

Q: Now ~~xxx~~ where were we?

A: Well, you were gonna ask me a new question.

~~XXI~~ Q: And now I've forgotten ~~xxxxx~~ what it was.

A: Well, we were talking ~~xxx~~ as you may recall, about  
\_\_\_\_\_ continuing to be an identity among Negroes.

Q: Yes, my question was this. That over and over again one reads and hears that the cutting edge of the present movement is based on new conception of self, the self as Negro, if that is true, how do we square that with the prospect of the loss of this identity -- the new image of the Negro's self, as Negroes.

A: Well, in the first place, I don't believe in a new Negro with an image as Negro. Therefore I have no problem, in reconciling these two views.

Q: But some Negroes do approach this as their own feeling, or as a sociological observation as psychological observation. Some sociologists say this, some \_\_\_\_\_ say this. Some people talk ~~xxx~~ about themselves. Let me give you individual. When I was at Howard, I told you, in November, a young woman, whose name is Wheeler, really, she's a Phi Beta Kappa, she's vital person, fine orator, this young lady, I can't remember her first name, came on and spoke to 1500 people. Her complexion is , she's as light as mine, or close to it. I was sitting half way back. She was in the auditorium -- saying -- I have a great joy, I have a discovery to report to you, I have a great joy. I am black. And she said, look at you and you and you. Your faces are this color -- pointing around, but your hearts are white, your minds are white, you've been whitewashed, you're not black, you don't have my joy. This brought down the house.

A: This surprises me to some degree.

Q: Swept it like a brush fire.

A: But I believe the daily actions of these people, who responded to that, would support the joy. And you watch every action, the, I think if it were to be, to say it a different way, there is more tendency toward being involved.

Q: You say you're going to Peru next week.

A: Yes, I am. I'm a member of the Board of Trustees of the ~~ITeti~~ Institute of International Education. And I'm one of the delegates to the Council for High Education of the American Republics, which will be meeting in Peru, ~~xRx~~ from Feb. 23 to Feb. 29 of this year. I'm ~~■~~ looking forward to this with a great deal of enthusiasm. It will be my first opportunity to visit <sup>see</sup> Peru, ~~/something~~, I hope, of the remainder of the civilization of the Incas. But I mustn't take this time to be personal.

Q: I want some personal things before we start, I want to come back to matters of personal experience and personal history, in a , but to cut back to the question of the identity as Negro, that is a problem, apparently, to some people, and the thing reported on, as you well know, by ~~colleagand~~ psychologists and sociologists. And it's a key question.

A: Let me make one other comment on it. It's unreasonable, I think, for children to be born in a culture who are exposed to its every aspects, who have very little, of their own, to become anything other than, a product of that culture. There isn't enough by way of study devices, techniques, and teaching, ~~skkx~~ resident in the culture in which we are a part, for any long period of time, to maintain the identity of Negroes as Negroes. I'm mindful of the fact that so long as color is a factor in this country, that there will be something

which will set people apart, but there will, that will never, I think, be regarded as ~~anything~~--anything except a barrier, ~~far~~ to participation in the culture.

The color is a  
Q: ~~Other than~~ a barrier.

a; That's right. The culture makes what is striven for, in the example you give, I think, impossible.

q; I find some thing abhorring in ~~that~~ a way, when I think of being the whole world ~~is~~ exactly alike in all ways. Small differences and big differences, yet \_\_\_\_\_ alike. Difference in all types of personalities. ~~We~~ We're not robots. How can you square this desire for variety of all sorts, with a concept of evening out. I'd have a world where the variety is there, without the variety being invidious in any way. And personal freedom for personal preferences of all sorts. I suppose, what the ~~people's~~ people's personal preferences, you move towards some wiping out of the line anyway.

A: Mr. Warren, This doesn't bother me, I want to tell you why. In the first place, there are different cultures in the world, that do, as a matter of fact, produce people with very different outlooks on life, and very different senses of values. The children who are reared in those kinds of cultures, are going to inevitably be different from children reared in a culture ~~which is~~ like the ~~one of~~ one of which we are <sup>a</sup> apart. That's one thing. Then there ~~is~~ is a concept that John Dewey had, with which I completely concur. And it is that no environment, is identical to any two people.

