the nation and to the world that "Little Rock is not America." The delegation's being received at the White House would, undoubtedly, have reinforced this fact. Their not having been received, though there was no specific commitment for same, has scarcely been positively interpreted.
- (3) Throughout the educational campaign of the March I, as the chief spokesman for the Committee, had attempted to make it clear, both privately and in the press, that we did not seek to embarrass either the President or his administration but, rather, repeatedly indicated that we sought to "strengthen the President's hands" for the most positive and forthright action in enforcement of the Supreme Court's decisions on desegregation and integration as the law of the land. My letter to the President, dated October 10, was, in part, designed to make this position crystal clear. I am sure you will agree that I went on at some length in that letter commenting on the question of the purpose of the March so there might be no misunderstanding, precisely because I was determined that the March, coming as it did so close to the date of elections, should not be used in any partisan political manner. The fact that a number of leaders felt that I leaned over backwards in this direction made the peremptory manner of reception, or lack of reception, all the more embarrassing and painful.

For these, among other reasons, I felt assured that if representatives of the March called at the White House their petition and statement would be welcome and they themselves received in a friendly manner by some responsible member of the President's staff.

I have attempted in the above paragraphs to set the record, as I see it, straight. However, the final purpose of this letter is to propose that the President give consideration to receiving the same delegation of youth, constituting ten young people, five white and five colored, coming from colleges in the South and North, at some convenient time. You may be sure that the youth will greatly appreciate this manifestation of concern by the President in their views on the grave problem of integrated schools.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President



November 19, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

This letter acknowledges receipt of yours of October 29. Needless to say, I was a bit disappointed not to have received some reply from the White House to my letter of October 10, prior to October 25, the date of the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

It is quite true, as you say, that Mr. Theodore Brown did not specifically request an appointment with any Presidential aide. However, it is not clear that Mr. Brown understood that an appointment with the President was completely out of the question. According to Mr. Brown, he was under the impression, even as late as Friday afternoon, October 24, that the President might be willing to receive a delegation of the youth marchers, October 25, at the White House. Beyond this, I was inclined to assume that the White House would have initiated some dignified and proper reception of the delegates by one of the aides to the President if he was unable to receive them.

Now, I note that you state: "At no time was it indicated that the group might wish to meet with myself or other members of the White House staff."

While no explicit request was made to have the youth delegation meet a member of the President's staff, I am sure Mr. Brown and myself assumed that this request was implicit in our efforts to have the youth delegation received at the White House.

There were three reasons for the aforementioned assumptions:

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- (1) The March was composed of over ten thousand young people from the North and the South. They represented some of the major trade unions, colleges, church and civic organizations of our nation.
- (2) The young people sought to express to the nation and to the world that "Little Rock is not America." The delegation's being received at the White House would, undoubtedly, have reinforced this fact. Their not having been received, though there was no specific commitment for same, has scarcely been positively interpreted.
- (3) Throughout the educational campaign of the March I, as the chief spokesman for the Committee, had attempted to make it clear, both privately and in the press, that we did not seek to embarrass either the President or his administration but, rather, repeatedly indicated that we sought to "strengthen the President's hands" for the most positive and forthright action in enforcement of the Supreme Court's decisions on desegregation and integration as the law of the land. My letter to the President, dated October 10, was, in part, designed to make this position crystal clear. I am sure you will agree that I went on at some length in that letter commenting on the question of the purpose of the March so there might be no misunderstanding, precisely because I was determined that the March, coming as it did so close to the date of elections, should not be used in any partisan political manner. The fact that a number of leaders felt that I leaned over backwards in this direction made the peremptory manner of reception, or lack of reception, all the more embarrassing and painful.

For these, among other reasons, I felt assured that if representatives of the March called at the White House their petition and statement would be welcome and they themselves received in a friendly manner by some responsible member of the President's staff.

I have attempted in the above paragraphs to set the record, as I see it, straight. However, the final purpose of this letter is to propose that the President give consideration to receiving the same delegation of youth, constituting ten young people, five white and five colored, coming from colleges in the South and North, at some convenient time. You may be sure that the youth will greatly appreciate this manifestation of concern by the President in their views on the grave problem of integrated schools.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 19 regarding your understanding of the situation surrounding the Youth March for Integrated Schools last October 25.

