

Box 26

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Q: You were about to say that the diversity in Negro leadership began at one time?

A: I think it can be dated, with the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915. He was the last of the Negro leaders in the sense of a towering figure, who lifted the hopes for the great majority of Negroes in the United States. Before he died, however, he was being challenged for that leadership vigorously by Dubois, as you doubtless know the story. <sup>And since his death</sup> ~~Ever since then,~~ there has not been in my judgment any single person but a whole multiplicity of people who led in little ways, some in big ways ~~xxxxxxx~~, but no one speaks for the whole group.

Q: There's no official figure in other words.

A: That's right.

Q: Can you leave this question for the moment, Dr. Wright, we hear the phrase the New Negro, I'm not talking about the one of Langston Hughes, that's about 20 years ago, I mean the now current "New Negro." This question gets very peculiar answers some time. What is the origin of this, not phrase, but the phenomenon behind the phrase.

A: I realize that there is a great deal of disagreement as to whether there is a New Negro, I'm on record, however, as ~~saying~~ saying that there is one.

Q: I read it.

A: And I believe that there are many new things about the policies the aspirations, the methods, the sense of success

deriving from the efforts thus far, which in effect, has created a New Negro, a Negro dissatisfied in much deeper ways, and I should say more volatile ways, more willing to do something about it.

Q: How would you define this, could you give us more of a profile.

A: I think first of all, he tends to be young, he tends to be the product of a great deal of background, of effort, he has the belief that he can change the pattern ~~the -base-~~ that characterized the Negro for a hundred years.

Q: He's changed the conception of himself \_\_\_\_\_

A: He has a very marked change of self. As you doubtless know, if you go back far enough, it's hard to find Negroes who were really self-confident, who believed that they could succeed, that they could create the kind of climate, in which they could achieve, who felt that they could do something about the \_\_\_\_\_, and I think there is a very deep feeling among Negroes, particularly, the younger \_\_\_\_\_. They can change, and that they are willing to undergo such efforts, hardships, that may be involved.

Q: How much of this penetrates to the mass of Negroes, -----how deep does it penetrate the mass of people. It varies no doubt from one part of the country to the other.

A: Really does, but I think that it has to ~~xxx~~ penetrate the masses of Negroes. They're not as ~~xx~~ philosophical about it, but I think that the March on Washington is one dramatic example of \_\_\_\_\_ I'm sure you ~~xxxx~~ know, were not ~~xxx~~ the elite. I have seen over the southern \_\_\_\_\_ ~~xxx~~ over the past five, ten years, many \_\_\_\_\_ are not \_\_\_\_\_ become the background of the \_\_\_\_\_. This has been proved in the court cases, \_\_\_\_\_

never \_\_\_\_\_

)( INAUDIBLE) And it seems \_\_\_\_\_ people who were there, who were interested, who were the leaders, in addition to being \_\_\_\_\_.

QXX: Let's ~~kkxx~~ take the other side of that for a moment. There is opposition to a degree anyway to integration movement civil or ~~xx~~ rights movement, from certain vested ~~xxx~~ interests among Negroes. \_\_\_\_\_

business organization in St. Louis -- integration set back the business 20 years. Things like that. And there's ~~xxxx~~ various other \_\_\_\_\_, and even the withdrawal to a degree from civil rights movement, of the prosperous \_\_\_\_\_ to a g degree. ~~It is changing~~ -- Is this changing?

A: I think it is. And I think it is ~~xxx~~ for the very reason \_\_\_\_\_ it's gonna be almost impossible for Negroes who have a vested interest in segregation, to maintain their position, because they're gonna be ostracized in the process. I think it's also ~~xxx~~ a myth that such integration has occurred \_\_\_\_\_ this is not true. One example. The Negro insurance company is better off now than it's ever before. It's better, I think, because very many more Negroes are able to buy insurance than were ~~xxxx~~ ever able to buy before. Buy great amounts than ever before. The Negro who own businesses by virtue of the improved economic - \_\_\_\_\_ serve more. \_\_\_\_\_

Q: In the last~~xxx~~ few years in Nashville, has there been a change \_\_\_\_\_ withdrawn Negro.

A: I better put it this way. There is involvement by the most successful Negroes, on the basis of any criterion I know, than there has been at any time for which I have personal \_\_\_\_\_.