Q: Even in the same family.

A: Even in the same family. Now there is one other little thing, that is consistent with the thing, I think, ~~that~~ that lies at the basis of all of these things. And that is that to the

extent that this world becomes a one world, ~~xxxx~~ with instant  
in  
communication, ~~and~~ the finest means of ~~its-kind, will--~~ the term,  
will differences in the world, tend to decrease. So this, in  
my own view, is a very long way ~~is~~ off.

Q: It is a long way off, \_\_\_\_\_ in my time, ~~a~~

A: And in mine.

Q: In fact, there's too much variety \_\_\_\_\_.

So I was not concealing an argument for defense of the race, that  
isn't my point at all, because

~~xxxx~~ A: No, I certainly didn't react to it.

Q: I don't think you did, I just wanted to make that specific.  
But that's not the point, because, on that matter, I would have  
every man's personal question, how \_\_\_\_\_ private life, any man's  
private life, he can do what he wants to do, \_\_\_\_\_ business is not  
mine.

A: This is my own view.

Q: This is always the basis of human individuality and human  
liberty. Anything less than that, I'm completely against, interfering  
~~xxxx~~ with personal preferences, association, marriage, anything ~~else~~.

A: I feel the same way.

Q: That infringes on basic liberties. This, in Jackson  
Mississippi, I discovered I can't ~~ride~~ a taxicab with a Negro,  
without being pulled out by the police, and fined for my having  
ridden in the taxicab. That's ~~not~~ a question of say, \_\_\_\_\_,  
it's an infringement on my personal liberties. My personal  
liberties.

A:

That's right, you're absolutely correct.

Q: It's my liberty that they attacked. Not the Negro man

man sitting in the cab with me. ~~x~~ His liberty is being attacked too, but it's mine I'm concerned with there.

A: That's right.

q; First, you have to defend your own.

A: Agreed.

q; And I believe this is the key in the whole business. That the white man is being penalized by the system as well as the black man.

a; This is an inevitable consequence.

Q: An inevitable consequence, and that, I think, is the \_\_\_\_\_ to go after getting the thing, in a way, the white man is being penalized. ~~Let's~~ Let's change the subject to something else for a moment. We were talking earlier about social process, you talk about the time element in social process of all kinds. I find that when the time element is mentioned, I sometimes encounter ~~some~~ sometimes overt, sometimes hidden, \_\_\_\_\_ concept of ~~time~~ in the process. This is, I read a ~~quotation~~ quotation from a Negro historian on the question of civil rights, and he \_\_\_\_\_ this matter of social process. And there's no absolute or an immediate solution ever to social process. An immediate.

A: He's correct.

Q: I read this to

a; He sounds like a sociologist, though.

Q: Yes, a very brilliant young Negro student, a very brilliant guy -- what do you think of that.

Q: Well, where we are we again.

A: I'll try not to be so \_\_\_\_\_

Q: That's not the point at all \_\_\_\_\_ the ~~point~~

young man -- here again, the idea of the social process, historical process and the notion of Freedom Now. How do we put these two things together.

A: I think this is the real problem. There has been so much said and done, with respect to the whole question of rights, as related to Negroes, about ~~their~~-~~b~~-there being sufficient time, and encouragement to look forward to its ultimate solution, without any real reference to program to get it done, that there is an impatience with anybody who says, that this will take time. It has been ~~xxxxxx~~ associated in my own mind, with an intention to do nothing. I think there isn't a student ~~xxxx~~ of the problem in the world, who doesn't realize that it is going to take time. But there is one ~~xxxxxx~~ other thing, and I think it's part of the strategy, and that is, in order to get anything moving, you have got to have a NOW approach to it. But this is a ~~xxxxxx~~ starting situation, and ~~no-in-xxxx~~ not, in my opinion, engaging in the illusion that what is ~~xxxx~~ hoped for is going to occur. next \_\_\_\_\_. In ~~xxxx~~ my opening address for our convocation, this fall, I spoke on the topic that I called, Beyond the March on Washington, in which the very point that I'm making now, was made, and I called the attention of the students, to the fact that the problems that confronted the group as Negroes, were going to take a long time, and a great deal of work on the part of very many people, including them, because certain of the things are not gonna happen in our lifetime.

