

ROBERT PENN WARREN - CONVERSATION WITH JAMES FARMER

JF: Do you want to ask questions, or -

RPW: Just - you just - speak to the part about White and the donors business.

XN JF: Yes. Well I of course was unaware that the President had made any such request that there be a cooling off period or cessation of demonstrations. I do know that in August Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, called a meeting of the heads of the various civil rights organizations in his office, and at that time Mr. Wilkins offered a statement which he had prepared that attacked the light backlash, stated concern about it, stated concern about Goldwater and Goldwaterism, the threat of Goldwater particularly, and stated that we would have a moratorium on demonstrations until after the election. I did refuse to sign such a statement -

RPW: Yes, I remember that fact, yes.

USE JF: - declined to sign it on several grounds, one, I was not convinced that the so-called white backlash was a significant factor or would be a significant factor in the election. I did not believe that any substantial number of white citizens who formerly were for the civil rights movement were now against it. What I thought had happened was that people who had been against it all along had now become more vocal and articulate and that some who had been apathetic now were becoming antipathetic, you might say. Besides, I did not consider it good tactic or strategy to announce to opponents that you are giving up your most potent weapon. So I declined to sign. John Lewis Schmit declined to sign also.

RPW: Yes, I remember that.

JF: The statement was issued, however. There have been claims made that Johnson had asked for such a moratorium, but I have seen no verification of that.

RPW: And you have seen no verification of pressure on frank donors to civil rights organizations?

JF: No, I have no evidence that there has been any such pressure. I will say that there has been a slight decline in the funds coming in to organizations, and I have no explanation for that.

RPW: A question that may not be an appropriate question, but it is frequently said that there is an unhealthy amount, that it would be a little bit healthy if there were somewhat more Negro money in the pot, in the general civil rights pot. That's said very frequently. It's a matter of - . How do you react to that? To that notion?

JF: I think it would be healthier. I think we ought to get money from all sources, white and Negro, but it has been one of the tragedies in the civil rights movement that the Negroes have contributed so little in terms of funds. It was a \_\_\_\_\_ movement. There are many reasons for that. There has not been a tradition of giving within the Negro community. There has been a tradition of receiving instead. Second, we in CORE raise about eighty percent of our budget through direct mail appeals, and replying to direct mail appeals requires a relatively high degree of sophistication and stability. One has to have a permanent address and stay there for a period of time and have a bank account so that he can send in a check and so forth. So that's not conducive to large-scale Negro

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giving. Well, I read it with much interest and I find that basically sympathetic and good. My big concern is that CORE seems to be mentioned as an afterthought rather than as an integral part of the summer project. CORE has had rather large-scale activities in Mississippi since the Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961. As a matter of fact, Schwerner and Cheney were CORE staff members and the Fourth Congressional District where Nashoba County is, Marietta County, are CORE territory, and the people there are CORE, and we've had dozens of workers working in the Fourth Congressional District largely and a CORE field secretary in charge of Mississippi, Dave Dennis, has worked as Bob Moses' assistant, assistant program director of Cofor. So CORE was in with Cofor at the very beginning and it was not a question as far as we are concerned of our not being able to pull out because the initiative. We were

in from the very beginning and had no intentions of pulling out.

RPW: What about the matter of the effect of the summer project?

How do you assess the short-range and long-range effects?

JF: Well, I think the greatest effect was in giving the Negro community a sense of not being alone, that there were people outside who were interested. Another important effect was on the students who went down there in the summer. They saw the horrors at first hand and will not be the same again, and will I believe be intimately involved with the movement from now on. In terms of numbers of people registered, it was very little. That is not significant.

RPW: Dr. Henry said it's around 400; other people have said it's

as high as 12 or 13 hundred - actual registrations.

as low as that.

JF: Yes, that would be closer to our estimate too.

RPW: 400?

JF: Yes, around 400.

RPW: That would really matter, that kind of margin. I am told by people who have worked rather closely with the student movement - have been there for two years - that there was real resistance last winter on the part of the SNIC people to - and some other people in the civil rights movement in Mississippi - to taking on any substantial number of white students.

JF: There was some resistance to that, partly because of the new desire for self expression on the part of Negroes and a sense of identity and race pride and that sort of thing - similar to the nationalist emotional sentiment. And I think it was more than that. There was the fear that the white students would be better educated, better skilled, and so forth.