And this seems particularly ~~xxx~~ true over the past four years. I'm sure you have learned through your interviews here, in Nashville, of the involvement of the \_\_\_\_\_

One afternoon, we had 27 people in jail, and within an hour, one physician raised \$5000 bond for \_\_\_\_\_ people. I remember \_\_\_\_\_  
Negroes posted bond of \$25,000.

Q: ~~XXXX~~ That's on the record.

A: That's on the record, and this money came, in large measure, from Negroes who had the money. Put it up for security.

Q: In some cities the doctors have been notably uninvolved. They are deeply involved here. I was wondering why the difference.

a; Nashville is a little bit different in a lot of ways. Educationally, as you may know. And many of the doctors are connected \_\_\_\_\_ very high, their involvement in many activities. I can speak with too much authority with respect to other communities and doctors per se.

Q: In general, it's said by word of mouth and people I ~~xxx~~ talk to, and in print, that academic discussion \_\_\_\_\_ withdrawal from civil rights movement \_\_\_\_\_

A: I think this is more true in the state-supported \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ for obvious reasons. The \_\_\_\_\_ is one thing. Perhaps the dominant thing. Fear of reprisals with respect to appropriations -- a very real threat. Fear of reprisals with the actual loss of position, a second thing. I think it would be incorrect to say that this is characteristic of the person in education, that is not subject \_\_\_\_\_  
The public school teacher obviously has to walk the \_\_\_\_\_

Q: What actually I was really thinking about, is not the person who is subject to \_\_\_\_\_, or being terrorized, I was ~~mixxx~~ thinking of something a little bit \_\_\_\_\_ a refusal to be involved on some ~~yearing~~-- yearning for respectability. Some yearning, for, you know, keeping your hand \_\_\_\_\_ to the world.

A: I don't think this is true among the ~~Nggax~~ Negro people that I know personally. ~~I-think-that-~~

Q: A lot of white people, though.

A: Well, I think that's a different situation which I'll comment on later. But \_\_\_\_\_ in the March on Washington. There were three or four <sup>faculty</sup> ~~of our/~~ there. Our faculty here, for instance, which was published in the all the papers. This is only one faculty. There were any numbers of teachers who have walked the picket line, some from the state colleges, & that I know, as a matter of fact, And I can't think of a single college community, where there has been a sit-in or demonstration where the Negro teacher, particularly the college teacher, has not been involved, and this has been true even in some of the state colleges in the south. Now for a member of a white faculty, I think the problem is a little bit different. Different at least in this respect. There is a prestige quality where Negro is concerned, associated with his involvement, There is approbation from the group of which he is a part, that goes to him. I think that I'm, I think I'm right, in assuming that there may very well be, disapprobation for white people, who get deeply involved, because this is not a cause, that has either social or \_\_\_\_\_ rewards for its involvement of white people, in the ~~xxxxx~~ southern \_\_\_\_\_. I think that it is likely to be looked upon as a little odd. There are ~~xxxx~~ some who are courageous enough to do it, and I'm not \_\_\_\_\_, but this is

~~xxxx~~ still not going to move him forward in his profession, and it may have a very dangerous, whether these xxx dangers are the kind that are direct or not. I wonder if I'm clear.

Q: Yes, I think you've cleared it up. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ seems to be

A: He's a very unusual person. I've heard Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ speak on two different occasions. He's eloquent, courageous, and I think, in most of the instances that I've heard him speak, he's been correct. But you can't find a dozen \_\_\_\_\_ in the southern region who \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: That leaves this notion. James Baldwin writes in his last book, this is almost a quote -- the southern mob \_\_\_\_\_ of those best qualified to speak the truth, that is, those who are actually involved in the civil rights struggle in the south. The southern mob is not an expression of the will of the white majority \_\_\_\_\_

moral vacuum. How do you find that notion?

A: I'm not sure I understand perfectly.

Q: The southern mob, the people, who punch the pickets, and who get around to Little Rock, and New Orleans, and do not express the will of the southern white majority. The mob exists, in a moral vacuum. That's

A: Yes, I'd rather say it differently. That's -- From The Fire Next Time -- I don't think that the mob actually expresses the values of the majority of the ~~xxxx~~ south. I couldn't believe that. But I think there is not a sufficient amount of ~~indignatie~~--indignation against that mob, and that the mob is permitted to succeed because there isn't enough by way of, let me put it this way. There aren't a sufficient number of people who are willing to stand and be counted with respect to their views. And I think they in a sense, \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ for example, \_\_\_\_\_

I think she illustrates it clearly and \_\_\_\_\_ as anyone could.

