

June 12, 1965

The Editor,  
Newsweek,  
444 Madison Avenue,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your reviewer ( June 9) kindly calls my Who Speaks for the Negro "important" as a "gallery of leaders of the civil rights movement," but he finds my own attitude "disappointing." He calls me a "moderate whose basic attitude is still paternalistic." The word moderate is, of course, fuzzy, but as a term of condemnation it is usually taken to mean a person who disapproves of violence, professes friendship for the Negro, and looks more or less yearningly to the Sweet Bye-and-Bye when the Negro will be ready for "equality," but who, meanwhile, believes that the white man must keep his hands firmly on the machinery of power.

That is not my view. As for "paternalism," I flatly say (p. 408) that "power is the key," and that the Negro has developed a concentration of power and a technique for applying it which will win his rights. I say (p. 443) that "the age of philanthropy is over, and it would be a vicious illusion for the white man to think that he ... can reach a solution and pass it down to gratefully uplifted black hands." As for the ethical aspect of the question, I say (p. 410) that by the white man's own professed standards "the Negro is in the right." As for the time factor, I insist over and over that the matter is urgent and cannot be shelved.

It would seem that your reviewer did not read the pages and passages I refer to. In fact, in view of his distortions and plain errors ( documentation on request), one may wonder exactly what pages he did read.

Respectfully yours,

Robert Penn Warren

Your reviewer ( June 7 ) kindly calls my WHO SPEAKS FOR THE NEGRO

"important" as a "gallery of leaders of the civil rights movement," but

he finds my own attitude "disappointing." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>of</sup>

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He calls me a "moderate whose basic attitude is still  
word

paternalistic." The ~~term~~ moderate is, of course, a fuzzy one, but

as a term of condemnation is usually taken to refer to a person

who, though disapproves of violence, ~~wanting law and order, and~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~to make the concession of tokenism~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

professing friendship and esteem for th Negro, and ~~willing to make~~

~~the concession of tokenism,~~ still believes that thr white man must

keep his hand on ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>holding</sup> source of power.

This is not my view. <sup>holding</sup> I say ( p. 408 ) that "power ~~is~~ is the key,"

<sup>quite explicitly</sup>

and that the Negro has developed a concentration of power and a technique

for manipulating it. ~~As for paternalism,~~ ~~XXXX~~ say ( p. 443 ) that

"the age of philanthropy and I might have added "of liberalism" is over,  
and it would be a vicious illusion for the white man to think that

he... can reach a solution and pass it down to gratefully uplifted

black hands." As for the ethical side of the matter, I say ( p. 416 )

that the basis of the Negro movement is ~~a~~ "moral power" and that by  
the white man's own professed standards the Negro is "in the right."

In fact, I think it quite probable that the Negro movement will do  
something toward a regeneration of our society.

It would seem that your reviewer did not read these, and associated  
pages. In fact, ~~one~~ may wonder ~~exactly~~ what pages he did read.

Respectfully yours,

*June*

*As for tokenism etc*

*unwilling to give  
products  
H...*

*one intro to the court Brown  
when the Negro will be ready  
for "quality" but ~~not~~  
deliberate the ~~unwilling~~ etc*

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