RPW: Bob Moses

JF: Yes, there was that fear. The result of the summer project - and this was somewhat unfortunate I think, was that the project did not involve local people. In fact, in many cases local people who had been involved in the movement pulled out when they saw these skilled youngsters from the North coming down. They couldn't type that well and couldn't write or read that well, so they pulled out and said perhaps they don't need me, and didn't come around.

RPW: Now, this applied both to Negro and white outsiders coming in? Are there different stories on that, you see?

JF: Well, it applied mostly to the whites, because the Negroes coming in did not have, on an average, the same educational and skills qualifications that the white youth did. But it did apply to them to some degree. Now, we find that after the students left for the summer some of the local people are coming around again and saying well, maybe you need me again.

RPW: Let's go back to the convention for a moment. I have had an account from various people that you had to patch these things together. Did you see that? It was only a matter of a half a page  
a half - to be accurate is the main point.  
I'm not dwelling on it. This is a sort of footnote you see  
a footnote. The point was that pressure to accept the compromise was fairly evident.

JF: Well, there was no pressure on me, and I did not ask them to accept the compromise. I pointed out that I thought that the compromise - or that the ~~DF~~'s position in rejecting the compromise was morally right but politically wrong, and they had to make a decision on whether they wanted to be moral on this issue or whether they wanted to be political. I thought also that the compromise could have been made more acceptable. I think you indicate that in your notes here. If the credentials committee had not selected the two people who would be seated at large, because the Negroes' predictable reaction was we've spent too many years having white people pick

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our leaders for us.

RPW: It was tactless to say the least.

JF: Certainly. But I'm told that there was considerable pressure from the labor movement and from Senator Humphrey - the labor movement through Walter Reuther, and then Senator Humphrey. Presumably this came directly from the Administration. And we found that after this pressure was applied, from whatever source, that the support that we had in the credentials committee for the Green resolution - Edith Green's resolution - evaporated, and the commitments that we had gotten - I spent a great deal of time speaking before delegations from various states, urging them to do things, one, to support the Edith Green proposal, and two, to support roll call. on it and get a floor fight. But we found that the commitments that we had gotten on that (silent space) -

RPW: You were saying that you had strong support for the Edith Green proposal.

JF: Yes. You know the Edith Green proposal -

RPW: Yes, I do - yes.

JF: - that the loyalty oath be given to all, and those who took it be seated. Now, we had gotten commitments from a number of the delegations - state delegations - that they would support that proposal and that they would support a roll call on the floor, and get a floor fight. We had enough to be assured of it.

RPW: committee.

JF: Yes, yes. But this support evaporated after the pressure was

applied.

RPW: Now, Dr. Henry says he throughout had been strongly pulling for hearing from all of the leaders of the various civil rights organizations wanting to speak before a vote was taken, but this was not done, that the vote was taken before there had been a chance for the leaders of the various organizations to express themselves and to discuss the matter before the body of the the Democratic Party.

JF: That is correct. The first vote was taken quickly. The motion was made by Bob Moses, and he insisted upon a quick vote on it rather than a delay. And it was just two or three minutes after this vote was taken, which was overwhelmingly to reject the compromise, that we learned that Governor Johnson of Mississippi had rejected the compromise and had ordered his delegates to pack up and go home. It might have been - I don't know - this is purely speculative - that if there had been a slight delay in the vote and we had learned of Johnson's - Governor Johnson's actions before the vote was taken, that the Freedom Democratic Party's decision might have been different.

RPW: One of the SNIC people tells me that it was not known at the time of this vote that the support in the credentials committee had evaporated.

JF: Well, there were indications that it was evaporating. But it had not completely evaporated at the time. But we knew that the pressure was on, and we knew that the people were yielding to that pressure.

RPW: I understand, too, that for instance when the compromise was offered that Carmichael - Mr. Carmichael said in public - outdoors - outside on the - you know, the group outside - this proves that the liberal Democrats are as racist as any Goldwater. (laughter)

heat of passion.

JF: Yes, that undoubtedly was the heat of passion. And I don't think Stokeley would try to defend that position.

RPW: I have an idea that he wouldn't, but the point I'm getting at is this. By some accounts there has been a great hardening of attitude since the convention among the people who were back of Mississippi. This was given me by various SNIC workers who agree about this fact, that there was more of a tendency to go it alone, to cut off from outside support, a growing suspicion of the fight - quotes - liberal Democrat.