How much \_\_\_\_\_

This means of course, that there is no restraint ~~xxxx~~ upon, or too little restraint upon, the expression of the worst elements in the southern region. It's only when the expression of that mob, gets to obviously bad points, that the power structure moves in.

In 1957, when integration came to the Nashville public schools, Casper was in this community, and he engaged in a series of the most ~~xxxx~~ vitriolic, rabble rousing kinds of activities, you could conceive. Very little condemnation \_\_\_\_\_. One newspaper in this community ~~condemned~~-condemned \_\_\_\_\_ one denied. When one of the schools was bombed, the leaders of the city of Nashville, were mobilized over night, and there's

s

Q: He was jailed.

A: He was jailed and subsequently convicted. <sup>that school</sup> But ~~y-it--~~ need not have been bombed. I doubt very much now, whether a Casper or anyone might \_\_\_\_\_ come into this community at this particular time, and move around with the favor and silence which characterized that when he first came.

Q: Now tell me this. ON the sit-ins and the boycott.

Little later. Is it true, that \_\_\_\_\_ one \_\_\_\_\_ I've heard -- as long as the sit-ins was entirely \_\_\_\_\_, as long as there was no friction, as long as there were no locking of arms, or locking of ~~eyes~~--doorways, as long as there were no possibility implied of resistance, actual contact, nobody cared. As soon as the mob began to gather, the real friction began, then the authorities would ~~xxxx~~ begin to act. Is that roughly the story.

A: I don't think that is exactly it.

q; Would you mind telling

A: My version of it?

q; Your version of it, yes.

A: I think is more nearly the fact. As far as I'm aware, those who were doing the picketing, never entered into any kind of violence at any time. I could be misinformed, but I ~~don't~~ believe that I am. But I think that when the size of the picketing began to interfere with business, because there was also feared that there might be violence, that the authorities moved in. Of course, I don't think that there ever needed to be such violence as did occur in the city of Nashville, because I don't think that the police were seriously inclined to protect the students, from the reprisals of ~~those~~ those who resented their picketing.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ I know there was a lot of picketing and so forth, I should know, \_\_\_\_\_ police force on \_\_\_\_\_

A: That I don't know.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ in action. ~~Some~~ Some police try to do an honest job, and others actually encourage.

A: I would be greatly surprised if that had not been the case. Because the Nashville police, basically, I think is a very decent police force, and if there weren't those who were very much interested in doing their duty, and as officers, to prevail on peace, ~~I think~~ I should be very very much surprised. But when an order came to ~~arrest~~ <sup>don't</sup> arrest these students, I think that the police ~~officer~~ officer had any alternative. It was a direct order.

Q: He had no choice there. I'm thinking of protecting the students from assault by the crowd, the white crowd.

a; Now some did make an effort to do this, and some did not.

Q: That's the point I'm getting at.



A: A: That's right.

Q: IN the attitude of the actual police force. The ~~quikx~~ question of where they

a; ~~IKKX~~ Incidentally I ~~should-have-stated-that-followed-the~~ ~~first-mass-arrests-of-students,-~~ issued a statement that followed the first mass arrests of students, and I was disturbed in that statgement, that there had not been \_\_\_\_\_ of the police. I'll have to show you a copy of that statement.

q; I'd like to have a copy of that statement, I have seen it, but I haven't got a copy of it. I had a newspaper report, I'd seen a newspaper \_\_\_\_\_. The question behind all of this, I <sup>evokk</sup> suppose, is what point is the threat of violence, ~~IKKX~~ remedial ~~IKKX~~ action upon the white community. AT what point, will they step in and move towards the \_\_\_\_\_. Now in K Jackson, Miss, not some of the people there, there were white people involved, in the ~~six~~ civil rights movement, some who were not involved, \_\_\_\_\_ in town, and some of the Negroes have said this, that no one can solve this, short of the big \_\_\_\_\_ committee.

A: I don't believe that.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ you have ~~axx tokkx~~ have a \_\_\_\_\_ collision, before there can be a resolution.