As I indicated in my letter of October 29, my purpose in writing was to explain the factual situation in view of the unfavorable publicity given. In my letter I attempted to point out my impressions of the conversations had with Mr. Theodore Brown and my understanding of my last conversation with him on Friday afternoon, October 24, in which it was confirmed that a meeting with the President would not be possible.

Following your explanation of the events surrounding the Youth March, you conclude your letter with the indication that this whole matter might now be cleared up if the President were able to see the same delegation of young people who came to the White House gates that Saturday afternoon. I regret to advise you that such a meeting will not be possible. The President, however, has had the benefit of the statement that was left for him, and asked me to thank your group for it.

Sincerely yours,



Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph  
International President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
217 West 125th Street - Room 301  
New York 27, New York

DEC

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December 5, 1958

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Siciliano:

Thank you for your letter of November 28, 1958  
informing me that the President will not be able to  
meet with the youth delegation from the Youth March for  
Integrated Schools.

I note that the statement of the youth  
delegation has come to the attention of the President.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

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*Ferrol Bobo Starks*  
*1466 West 50th Street*  
*Los Angeles 62, California*

July 16, 1958

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph  
c/o The Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters  
The Pullman Company  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Through an item in Jet Magazine, I see that a Delegation met with the President recently which delegation was composed entirely of men.

I want to know whether the omission of any women from this Delegation was due to the wishes of the Committee, or the edict of the White House, or was it that the business at hand pertained exclusively to men?

This letter is being addressed to you as I have been informed that you headed the Delegation.

Your courtesy in giving a prompt reply to these questions will be most appreciated.

Very truly yours,

*Mrs. Ferrol B. Starks*

(Mrs.) Ferrol Bobo Starks

Member Executive National Board,  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN  
President, Los Angeles Council,  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN  
Associate Director, Pacific Region, ZETA PHI BETA Sorority

JUL 17 1958

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August 19, 1958

Mrs. Ferrol Bobo Starks  
1466 West 50th Street  
Los Angeles 62, California

Dear Mrs. Starks:

Thank you for your letter of July 16, 1958 in which you inquire whether the omission of a woman from the delegation of Negro citizens who met with President Eisenhower on June 23, was due to the wishes of the committee, or the edict of the White House, or was it that the business at hand pertained exclusively to men.

May I say that the committee, composed of Messrs. King, Wilkins, Granger and myself, had nothing to do with the composition of the committee. This was handled by the President and his advisors at the White House. None of the members of the committee knew that he would be a part of the committee until he was so advised by the White House.

Personally, I would certainly have recommended that a woman be placed on the committee. In fact, the records will show that the conferences I attempted to arrange with the President at the White House always included the name of a woman. I keenly regret that a colored woman was not a member of our committee.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph  
International President

APR/b

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A Statement  
to the  
President  
of the  
United States

*Issued by:*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
20 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

0027

## *A Statement to the President of the United States\**

The process of peaceful advancement toward equality of citizenship for all Americans has reached a critical turn.

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect unfavorably all American society. Frequently tension is an inherent element of basic social change. Thus it is not a matter of choice between an unjust status quo with social peace, and integration with tension. The nation can adopt forthrightly a bold program which moves through tension to a democratic solution; or it can depend upon evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension, but which in reality lead the entire society toward economic, social and moral frustration.

Years of educational, legislative and legal effort to bring the status of Negro Americans in line with the guarantees of the Constitution have led, inevitably, to the determination by our highest court that enforced racial segregation and its attendant discrimination in publicly-owned facilities is morally and legally indefensible.

At every intermediate stop along the way to this conclusion bitter opposition was encountered, but justice and common sense have heretofore prevailed; the unity of the nation has been strengthened; its moral fibre has been renewed.

Today, however, the last-ditch resistance to the application of principles long since accepted by most of the nation has assumed a significance beyond the question of racial justice, important as that is. The welfare of the whole country is involved in the issues with which this presentment is concerned.

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\*Delivered to President Eisenhower in person at a White House Conference in Washington, D. C., June 23, 1958.

Presently there is manifest a pattern of calloused disrespect for law. Moral values have been corrupted. Mob violence has emerged as an instrument to maintain the status quo.