Q: I wonder what relevance this has. I was acquainted once with some Italian partisans just after the war. Life had become nothing to them, because that was over. Does this have much of a dent, do you think, of the young Negro who's committed deeply to this, five ~~xxxxxx~~ years from now, ten years from now. His vocation is over. Is there some possibility of some

casualties there?

A: Only for those who are making civil rights movement a career. And I don't think any organization in this area ought to make the perpetuation of the organization, a career, the object of their efforts. It is a thing which the organization seeks to achieve. For the overwhelming majority of these youngsters, I see no real danger, because they will go about ~~make~~ their life's work. I think they will be more sensitive citizens, they will know when a problem is important, I think, a great deal better than they would have known before. They will tend to be more active in the political processes in community efforts to get things done, but I don't believe that this is going to provide any problem for the overwhelming majority of people.

Q: Yes, but for the few casualties that are bound to occur in any

A: In any battle, any struggle, right.

Q: Do you remember, in your life, <sup>or</sup> reading about, the opposition to the appointment of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court by Hoover, who, I've read into the great watershed case, in organizing Negro political pressure, the first time it has ~~ever affected~~ -- was ever ~~effective~~, effective. It was effective, Judge Parker ~~was~~ was not confirmed. The attack on Judge Parker was that, as a southerner, he would not be an impartial judge.

~~Q: I remember the case. I didn't read about, I~~  
remember it.

Q: Well, anyway, subsequent events, apparently ~~Robert~~ --- that he was proved / was a very impartial and decent judge.

A: That is absolutely correct.

Q: Now, ~~again~~---again, with Black.

~~a;xxx~~ Has been one of the most able jurists, the Court has ever had.

Q: But there was a vast amount of opposition to him , on the grounds he was from Alabama -- he was a Ku Kluxer.

A: Right. I remember that case.

Q: Now those are stereotypes, on the part of Negroes, on the part of certain white people who ~~are-lib--xxx~~ have liberal views. Do you think, now, if there were such a case, man from Alabama, man from Mississippi, on the Supreme bench, you'd have this automatic stereotyp~~ed~~ response?

A: No, I don't think so. I think there would be a tendency now to look at the man's record. ~~Thisxxx~~ Jus as I think there is going to be a great deal of Negro support for President Johnson. I certainly intend to vote for him. And not only intend to vote for him , but inten to work for him, within the limits of my little time, make my little financial contribution to the \_\_\_\_\_ . I think that there are many southerners who have demonstrated beyond any question that they can be as impartial and fair as any human being. The thing that I wish for ~~my~~ for myself, as much as I wish he-~~T~~--- for anything in the world, is to be treated as man, and as an individual, and this I hope for, for other people as well as for myself. I think this is becoming to be, a very real part of the Negro attitude.

Q: There;s been a real advance in destroying then, the Negro's stereotype of the white man, and the white southerner, even in the present moment of this friction and \_\_\_\_\_

A: There is no question in my mind, for example, I think that Kefauver, ~~xxxx~~ in Tennessee, could have run for any office, had he lived.



Q: Yes, yes. And had the Negro vote.

a; And had a large part of the Negro vote, he would have certainly had the Negro vote in Tennessee. And much of the south.

Q: Well, speaking of stereotypes, we know ~~fixxx~~, we know pretty well, what the white stereotype ~~what-the~~ of the Negro is. How ~~a~~ would you describe the Negro stereotype of the white man, forgetting southern white, but just white man in general.