A: I think this stems ~~sxxixxxkxx~~ solely from the failure on the part of the group and the authorities to exercise their responsibility as elected officers of all the people. There hasn't been a single incident of which I have any knowledge, over these past four or five years, in which a person in power has said, there ~~six~~ isn't gonna be any violence in this community. It's going to be the responsibility of the police force of this community to \_\_\_\_\_ where any violence occurs. And the moment the authorities have ~~sxxk~~ spoken \_\_\_\_\_ the violence has disappeared.

Q; That's true. But is it true of Jackson, Miss.?

A: And if it is not true in Jackson, Miss., then my first point holds. That this is a responsibility which revolves upon the officers of the community, the leaders of the community, and if they want to use the ~~power~~ power to keep \_\_\_\_\_, ~~then~~ then they will. I don't care if it's Jackson, Miss., or any other town. I think this is the point.

Q: You mean, the threat of violence against the demonstrators,

A: Is frequently used as a method of control,

Q: It is indeed.

A: A method of reprisal, and to argue, as some of the governors of the deep south do argue, that there is going to be violence, if this occurs, is merely an ~~invitation~~ invitation to it. The moment the governor says, that I am going to maintain law and order, ~~as~~ ~~long~~ so long as any demonstration are conducted peacefully, you aren't going to have any violence. And I don't believe for one moment, that it is necessary in this country, to have bloodshed to establish the right to \_\_\_\_\_, this I do not believe. Our minds can go back, 20 years ago, when the trains were segregated, and almost everything that you can think of, was segregated, and so many of the people who thought they, or pretended that they would \_\_\_\_\_, that none of the things which have now occurred, could occur, but they have, and nobody pays any attention to it. I eat a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, I remember when it was impossible for you to walk with \_\_\_\_\_ into the white \_\_\_\_\_ in Atlanta, to send a telegram or to buy a newspaper. If someone wanted to know, couldn't you move a little faster, or \_\_\_\_\_, I can remember \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: There's a man I know in Nashville, old citizen here, said to me, \_\_\_\_\_, if this situation were not being exploited for personal reasons or for political reasons, by certain

people, it would resolve itself in no time, in Nashville. He went on to say that after the violence was over, and the tensions were over, that \_\_\_\_\_ white and Negro, was when it's over.

a; I don't believe any of these problems solves themselves.

Q: Nothing solves itself.

A: I think that social change occurs, because people make it change, and the beautiful about a democracy, is that it provides the means, I think, by which it can be done, without revolution \_\_\_\_\_. But it doesn't happen unless someone puts pressure somewhere. The pressure can be political, by means of the vote. It can be economic, it can be because of law, it can be sometimes, not sometimes, but particularly in these times, by demonstrations, but change ~~is~~ is response to pressure, however it is conceived. And the more intelligent the pressure is applied, the more widespread or the more effectively it is applied, the ~~greater~~ greater is likely to be the response to it. And every single one of the, I ~~can't~~ shouldn't say every single one, because ~~in~~ something, when the pressure was anticipated, and changes were effected. But in a sense, even the anticipation of pressure, is the use of pressure.

Q: Sure. As a matter of non-violence, can pressure be applied, I attended the conference on nonviolence at Howard University last November, and I was ~~struck~~ struck by the temper among a great many people there, refuting the approach associated with Martin Luther King. Talk of the brinkmanship of ~~violence~~ violence, disruption of social organization like \_\_\_\_\_ things like that; \_\_\_\_\_ strikes, paralyzing the community; or even violence short of legal. AS \_\_\_\_\_ to be ~~per~~ pursued. And the prediction freely made by a many people, that if the civil rights bill is not passed, the \_\_\_\_\_ back on the streets. Farmer said -- if you take a \_\_\_\_\_. But it was a very strong \_\_\_\_\_ far far in the

direction of not nonviolence actions. This was a big body.

\_\_\_\_\_ makes the difference. But this opinion is strongly  
\_\_\_\_\_ and one I encounter in other places. Louisiana.

A: Mr. Warren, I believe myself, that in every activity of  
this kind, that you apply no more pressure than is necessary.

\_\_\_\_\_ in a sense. You don't use  
a cannon till \_\_\_\_\_. I'm a great believe in exhausting  
reasonable procedures, before any kind of drastic pressure, ~~xxxx~~ takes  
place, or is applied. I think if we look at, or examine, every  
breakthrough that I can recall, there's been a variety of differences  
in the amount of pressure that was needed to be applied. I have no  
illusion but that the great \_\_\_\_\_ in Mississippi, Alabama,  
~~xxxx~~ sections of Georgia and Louisiana, are going to be difficult.  
That it's going to take a longer time, it's gonna ~~xxx~~ take a greater  
variety of pressure, but I have no doubts about the outcome, and  
I think ~~xxxxxxx~~ all of them can be done short of, violence. You  
doubtless know that there has been a voter education project in  
the southern region.