The basic constitutional freedoms of speech, association, assembly and redress of grievances, vital to all Americans, have been perverted, abridged or denied through arbitrary practices or cynical legislation in the states.

State and local office holders of high and low station and national legislators, all sworn to uphold the Constitution, have incited to disobedience of the law and have campaigned nationally for support for their position. In community after community, fear of reprisals or of scorn has reduced to a whisper the reproach a moral people should feel for immoral behavior.

It is no secret that the foreign relations program of our nation has been hampered and damaged by the discriminatory treatment accorded citizens within the United States, solely on the basis of their race and color. In our world-wide struggle to strengthen the free world against the spread of totalitarianism, we are sabotaged by the totalitarian practices forced upon millions of our Negro citizens.

These citizens have exhibited unparalleled patience in the face of decades of proscription and persecution. They have placed unfaltering trust in the guarantees of the Constitution and in the orderly processes of the courts. Today they are frustrated and angry. In their resentment and despair, an increasing number of them is questioning whether their forbearance and respect for orderly procedure are rewarding.

The decision of Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley reversing school integration in Little Rock and postponing further effort until 1961 has shocked and out-

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raged Negro citizens and millions of their fellow Americans. This opinion is being construed, rightly or wrongly, as a green light to lawless elements in their defiance of federal authority.

We have come to this pass largely because we have not recognized that adjustments of the magnitude called for in this vast social change cannot be undertaken effectively without planned effort of similar magnitude. We cannot combat pneumonia by prescribing an occasional tablet of aspirin and a goblet of goodwill.

Just as our Government has moved with pace and imagination to meet the revolution of rising expectations in other parts of the world, so it is essential that similar imagination and intelligence—and courage—be shown by our Government in meeting the results of the revolution of rising expectations at home.

This is not to say that measures taken by this Administration up to now have been without value. The nation was immeasurably strengthened in its understanding of the gravity of the constitutional issues by the action taken at Little Rock last September to uphold the sanctity of the orders of federal courts. The Chief Executive's personal support of efforts to eliminate segregation in the armed services and on service installations has been beneficial, although pockets still remain which should be wiped out. The enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, with the active support of the Administration, was a significant advance.

Valuable as these and other measures have been, they have not as yet clearly provided a planned and integral approach to the multitude of tough problems which must be solved along the way. It is in the hope that these essential objectives may thereby be promoted that we suggest and urge the adoption of the following program:

1. *The President of the United States should declare in a nationwide pronouncement, prior to September, that the law will be vigorously upheld with the total resources at his command.*
2. *Much emphasis has been laid on the need for restoring communication between white and colored Southerners who are troubled by a*

*common fear of reaction. The President can well set the example in this matter by convoking a White House Conference of constructive leadership to discuss ways and means of complying peaceably with the Court's rulings.*

3. *Information, resources and advice of the appropriate government agencies addressed to the problems of integration should be made available to all officials and community groups seeking to work out a program of education and action.*
4. *The President should request both parties to lay aside partisanship so that the Congress can enact a civil rights bill which will include Part III, originally in the 1957 bill, in order that constitutional rights other than voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. Lack of adequate and clear statutory authority has made the Federal Government a mere spectator in the disgraceful maneuverings at Little Rock.*
5. *We urge the President to direct the Department of Justice to give all legal assistance possible under the law, including the filing of a brief as a friend of the court and appearance of counsel, in the appeal from the Lemley decision in the Little Rock case.*
6. *The President of the United States should direct the Department of Justice to act now to protect the right of citizens to register and vote. In the nine months since the enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, overt acts have been committed against prospective Negro registrants in some areas and numerous complaints have been submitted to the Department, but, to date, not a single case has reached a court of law. Unless immediate action is undertaken, thousands of Negro citizens will be denied the right to cast a ballot in the 1958 elections.*
7. *The President should direct the Department of Justice to act under existing statutes in the wave of bombings of churches, synagogues, homes and community centers; also in the*

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*murderous brutality directed against Negro citizens in Dawson, Georgia, and other communities.*

8. *In order to counteract the deliberate hamstringing of the new Civil Rights Commission, the President should recommend to the Congress the extension of its life for at least a full year beyond its present expiration date.*
9. *The President should make it clear, both in statement and in act, that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to underwrite segregation in violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, housing, or any other grants-in-aid to state and local governments. In support of national policy, the Federal Government should finance continuation of public schools where state funds are withdrawn because of integration.*

In addition to the enumerations above, Negro citizens are deeply concerned over the efforts to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, particularly the restrictions proposed in H.R. 3, a bill, which is both anti-civil rights and anti-labor.