JF: On the part of the state people you mean?

RPW: On the part of - this was said about the SNIC people - about SNIC people by SNIC workers. Now, there's no way to - I should be asking - I am asking Bob Moses some of these same questions - but I'll be doing that - I couldn't do it when he was in town before he left, but I'm going to get in touch with him again. I am in fact in correspondence with him now. Do you have any impression of that sort, that this - the convention would have had a - Mississippi - the whole business had a hardening effect on a sense of withdrawal from the - from white contact, white support?

JF: Well, there is a growing feeling, and it was growing before the convention, but perhaps was accelerated by the events of the conven-

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tion, that we have no friends. I find this among the younger people, especially in the South, the younger Negroes, that there are no real friends who will stand up when the chips are down. Yet it's contradictory in a way because the same people who adopt that position spend a great deal of time raising their funds in the North from white liberal sources. Money is given to support the campaign in the South. We find, incidentally, that many white liberals will give much more readily to support Mississippi than they will to support any activities in the North, because it's way down yonder and it's always easier to slay cobras in Borneo.

RPW: That's right. It certainly is. (laughter). But the go-it-alone attitude is coming - is hardening out, you think, to some degree, particularly among the young.

JF: Yes, it is. Yes. But I think they are smart enough to know that they can't support the movement without the help of such people.

RPW: Now, another thing that seems to come out of Mississippi - I haven't been there in quite some months now - I'm going back very soon now - is this - a real split has developed - I suppose a natural split between, say, the theorizers of the movement, chiefly your young SNIC people but including some others too, and the rank and file, particularly the native Mississippians, who have practical objectives. They just want ~~them~~<sup>not</sup> to be shot or they want a job, you know - the practical pragmatic approach, opposed to the high theorizing of the local, you know, ~~the local branch~~ - the high command. And this is clearly becoming more and more marked. One thing being the notion of the association

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of the movement in Mississippi with the present revolt, the world-wide land drive, and these things. That kind of theorizing.

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JF: Yes, there is such a division developing, and it's shaping up as a division between the large group of staff people who have been the movement in Mississippi over the summer and the local Negro community. Local ~~New York~~ <sup>Managers</sup> Community is not at all interested in the theorizing, and at this structure sees no real identification between their struggle and the struggle in Viet Nam or any place else in the world. All they want is the right to vote and the right to a decent job and decent house and not to be pushed around.

RPW: This goes back to the matter of the screening of the summer workers at Oxford, Ohio, or the lack of screening by all accounts, that for instance Haversam, who covered this for the Times and his pieces - these are some of the pieces - these were not published - he has told me about, given me access to this information - he said there was no screening, and he was very disturbed about some of the types who were admitted. He said this is a matter of policy too, purely a matter of policy, and it's now reflected in this other alienation, you see, that I'm talking about.

JF: Well, I don't comment on the types who were represented during the project, but I will state that there should have been more screening, and if there are subsequent projects, then there ought to be more screening. The Freedom Rides we tried to screen out people very well. We found it difficult, however, after it become a mass movement. But screening is absolutely essential. Some of the conflicts, some of the tensions could have been avoided. And I would say also that there was

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inadequate organization in the summer project, a change of command, and who makes what decisions, and that sort of thing. But everything happened so fast and was so large.

RPW: Yes, a thing like that is not subject to military discipline. It has to take its own shape more or less. I think anyone would realize that problem. One other thing that I get again from actual workers, not from random gossip, there has been a tendency in the growth of the Freedom Democratic Party to have more and more sort of manipulation from above rather than actual democratic procedure in the whole operation of the Party in Mississippi. This is - as I say, this comes from actual workers, not from - some say it's natural and some deplore it.

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JF: Well, I think both things are true. It may be natural and it still might be deplored. I think that you will find the same thing in the major parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, that there is a great deal of manipulation from the top, rather than real grass roots participation.

RPW: Sure, that's probably true.

JF: And I think it's true in the Freedom Democratic Party too. I think that the decision-making procedures have not been clearly enough drawn up to allow for the grass roots participation.

RPW: Let's turn to a matter of the segregationist resistance in Mississippi. There has been a series of indications that there are cracks developing in the resistance. Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ in the Times tells the story about the head of the press - the Mississippi press organiza-

tion, saying now is the time to look at ourselves for a change, to find out what's really wrong with us, "us" being the Mississippi power structure. They say we can't trust these people to run the state now. He said - as much as said that in so many words. Of these various indications, like the McCone statement, how much importance do you attach to these indications?