Q: Yes, I'm acquainted with that.

A: That it has begun to make a difference, already, in a number  
of communities. The going is roughest in Louisiana, and I would suggest  
that if you have the time, that you talk to Wiley \_\_\_\_\_, the  
director of that

Q: I haven't ~~xxx~~ talked with him yet, I talked with people  
like \_\_\_\_\_ Moore, and Robert Moses, and people working \_\_\_\_\_

] A: That's right. But the \_\_\_\_\_ perspectives,  
~~xxx~~ I think you would greatly benefit from \_\_\_\_\_

Q: ~~XXXX~~ Well, he's on my list, and I will try to see him.

A: Don't miss him. He's the \_\_\_\_\_ of the Southern Negro  
Council.

XXIX Q: Yes, and of course, they've been very helpful.

A: Well, they're as knowledgeable as any group that you can find, and you will find the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ Council, in my opinion, a factual group, a sober group, a knowledgeable group, and you can find, I suspect, more authenticated information from an office like this, than you can find anywhere.

Q: Let me try a quotation from Dr. Kenneth ~~Clark~~ Clark on you.

A: I know Ken.

Q: I don't know him yet, I hope to soon. This is in ~~relation-to--~~relation to Dr. King. You may know this passage. Since you can't read my writing

A: I might be able to

XXX Q: On the surface, but I should like to have you comment, on Dr. Kenneth Clark's remarks on Dr. King's philosophy. What you said before ~~xxxxxx~~

A: I hope I can say it as I said before, but in essence it will be the same. I was saying that on the same point of the psychology of the human being, that I had to respect Dr. Clark's position because it is not in the nature of man, or in the interest of man, to put it that way, to be unresponsive to mistreatment. On the other hand, I very deeply believe that the human spirit can be inspired to reach very great heights. And I think a man has to ~~make~~ decide for himself, where his value really lies. If the cause for which he works is big enough, then whether the thing that happens to him as he ~~strives~~ ~~tries~~ to achieve that cause, ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxdamagxxxx~~ means ~~to~~ damage to him, he forgets. I also said that what King is preaching is absolutely consistent with the whole idea of the Christian ethic, and that if you ~~xxxxxx~~ commit yourself to Christianity, you ~~xxxxxx~~ are indeed committed to love your enemy. And if you cannot do this, which is

difficult to do, and now one has ever denied that it is difficult to do, you're not a Christian, in the things that Christ taught, \_\_\_\_\_, I guess I'd better say \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: Let me ask another question in connection with that. If you grant it on Christian belief and Christian ethics, that's one thing. But is there a possibility of ~~granting~~ granting nonviolence on psychological grounds, as different from the Christian doctrine.

A: I think so, I think it can. Don't actually know, but I think it can. Just said a moment ~~ago~~ ago, I think for example, adversity can have different effects upon people. It strengthens, it toughens, in crucible fashion, some men. It destroys others. Some fulfill themselves, through their adoption of nonviolence as a philosophy and a way of life. I've seen a young people, who for example, come to believe in this, undergo all kinds of things. And those that that I've had a chance to talk with them in ~~depth~~ <sup>are</sup> depth, I think a better people, by virtue of this. Here I can speak with some degree of authority as a layman, in terms of what I have seen. I may have not had psychological insights of sufficient ~~depth~~---depth, in the neurotic effects on people. But some of the young people have developed poise, they have decided for the first time in their lives, that something worthwhile is worth sacrificing for, and sacrificing in personal ~~terms~~ terms, for. Is that clear?

Q: Very clear. Do you distinguish this sort of justification, the Christian on the one hand, ~~and the~~---then the psychological justification ~~on the other~~---for the nonviolence, from the tactical use of nonviolence.

A: Oh yes, yes I do. The tactical use of nonviolence, has victories as its objectives. At least I think so. And those who advocate it as a tactic, may do it ~~without~~---without reference either

to Christian or \_\_\_\_\_ or ~~the~~ to the personal values to be derived from it. ~~It~~ It becomes an instrument, in the same way that voting

Q: Or violence might

a; Or violence, exactly, might be an instrument. And I have the feeling that this is a part of the use to which it is being put. I don't, I'm not objecting to that, I'm recognizing it as a fact.