Widespread discrimination against Negroes in employment persists in industry, business and government

and has been underscored by the general rise in unemployment. The problem is highlighted by repeated failures of efforts to enact national fair employment legislation and by the demonstrated ineffectiveness of administrative directives.

The need continues for vigorous enforcement of the Federal policy of non-discrimination in government employment. The national government can set an example by removing the barriers which have limited the employment of Negro citizens in all U.S. installations abroad, including the foreign service.

These recommendations are made in the belief that tensions between citizens in our country, and the anxieties of citizens themselves, will be eased and eventually erased if a clear national policy and a program of implementation are established by the Chief Executive of the nation.

**A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH**  
(President, Brotherhood of Sleeping  
Car Porters and Vice President, AFL-CIO)

**LESTER B. GRANGER**  
(Executive Director, National Urban League)

**REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING**  
(President, Southern Leadership Conference)

**ROY WILKINS**  
(Executive Secretary, National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People)

A STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The process of peaceful advancement toward equality of citizenship for all Americans has reached a critical turn.

New economic and cultural forces in our nation's life are changing the pattern of Negro-white relations. Any effort to impede this process will affect unfavorably all American society. Frequently tension is an inherent element of basic social change. Thus it is not a matter of choice between an unjust *status quo* with social peace, and integration with tension. The nation can adopt forthrightly a bold program which moves through tension to a democratic solution; or it can depend upon evasion and compromise which purport to avoid tension, but which in reality lead the entire society toward economic, social and moral frustration.

Years of educational, legislative and legal effort to bring the status of Negro Americans in line with the guarantees of the Constitution have led, inevitably, to the determination by our highest court that enforced racial segregation and its attendant discrimination in publicly-owned facilities is morally and legally indefensible.

At every intermediate stop along the way to this conclusion bitter opposition was encountered, but justice and common sense have heretofore prevailed; the unity of the nation has been strengthened; its moral fibre has been renewed.

Today, however, the last-ditch resistance to the application of principles long since accepted by most of the nation has assumed a significance beyond the question of racial justice, important as that is. The welfare of the whole country is involved in the issues with which this presentment is concerned.

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State and local office holders of high and low station and national legislators, all sworn to uphold the Constitution, have incited to disobedience of the law and have campaigned nationally for support for their position. In community after community, fear of reprisals or of scorn has reduced to a whisper the reproach a moral people should feel for immoral behavior.

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Just as our government has moved with pace and imagination to meet the revolution of rising expectations in other parts of the world, so it is essential that similar imagination and intelligence -- and courage -- be shown by our government in meeting the results of the revolution of rising expectations at home.

This is not to say that measures taken by this Administration up to now have been without value. The nation was immeasurably strengthened in its understanding of the gravity of the constitutional issues by the action taken at Little Rock last September to uphold the sanctity of the orders of Federal courts. The Chief Executive's personal support of efforts to eliminate segregation in the armed services and on service installations has been beneficial, although pockets still remain which should be wiped out. The enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act with the active support of the Administration was a significant advance.

Valuable as these and other measures have been, they have not as yet clearly provided a planned and integral approach to the multitude of tough problems which must be solved along the way. It is in the hope that these essential objectives may thereby be promoted that we suggest and urge the adoption of the following program:

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3. Information, resources and advice of the appropriate government agencies, addressed to the problems of integration, should be made available to all officials and community groups seeking to work out a program of education and action.
4. The President should request both parties to lay aside partisanship so that the Congress can enact a civil rights bill which will include Part III originally in the 1957 bill, in order that constitutional rights other than voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. Lack of adequate and clear statutory authority has made the Federal Government a mere spectator in the disgraceful maneuverings at Little Rock.
5. We urge the President to direct the Department of Justice to give all legal assistance possible under the law, including the filing of a brief as a friend of the court and appearance of counsel, in the appeal from the Lemley decision in the Little Rock case.
6. The President of the United States should direct the Department of Justice to act now to protect the right of citizens to register and vote. In the nine months since the enactment of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, overt acts have been committed against prospective Negro registrants in some areas and numerous complaints have been submitted to the Department, but, to date, not a single case has reached a court of law. Unless immediate action is undertaken, thousands of Negro citizens will be denied the right to cast a ballot in the 1958 elections.
7. The President should direct the Department of Justice to act under existing statutes in the wave of bombings of churches, synagogues, homes and community centers; also in the murderous brutality directed against Negro citizens in Dawson, Georgia, and other communities.
8. In order to counteract the deliberate hamstringing of the new Civil Rights Commission, the President should recommend to the Congress the extension of its life for at least a full year beyond its present expiration date.
9. The President should make it clear both in statement and in act that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to underwrite segregation in violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, housing, or any other grants-in-aid to state and local governments. In support of national policy, the Federal Government should finance continuation of public schools where state funds are withdrawn because of integration.

In addition to the enumerations above, Negro citizens are deeply concerned over the efforts to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, particularly the restrictions proposed in H.R. 3, a bill which is both anti-civil rights and anti-labor.

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A. Philip Randolph

Lester B. Granger

Reverend Martin Luther King

Roy Wilkins

June 23, 1958

0034

July 9, 1958

Reverend Martin Luther King  
309 South Jackson  
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Martin:

Of course you are familiar with the enclosed statement, drawn up by our mutual friend, to be submitted to the President by the four members of the committee who met with him in the White House, June 23rd.

I strongly believe that we need to get together to discuss the next step which, in my opinion, should press for the President calling a White House conference on integration of schools. I believe we may be able to do this since he expressed no strong opposition to it.

In addition to this, I think it would be well if the four members of the committee, if convenient, hold a sort of panel forum in Harlem or some convenient city, and tell the public the whole story of the conference, with permission for questions from the floor following a brief statement by each member of the committee. I think this will give the public a clearer understanding of the value of the conference and help to dissipate much of the pessimism and cynicism being expressed through the Negro press about the conference.

May I know your reactions to these suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Enclosure

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Washington, D. C.  
June 23, 1958

TO : The Rev. Martin L. King, Mr. Roy Wilkins, Mr. Lester Granger.

FROM: A. Philip Randolph

RE : White Conference with President Eisenhower, June 23, 1958,  
10:45 A.M.

It would seem that we should take the opportunity, in view of the participation in the conference of Attorney General William Rogers, to not only include areas for action by the President, but also areas vitally affecting the welfare of the nation, and particularly the American Negro, by expressing proposals needing immediate attention and action by the Attorney General. Accordingly, the following twelve points are recommended:

1. That he deplore and condemn attacks upon the Supreme Court and attempts to curb, limit and reduce its jurisdiction and that of other federal courts.

Since our system of government is one of law—constitutional law—the attacks on the Supreme Court and other federal courts and their decisions interpreting the Federal Constitution are subversive in the true sense of the word and tend to undermine the very foundation of our governmental system.

2. That he instruct and direct the Attorney General to enforce vigorously all the federal statutes in existence, including the ones sup-

0036

From: A. Philip Randolph  
June 23, 1958  
Page Two

posedly implemented by the so-called Civil Rights Law of 1957.

3. That he request both parties to lay aside partisanship and immediately restore Part III originally in the civil rights bill of 1957 in order that other constitutional rights other than so-called voting rights may be enforced by the United States Attorney General. This would include the federal right to go to an unsegregated school, parks, libraries, swimming pools, railroad stations, etc.

Since hearings are being had or have been had before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, this should be the first order of business and this could be passed—Part III—before the adjournment of Congress.

4. That he make clear by a new and definite statement that he will enforce, with troops if necessary, the judgments and decrees of the federal courts—in order that there be no misunderstanding as to the effectiveness of federal court judgments.

5. That he call upon all the governors, mayors, state, county and municipal officials of every kind in every state to obey and respect the federal constitution, and also to obey the judgments and orders of the federal courts.

This is necessary in order to restore the respect for law which is imperative if we are to live under a government of law.