A: That's too ~~xagmxx~~ big. Too big. I think the Negro tends, I better say, tended ~~kax~~, more accurate way to put it, to divide white ~~pmxx~~ people generally into two classes. Southern whites. Northern whites. ~~Max~~ This is not easy, I might also add, because prejudiced human beings, <sup>were</sup> / ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ northerners, and some of ~~fxkxx~~ the <sup>I've ever encountered</sup> most liberal men/~~in-our-country~~ were southerners.

I think that the stereotype of a white southerner, was one who not only thought of Negroes as being inferior, but who was prepared ~~e-suppe-~~ to support that, by any way, or means at ~~maxx~~ his disposal.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ the inner conflict, reflected this as you asked the questions of Negroes back in 1955, '56.

~~ITAKE~~

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~. I think this was in absolute form. The picture. where the southern white person was concerned. I think he thought secondly that the northerner ~~maxx~~, while not willing to be that devoted to the segregation principle, was a great deal more liberal <sup>merely</sup> person, ~~committed~~ by virtue of the place in which he was born and lived. But that didn't keep the Negro from having some reservations about the ~~overwhelming~~ majority of white people, irrespective of their place of birth. But there was a vast difference in the degree. This would be ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ my answer ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~.

Q: I was talking the other day to a very prominent lawyer in a southern city, a Negro, high intelligence and good education,

fine education. He's very active, is an attorney for one of the organizations, with the \_\_\_\_\_ nonviolence. Identified with that. He said to me, ~~xxxx~~ despite everything, I find myself drifting toward the position where no white man seems redeemable. There might be some individuals ~~xxx~~ here and there, but they're not really \_\_\_\_\_. He said, I'm almost a Black Muslim, I'm actually reading their literature now.

a; I think it's nonsense.

Q: He said, I'm forced into it by my experience, in the ~~xxxx~~ south, in the last few weeks. It's against my principles, and against my human values, I'm being forced into it.

A: Well, my own experience is very different. And I ~~xxxx~~ don't ~~ant-th---~~ want this to sound holier than thou, but I'd like just a second to tell you a little bit about my own background.

Q: I wish you would.

A: I grew up, having been reared in the main, by a grandmother, who had been a slave, who had a basic distrust for most white people, I remember ~~and-thiisxe--this-is~~ one of the things that she ~~me~~ told us children on many occasions. <sup>Feed</sup> ~~xxxx~~ all white people with a long spoon. Keep them out of your business. Be polite to them, but stay out of their way, ~~and~~ don't expect you to bow and scrape. But this is the way our ~~xxxx~~ family has to live. And we survived. I went to Hampton Institute for high school because there wasn't public schools for Negroes within 150 miles, I finished elementary school.

Q: Where was that?

A: This was in \_\_\_\_\_ County, North Carolina.

And my teachers in that school, in the Academy at the Institute, with ~~xxxx~~ a few exceptions, were all white teachers. My first real face to face contact on a day by day basis, with people who were ~~xxx~~ beyond any question, interested in my welfare and teaching, and who did everything they ~~me~~ need to do, to inspire me to be a man,

to develop a character, to be a good student, and to aspire for a  
a career of service. And they themselves, demonstrated what they  
were talking about, themselves. I'm sitting herenow, ~~and--all-through--~~  
~~the-----~~in the office of the Prkesident of the University,  
which is a product of that same kind of ~~xxx~~ concern, and I know  
that almost every one of the major institutions for Negroes and  
~~xxx~~ I'm speaking of the private ones, were built by people who  
believed in them. I wo rked with them. I wo rked with them here,  
interracial faculty, our board is interracial, many of my friends, and  
~~his-se---theus-seu--~~this sounds like the old thing, that we hear so  
much, but I know numbers of white persons as individuals, \_\_\_\_\_,  
nothing that has happened in these four years, has shaken my faith.  
On the contrary, ithas confirmed it. And I think that I can document  
it if it were necessary. The mere fact that so muc h has been  
~~segrega--~~desegregated in the south. The mre fact that the southerners  
didn't ~~xxx~~ really put up a fight against thecivil rights bill int he  
House, not a real fight, is in part, an admission tht they couldn't  
~~xxx~~ do anything about it, and I think it also represents as one of  
the men said, \_\_\_\_\_ that this is a time to look at this  
Problem dispassionately. If I assumed for one moment, that all  
white people , as he put it, are in this category, I couldn't  
say one blessed word, if all white people put me in the same category

Q: Recently Adam Clayton Powell, talking aboutthe  
N.A.A.C.P., and Jack Greenberg.