Q: No, there's no objection to it. As Dr. Abernathy said in conversation with several people, one asked him a question, and he said -- well, I think that we, we Negroes in the south, are really nonviolent on the grounds of the Christian ethic and --- he gave a slow grin and said -- besides, the white folks have more guns.

~~This~~ A: ~~This~~ Very direct.

q; This leads to another point, about Dr. King. Several people, including again Dr. Clark, have said that Dr. King is admired by the white population, because he's lulled them into a false sense of security. This is a ~~paraphrase~~, <sup>paraphrase,</sup> it's not a quote. They like to think of the Negro as nonviolent, ~~xxx~~ it lulls their fears. He thinks, well, it's gonna be all right after all, There won't be much trouble. How much of that do you think is true.

a; ~~True~~. I don't see how ~~any~~ any ~~white-person~~-white person ~~could-be~~--could be lulled into a sense of complacency by this.

Q: I don't either, but I

A: King is a master at the metaphor, he is gifted in my own judgment with the ability to the clear conscience. He's also gifted with the ability to create an issue in the community, and bring it to a point where resolutions almost have to take place, and if I were a southern white segregationist, I would be more afraid of King, for one thing, than almost any ~~xxx~~ type of Negro leader.

Q: Do you think that it's actually ~~xxx~~ been a shock to the

conscience of white people, from King? How much do you think this is an important point?

A: I , it's difficult to say. Probably shock is too strong a term. But I think he has sensitized the conscience of many Americans, who , white Americans, who had never been confronted personally with what is involved , and I think that a part of the response that King generates in white people, derives from this. I think it is difficult for a white Christian, I'm speaking of one reasonably well educated, to completely reject the logic of King.

Q; You're saying then, by extension, that there's a fundamental split in the soul of the white man on this issue, that can be appealed to, he knows somewhere that if submitted to the notion of justice in terms of political instrument, like the Declaration of ~~Independence~~ Independence, \_\_\_\_\_ commit ~~gix~~ him in Christian terms, in so far as he has lived with that heritage, to something which segregate violates. And he's living in \_\_\_\_\_ of a split.

A; I think this is correct, and I think that what King does, is to make untenable the reservation which he has, with respect to the full application of his Christian belief and his democratic belief.

Q: Tell me something else, speaking of splits , I encountered this notion when I was reading Dubois many many years ago -- the split in the Negro psyche, has many ~~fermatu-~~ formulations, but I'll ~~paraphrase~~ paraphrase it as best as I can, from ~~Dubois~~-Dubois to others: on the one hand, the pull toward the Negro tradition, \_\_\_\_\_ Africa, standing behind the American Negro, the pull toward a cultural ~~identity~~ identity in terms of Negroness, ~~is~~ \_\_\_\_\_ for the exclusive,



based on the sense of race; whatever race means. Or in contemporary terms, Africa seems to be reorganized into national states, and tends \_\_\_\_\_ Negro culture or cultures, the ~~same~~ sense of Negritude, these things -- always the onepull on one side. Or Black Muslim belief, still on the side. On the otherhand, the impulse is to move into the western ~~traditi~~-tradition, the western culture, of the western living, in Europe and America, and in the end by integration, perhaps to lose the Negro identity entirely. Absorbed ~~into~~ into a cultural and biological \_\_\_\_\_ with the identity gone. These two impulses. Now does the problem, in your observation, ~~exist~~ or in your thinking, to some it is a fundamental problem, to some it's no problem at all. How do you feel about it.

A: This is a matter of interest to you. I think I read almost everything that Dr. Dubois wrote, until he became a very ~~old~~ old man. He's a graduate of Fisk University. I think the most universal urge of American Negroes, is to become identified completely with the total ~~western~~ culture, the total aspiration, the total values, of this country. You're not so much aware of that as you are, until, you visit an African country as I have, there've been in the history of Negroes in this country, of course, splits that would go in other directions. But if you talk to almost any sample of Negroes, of whatever level, ~~all~~ all across the board, I think without any doubt, this is what you will find, to be the dominant motif, the dominant mystique -- and that the exception <sup>as</sup> of the other multiple aspirations.