That he call all the governors together for the purpose of securing their cooperation and that of each one in each state—a pledge from each governor that he will enforce the federal constitution of his state.

That he address a letter to each member of every state legisla-

0037

From: A. Philip Randolph  
June 23, 1958  
Page Three

ture, every county board of commissioners, and important city councils asking them to uphold the law of the land—the Federal Constitution and the judgments and orders of the federal courts.

This is an area in which he can use his moral influence and the influence of the high office.

These actions will make plain and certain our country's attitude toward racism and unlawful acts designed to thwart the Constitution and deny American citizens their federal constitutional rights.

These acts will strengthen his hand in foreign affairs against communists who justify their acts of violence in Russia and in the satellite states by showing everywhere in the world violence against Negroes in the United States and the denial of their admitted Supreme Court declared Constitutional rights.

Acts such as above would support supremacy of federal law rather than permit white supremacy advocates to run riot against the Constitution.

6. That he request the Congress in a special message to enact a Fair Employment Practices Act, acts against discrimination on interstate carriers, including buses, ships, airplanes, and all means of conveyances, and that these acts include sanctions and penalties to assure their effectiveness.

7. That all segregation in the armed forces be abolished completely everywhere—including especially any such segregation on governmental reservations and areas no matter where located—hospitals, schools, etc.

0038

From: A. Philip Randolph  
June 23, 1958  
Page Four

8. That he make it clear both in statement and in act and administrative deed that he believes in the principle that federal money should not be used to promote and aid segregation and the violation of the federal constitutional rights of millions of Negro citizens; and that this principle should be applied whether in matters of federal aid to education, hospitals, and all other grants in aid to state and local governments.

9. That he use the full power and prestige of his office to influence forthwith Senate confirmation of Mr. William White as an Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice. The nomination of Mr. White has been pending, but due to the inaction of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Eastland in cooperation with some Democrat and Republican members of the committee, the important work for the new section dealing with civil rights matters in the Department of Justice has been bottlenecked by the failure to confirm the appointment of Mr. White.

10. That he create forthwith a National Commission on Discrimination in Housing, composed of distinguished leaders of civil rights, religious, business, labor and government, to make an exhaustive study, with recommendation to the President on the effect upon the public welfare of segregation and discrimination in housing throughout the nation, both public and private.

The effects of racial discrimination in housing and its effect upon Negroes' inability to achieve equality of participation in employment and educational facilities as set forth by the Supreme Court decision

0039



From: A. Philip Randolph  
June 23, 1958  
Page Five

can only be assured by a national policy based on federal administrative and legislative action.

11. That the continued flagrant discriminatory practices by the State Department and U. S. Foreign Service in its employment and personnel practices be investigated forthwith, under the President's supervision, to eliminate gross discrimination against American Negro citizens. That the Foreign Service Act which virtually gives the State Department unlimited authority in pursuing its employment practices and personnel policies, has aided and abetted that Department's desire to greatly limit and in many areas exclude, qualified Negroes from State Department positions here at home and the Foreign Service abroad.

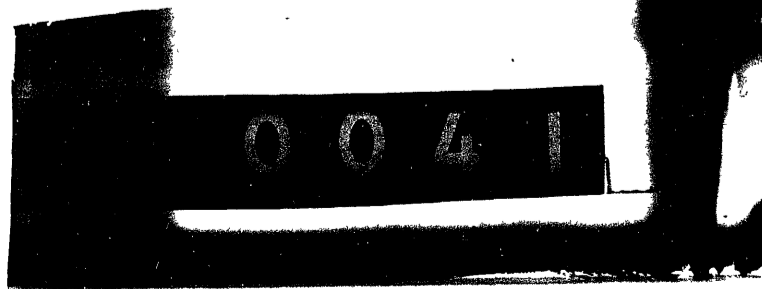
That he appoint and integrate Negro citizens to the various Presidential appointive positions in the Foreign Service so that the various ambassadors and counsels positions throughout the world will be open to all citizens without regard to race or color.