Ax2: No , I wo rked with Jack Greenberg, in one case, as one  
~~his--~~of his expert witnesses. And I was one who w rote him a letter  
nd2 said that he was a superb choice to ~~xxx~~ succeed Thurgood Marshall.  
I still think so. He's an able lawyer, and if the N.A.A.C.P. is  
going to be successful, it's going to involve ~~xxxxx~~ people of  
+ \_\_\_\_\_, not in these aspects, but if the aspirations that

the Negro minority have, are going to ~~xxx~~ be realized, because the people get concerned, not \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: ~~XX~~ In Mississippi I was ~~tel, ed by~~ -- told by several \_\_\_\_\_ working with the civil rights movement, Negroes, these are all \_\_\_\_\_ there's been real difficulty in getting acceptance of white volunteer workers who came and worked with the Negro group in Mississippi. That they'd had to be very delicate about this. ~~Several~~ -- Several facets flowed into this. One, \_\_\_\_\_ and another, ordinary envies, jealousies, not of power, but

A: Could be power.

Q: Sometimes power, right. \_\_\_\_\_ I was thinking beyond that, simply human ~~xxx~~ envy. This man comes, he can go again when he wants to -- I'm stuck. Envy his mobility.

A: I know.

Q: Another thing -- that the attempt of some of these young white college students, or slightly above that age, who have fallen love with the idea of entering ~~ixax~~ into the Negro world. Who ~~xxxxx~~ appropriate the language, certain attitudes, which are ~~supposedly~~ -- supposedly Negro's. For instance, the language of jazz, the language of certain exclusive Negro expressions, this ~~hasxxx~~ causes a real resistance and a contempt. For these whites, what are they trying to do, move in on us, and \_\_\_\_\_. A real resistance, and Robert Moses told me, that a man said he's blow up the table in a conference, right in/ <sup>front</sup> two of these people, 15 minutes of blind \_\_\_\_\_.

A real problem.

A: I wonder if I can explain the problem.

Q: I wonder if you can.

A:

To the best of my knowledge, no, the movement here hasn't

had a lot of white people in it, but it's had some. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

This is a little bit different perhaps in this ~~xxx~~ area, because it's part of the tradition.

Q: It's a longer tradition and a longer exposure to this sort of relationship.

a; That's right. For instance, we've had in summer program, \_\_\_\_\_ 17 white persons ## \_\_\_\_\_ right now, from other colleges, and more demands for this than we can supply in numbers. So that our youngsters definitely have not taken \_\_\_\_\_. I remember one young man I wish I could think of now, who was the most, perhaps the most respected demonstrator among all the \_\_\_\_\_, because his courage was beyond any \_\_\_\_\_, and his devotion to the cause was beyond anyone's \_\_\_\_\_. He ~~xxxxx~~ was beaten badly in that Alabama situation. I think this was \_\_\_\_\_, but this young white boy was seriously beaten. I tried to get him, I said \_\_\_\_\_, he said -- I made my will. He said, "I'd make out my will before I left here. ~~ixix~~ I know that I am going to run into difficulties. I think I will. ~~xwx~~ " He went. And I didn't want to \_\_\_\_\_ or his parents \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: I suppose ~~xxxx~~ the difference between Mississippi, say, and Nashville, is simply a longer exposure, tradition.

A: The differences go deeper than that.

Q: Tell me how.

A: First of all, the educational level is different from ours. You have, well, Tennessee has never been, I don't think, ~~ix~~ I'm including two western counties on this, first of all, it's been a more highly industrialized, more highly metropolitan state.