Q: Now here is something else. It may be a verbal difficulty, though apparently to ~~some~~ some people, it's not merely verbal. Does this desire to ~~participate~~ participate in the American and western European cultural tradition to the fullest extent. What ~~does~~ does this mean about the sense of Negro identity, and even in the new sense,

of personal image, as a Negro, see what I'm getting at?

a; Yes. Now

Q: How do you put these things together?

A: This is a little more difficult and more subtle question/ I'm by no means sure that the subculture, is going to survive or that there is any really, how would I put it to you, strong feeling on the part of the great majority of the people, to see to it that it survives. Let me illustrate what I'm talking about. When I grew up as a boy, there was a great deal more ~~interest~~--emphasis ~~upon~~ upon being a Negro than there is now. I remember in school, we sang ~~complaining~~ almost every day and so frequently, \_\_\_\_\_, this is Life Every Voice and Sing, James Weldon Johnson. A great deal of ~~emphais~~--emphasis upon the history of Negroes, the heroes of the struggle. I can talk to typical college students here at Fisk University right now, and very many of them have no knowledge ~~mix~~ or very little knowledge of who the people ~~were~~ were, who have been responsible for moving the group ahead, as it has been moved. And unless something concrete and systematic is done, there's gonna be less of this carried forward. I talked to four of our youngsters who went to Scandinavia last summer, and one of the things we thought that they should be conversant with, the history \_\_\_\_\_ who some of the dominant writers are, who, what the differences are between the Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., and CORE, what have you, who the people were, who were the antecedents of these people. You would have been surprised at how little they knew about this. Now that doesn't mean, though, let me just add one other ~~mix~~ thing, and I'm really rising \_\_\_\_\_ to the extent, I think, that the barriers, the walls of segregation now, are kept ~~mix~~ tight, and ~~everything in between~~,

and there is an ingrown , ~~\_\_\_\_\_ -if-this-i-~~to the extent that this is done, will be there a continuation of this sense of identity, the Negroness, as you said, but as these walls

Q: Continue on, with the pressure of segregation.

A: That's right, but as these pressures weaken, there is going to be , in my opinion, less and less and less of this. Now that doesn't mean, that to the extent, well this is a \_\_\_\_\_ of everybody you mentioned. This is the condition I have about it.

Q: Well, how does that relate , and I certainly don't have any notion about it, to the idea which is very current now, that the "New Negro" , that the cutting edge of the civil rights movement among Negroes, is based on new conceptions of the self <sup>as</sup> ~~of~~ Negro, identity, as the Negro identity, as opposed to the old notion of the white stereoeotype, of the Negro.

A: I don't believe that there's a great deal of credence to this. I have the feeling that what the Negroes , particularly, young ones now, I'm thinking of, want above everything else, is to be an Ame rican citizen, with the opportunity to look with real hope and expectation, to theright to be one in all respetts. To live his life, as he sees it, and to have the opportunity to do so. This , to me, is what I see among them. I don't get this feeling, and I think if you just had thetime, it would bewonderful if you talked to some of our young pe@ple.

Q: I would like very much to, and I want to, I want to come back, I've been seeing a good many college students, and my time got out of hand here, and I would like nothing better than to to that.

A: Because what you are getting from me, is an interpretation of what I think I sense. But I think they would be able to give you what they ~~xxxx~~ themselves feel, what they themselves are

~~aspiring~~--aspiring to. You can talk go them, and as these pressures today in a particular place, are moved

Q: You ~~me~~ mean a social

A: I mean a racial place.

Q: Yes, social and r acial.

A: Right. They behave, and their aspirations reach without reference to identity, see, being a Negro doesn't involve a religion, in the sense that the religion involved among Jews. There is something here that ties them to their religion and the heritage, which I think is deeper than anything that is characterized in Negroes in America, because you can find them identified with almost every religious denomination in this country, and they know more, they know more of their aspirations, they come to the schools to \_\_\_\_\_ using ~~the sa~~--the same textbooks, and the same newspapers, watch the same television shows, everything that is America, is, has its bearing, its force upon them.

Q: I have talked with several Negroes of high intelligence and education, who said to me, that they have systematically ~~xxx~~ \_\_\_\_\_ themselves, to abolish the symbolism in the language, and in all life around them, of white values, white as \_\_\_\_\_ light, and joy, and ~~xxxxxx~~ purity, and ~~xxxx~~ black as the opposite of these things. Systematic attempt to lift themselves out of this symbolism.

A: If you mean the

END OF TAPE ONE