12. That he break the racial iron curtain against the appointment of Negroes to the federal district court benches. In the history of this nation, there has never been a Negro appointment to the federal district court bench in any of the districts in any of the 48 states. Since these courts are federal courts of original jurisdiction with the power of the judge to impanel grand juries and to preside over cases before petty jurors, it is a national shame that Negroes who serve with distinction on many state, county and local courts are barred solely because of color from the important federal district court benches.

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From: A. Philip Randolph  
June 23, 1958  
Page Six

13. That he appoint a Negro as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court bench at such time as a vacancy exists and distinguished lawyers and jurists are being given consideration to fill the vacancy. In the history of the United States Supreme Court it is glaringly noticeable that no American Negro has ever been appointed to the nation's highest judicial court.



February 17, 1959

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower,  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On April 18th, many thousands of Negro and white young people will assemble in Washington to express their commitment to the achievement of integrated schools.

In the months prior to the 18th, the young people will be gathering petitions through their churches, unions, social agencies, and civic organizations. The signers will comprise a true cross section of America because the distinguished Chairmen of our committee, as well as Mr. George Meany, have joined in inviting the people of their own organizations to subscribe to the important principles we support.

In the American tradition, these young people wish to present their petition to their government. In the exercise of this citizenship activity they are eager to have a representative delegation meet with you.

We are writing at this time to ensure that this deeply desired meeting our sincere young people seek may be definitely arranged. Unfortunately, last year certain misunderstandings resulted in a situation we all regretted. At that time, I told the young people who were deeply grieved at not being able to see their President that in light of the positive steps you and your administration had taken, I had every confidence that if we requested an engagement early enough you would undoubtedly make arrangements to receive them in 1959.

I would like to reiterate that this assembly is non-partisan and is directed at no one except recalcitrant elements hindering orderly progress in the enforcement of law.

May I hear from you so that a report on arrangements can be made to our chairmen and to the full committee.

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I recall the meeting with you last summer and publicly stated the positive impression it left with me. It was on the basis of these impressions that I have always felt certain the dedicated young people would find a welcome at the White House.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

CC: Rocco Siciliano

0043

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

**QTH 3-4 BOOK OF 2 NIGHT LETTER CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= FEB 2**  
**= NON DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER=**  
**: THE WHITE HOUSE=**  
**: WASHINGTON D.C.= :**  
**= ATTORNEY GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL JR.**  
**DEPT. OF JUSTICE :**  
**= WASHINGTON D.C.=**

PERMIT ME TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A GRAVE CONDITION INVOLVING THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM AGAINST A NEGRO LEADER OF LABOR AND A MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN THE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

0044

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PERSON OF MR EDWARD NIXON 647 CLINTON AVE MONTGOMERY ALA  
AND REV M.L. KING OBVIOUSLY BECAUSE OF THEIR LEADERSHIP  
IN A BOYCOTT BY NEGRO CITIZENS OF BUS LINES THAT PRACTICE  
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CITIZENS BECAUSE OF RACE AND COLOR  
IN MONTGOMERY ALABAMA. THE HOMES OF THE AFOREMENTIONED  
LEADERS HAVE BEEN BOMBED THE FORMER MR NIXON'S ONLY LAST  
NIGHT FEBRUARY FIRST= FORTUNATELY WITHOUT DEATH OF ANYONE  
OR GREAT DAMAGE TO THE HOME= SINCE THESE MEN AND THEIR  
COWORKERS ARE ONLY EXERCISING THEIR GOD-GIVEN AND  
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO REFUSE TO RIDE ON BUSES AND TO  
PERSUADE THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS TO DO LIKEWISE IN ORDER TO  
AVOID INSULT STIGMA AND SHAME OF JIM CROW; CIVIC ACTIVITIES