It has had very many more institutions of higher learning. The level of education, I think, has had a lot to do with this. Its political leaders, and I don't know whether this is an accident or not, you know more about it than I, has not in the main, built total careers on segregation issues, as has been the case so often in Mississippi politicians. And you cannot preach the hatred, and the segregation in the sense, campaign after campaign after campaign, to semi-literate people, and expect a lot of ~~xxx~~ them not to believe it. They do. Now, there have been very few a campaigns in this \_\_\_\_\_ issue. The last one, that involved the issue, was the gubernatorial, no senatorial campaign, involved Kefauver and \_\_\_\_\_. And \_\_\_\_\_ beaten in Memphis, ~~from~~ the area from which he comes, ~~xxx~~ this is another, the kind of thing that \_\_\_\_\_. But ~~xxx~~ the difference I think is serious.

Q: The Memphis ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>paper</sup> the other day, he came out with strong editorial supporting the Civil Rights bill. Very strong editorial, after it had been passed in the house. Said it must be passed in the senate now, without delay, or there'll be very bad trouble. This is a mandate from the people of the United States, and got to be done now. This from the Memphis paper. Some people may say -- well, local politics behind this. Maybe there is. But would this indicate some change?

A: Oh yes, I think perhaps 10 years ago, this would not have been possible. But there's a great political change going on, in ~~Tennessee~~ Tennessee now, and Memphis ~~politically~~,--particularly.

Q: You mean the young Negro lawyers active in politics?

A: I mean more than that. Take Tennessee as a whole, for instance. Some ~~xxx~~ 64% of its eligible Negro voters are registered in Tennessee.

Q: As opposed to 3 in Mississippi.

A: I didn't know it.

Q: 4, maybe, or 5. It's low

~~xxxxx~~ a; 6, something of that sort. But politicians cannot ignore this, it can make a factor. \_\_\_\_\_ for instance, ~~rand~~ \_\_\_\_\_ on the potentiality that lies here and the inevitability of the participation in the \_\_\_\_\_. Also, I think there is enough statesmanship on the part of editors, in a number of state newspapers, to see that anything else is short sighted politics. Tennessee is going to be a state, as \_\_\_\_\_ politics. A ~~xxx~~ state where industry can come, with assurance that there is going to be ~~xxx~~ racial peace, and people who as the power structure of the state and the city, who are gonna build good schools, have good relations between the racial groups and the minorities, in other words, it's a healthy atmosphere, and I think this pays off. For the entire state. ~~There are~~ There are people now taking notice.

Q: Well, here, nobody is going to Jackson, Miss., to build factories right now.

A: If they do, I think they definitely should be pressured.

Q: They should be locked up.

Have you noticed any antisemitism among Negroes in Nashville.

A: I have not.

Q: It's true in some places, of course, very spotty, but it's true in some places. True in Harlem.

A: I can see why it would be \_\_\_\_\_ in Harlem, but I've encountered none. We have had over the \_\_\_\_\_ highly ~~xxx~~ respected citizens in this community, a Jew for the president of the Council, and I know he's going to get a substantial number of votes, because he's highly respected. \_\_\_\_\_ being

Jewish has nothing to do with it.

Q: The same thing. The Jews have been by and large, liberals in their effect on society, and have actually been philanthropists who have given money to civil rights causes, both Negro and white, at the same time, have \_\_\_\_\_ curious split of intense anti-semitism in some cities, Philadelphia, for example.

A: I can ~~xxxx~~ understand Harlem, the landlord is Jewish, and they own a lot of the business in Harlem, and the Negroes hate landlords, I ~~edit~~---don't care what color they are, particularly in a situation like New York, with all its problems. I don't know as much about New York as I know about Nashville, although I've been in New York.