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

**SYMBOLS**

DL=Day Letter

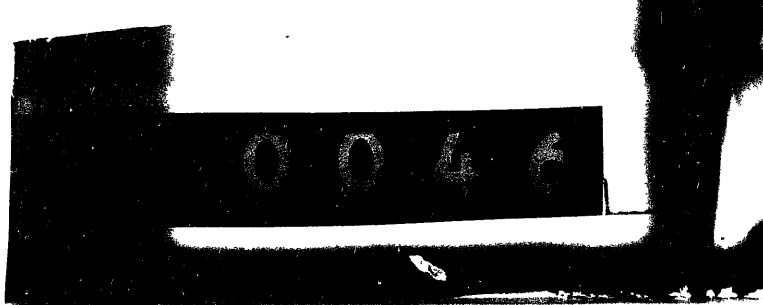
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THAT ARE A PART OF THE AGE OLD TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY THEIR PERSON AND HOMES AND FAMILIES ARE ENTITLED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE LAW ENFORCING AGENCIES OF THEIR COMMUNITIES AND STATE= FAILING TO RECEIVE SAFEGUARD FROM THEIR LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS SINCE THEY ARE CITIZENS OF BOTH STATE AND FEDERAL COMMUNITY THEY CAN ONLY LOOK TO THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES OF OUR NATION= I THEREFORE EARNESTLY AND URGENTLY CALL UPON YOU TO USE YOUR GREAT AND GOOD OFFICE TO SEE TO IT THAT NEGRO LEADERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS GET PROTECTION IN THE LAWFUL EXERCISE OF THEIR RIGHT TO BOYCOTT AN AGENCY OF TRANSPORTATION WHICH OFFERS INSULT TO THE DIGNITY OF THEIR PERSONLITIES= MAY I URGE YOU TO

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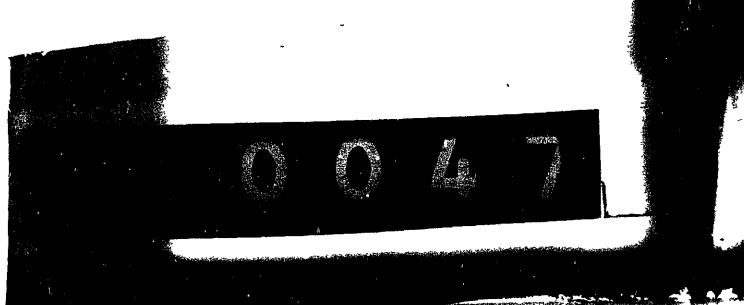
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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HAVE THIS CONDITION INVESTIGATED IMMEDIATELY TO PREVENT FURTHER VIOLATIONS BLOODSHED AND POSSIBLY DEATH. I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU ABHOR THIS OUTRAGEOUS AND SHOCKING EXHIBITION OF LAWLESSNESS AND INHUMANITY AND THAT YOU WILL TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO STOP IT IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE AND CHRISTIANITY AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE GOOD NAME OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR DEMOCRACY.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT  
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

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**KNY 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= NIGHT LETTER = OCT 29=  
THE PRESIDENT=  
THE WHITE HOUSE=  
WASHINGTON D.C.=**

**ACCORDING TO REPORT IN THE NEW YORK POST OCTOBER 29=  
= JESSE WOODS NEGRO FARM LABORER WAS APPARENTLY KIDNAPPED  
FROM JAIL CELL MIDNIGHT SUNDAY OCTOBER 28 WITH NO CLUE  
TO HIS PRESENT WHEREABOUTS= THERE IS GRAVE FEAR OF  
LYNCHING= REPORTS INDICATE TERRIFIC STRUGGLE IN JAIL AND  
BLOODSTAINS DISCOVERED INDICATE MOB ACTION= SINCE  
IMMEDIATE ACTION BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS BEEN**

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0048

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TAKEN ON KIDNAPPING CASES ABOVE MASON-DIXON LINE WITHIN  
24 HOURS OF THE KIDNAPPING WISH EARNESTLY TO REQUEST  
AND URGE THAT YOU USE YOUR GREAT OFFICES TO SECURE  
IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AND DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN INVESTIGATING THIS SHOCKING  
AND MONSTROUS OUTRAGE AGAINST HUMAN DECENCY AND JUSTICE=  
I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL EMPLOY EVERY FACILITY OF THE  
LAW AT YOUR DISPOSAL TO BRING THESE CULPRITS TO JUSTICE  
FOR SUCH UNLAWFUL RACIAL TERRORISM IS NOT ONLY INTOLERABLE  
AND WRONG BUT INCREASINGLY ADDS TO THE PROBLEM OF OUR  
COUNTRY IN WINNING THE CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT OF THE  
PEOPLES OF COLOR OF THE WORLD IN OUR DEMOCRATIC WAY OF

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0049