Q: I was talking to a very very bright, brilliant/<sup>young</sup>women, I guess you'd say, who's a law student, at law school, and second in her class in the senior year. She's a Negro. She and I had lunch. Started our conversation by saying, I have great hopes of the arrangement in the south, finding some light here, after this crisis ~~xxxx~~ has passed, in relationship to the southern whites. She said -- I was born and raised on a farm in Virginia, and I've lived in several parts of the south, and I've been in a lot of southern jails this year." She feels that we are on the verge of some sort of \_\_\_\_\_ reasonable community. She said, \_\_\_\_\_ as far as the great northern cities, where there is no human recognition. Here there's recognition, even at the point of a gun.

a; I don't go that far.

Q: After that, there's a possibility of a human recognition.

A: ~~in~~ \_\_\_\_\_ more spokesman in northern cities, in the \_\_\_\_\_ region, than has been ~~xxxx~~ southern Negroes. And I'm not sure that I know the reason for it. I know a little bit about the social situation in



Chicago, Detroit, and the riots that have occurred there.

~~I-tre-nixxxx~~ It remains for me to see, or I have to see, how rapidly the northern sections of the country respond to the problems that it's made, before I can make a judgment.

What is the response of the New York City Board of ~~Edx~~ Education to the de facto segregation.

Q: Please talk about that.

A: ~~Qnx~~ What would be the responses to the problem.

But that problem, to my mind, is not serious, as the problem which gives rise to it. One of them, is segregation in housing, which is the problem,

Q: Behind the school problem.

A: Behind the school prob~~lem~~em, and the other is employment.

Or to put it more accurately, unemployment, which throws into the streets, of cities like Detroit, Chicago, New York, large numbers as \_\_\_\_\_ pointed out so well in his book, unemployed and the unemployable Negro. It is going to be difficult for anybody, \_\_\_\_\_ just what this group is going to be capable of.

Because of the frustrated ~~diffixnixxxx~~ disappointed, bitter group of young people. And I think, though I use the term, responsiveness, ~~we-ve-get-te-be--~~there's got to be a fairer approach to employment opportunity there. There's got to be, I think, a breakdown of the segregated housing pattern. This is, ~~h~~ these are the things that should have been attacked. The de facto segregation with schools, is an academic matter, is you know. I'm not by any means sure that the method of dealing with the problem, is to bus one group from one community to the other.

Q: You can't do it in Washington, anyway.

a; My feeling is that the job is to build in each of these ~~g~~ communities that school that recognizes at the outset, that you're

dealing with a problem, different from, a problem involving educating middle class white children. \_\_\_\_\_ they're terribly overcrowded, some of the teachers are bitter, by virtue of the fact that they're assigned there in the first instance; I've seen text book problems that are a disgrace; I have seen a lack ~~agx~~ of guidance in counsellig \_\_\_\_\_ sensitive to the problems of these youngsters. I've seen some of the poorest teaching I've seen in \_\_\_\_\_ situation like this. If you start from the assumption, I don't care what the minority is, that this is a group that is partially deprived, you can't assign teachers on the same basis, whatever \_\_\_\_\_, it has to be in terms of enough people to get a job done, if these people are going to be anything but drags upon the economic system. \_\_\_\_\_. That's enough, I've talked too long to this point.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ method is going to do much good. Some Negroes in the north have told me that they regard \_\_\_\_\_ as a tactic, a pressure tactic, not as a solution. A way of dramatizing the problem.

A: Yes, but think one of the things that ought to accompany every pressure tactic, is a clear goal. If you disagree with what is now being done, what is the proposal that you are struggling for. You're going to articulate it. So that everybody understands what the objective is, because how else can you elicit \_\_\_\_\_ the support of people, \_\_\_\_\_ who, if they understood it, \_\_\_\_\_.

Q: Well, some people say that the best tactic, is gaining a great deal of support, \_\_\_\_\_ ~~related~~ related to the realistic view of what should be the objective.

A: \_\_\_\_\_

Q: Well, I'm gonna thank you. I must go

A: I know you're gonna stay for lunch.

Q: I wish I could stay here for the lunch you offered me.

END OF TAPE TWO

STEPHEN WRIGHT, FEB. 15.

v