JF: I attach a great deal of importance to it. It was Ralph McGill who said several years ago that he felt segregation and discrimination would come to an end when American business insisted that it be halted. And I think that's true in Mississippi. It's significant that McCone the two men who took the lead in getting this statement out signed by 665 white citizens of the town were bankers, and obviously they were concerned that money wasn't coming into the town. And this has been the case wherever there has been racial tension.

RPW: The whole state's dying (talking together) rapidly.

JF: Yes. I think that we'll find this crack widening even more when and if the federal government follows through on Title 6 of the '64 Civil Rights Act and withholds funds from the projects and programs that discriminate. That will be practically all of the projects and programs in Mississippi now subsidized by the federal government. Even more when they really feel the pinch on nationwide boycotts.

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The position we've taken on boycotts in Mississippi is that we don't want across-the-board boycott. We want to use two things. We want to use a stick and a carrot as well. So I'm sending a letter today to businesses, at least a hundred major businesses in Mississippi pointing out the horrors that have taken place in that state and

pointing out their responsibility as financial leaders of the state to do something about it, and asking them specifically what steps they are taking and have taken or plan to take in the following fields - employment of Negroes at all levels in their company, securing them effective, equal and responsible law enforcement in the community in which they operate, a statewide climate of acceptance of the mandates of the United States Constitution, and we are asking to hear from them on that. If we get an unfavorable reply or unresponsive reply or no reply at all, then there will be boycott against those specific companies. But we will exempt those companies that are doing something.

RPW: Instead of across the board?

JF: Instead of across the board boycott which does not allow anybody any out. You might as well join forces then with the segregationists for mutual defense.

HPW: Tell me this - what are the chances do you think of - psychologically of a crack in the arrest of the 21 who stand accused of the FBI participation in that - this is guesswork, but what about public opinion <sup>swinging</sup> ~~fleeing~~/toward actual indictment or is that too tight -

too tight for that?

JF: Well, I think there is a possibility of an indictment because of the desire of Mississippi to get off the hook and to escape the economic pressure from without and to improve its public relations image generally. It's tending to feel isolated now, feel that it's becoming an island and that the rest of the country is pointing at it. So I think there is a possibility of a murder charge being filed by the state and an indictment gotten. I am not optimistic about the chances

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for conviction, because here you have to have twelve Mississippi jurors voting unanimously. The best we could hope for I think is a hung jury.

RPW: What about the notion that \_\_\_\_\_ developed there which struck me in the last few months about the - Mississippi being off balance now, \_\_\_\_\_ they have broken the basic technique of a power structure boys to keep up ~~order~~<sup>order</sup> and segregation together. They try to keep order and have segregation \_\_\_\_\_ Now, this blew up during the summer \_\_\_\_\_ Before this most of the violence had been kept in balance somehow - appeared too under the auspices of order or law. Now it has blown up entirely with the rise of the Klan and this big Nashoba thing and the rest. Does that make any sense to you? That they are now off balance, that they have no way to get back on balance?

JF: Well, I don't think there's ever been really order in Mississippi. The difference - the big difference is that now they spotlight of public attention is on the state. In the past there have been murders of the Klan as \_\_\_\_\_. There have been bombings and burnings and that sort of thing. But it has not been highly or widely publicized. Medgar Evers told me just a moment before his death that it was not extraordinary for a body to come floating down the Pearl River or the Mississippi or the Big Black River, or for some Negro who had been involved in the movement to have a weird freak accident on the highway and go off an embankment or over a bridge or something. So that this was not extraordinary. But now when these things happen the whole nation and the whole world knows about it. Nor do I think that the

extreme racists, the Klan and so forth has become more active now. I think they always have been active and my impression is that there has been an alliance between the law enforcement officers and these groups - the vigilante groups - to maintain order, and order, according to their definition, was quiescence on the part of the Negroes and acquiescence, acceptance. But certainly there can no longer be that in Mississippi or any place else in the South now. And this has been the major point of the movement, to make it clear that there can not be order and peace without justice.

RPW: If Mississippi cracks do you think the whole thing will crack all across the Deep South?

JF: Not necessarily. Not necessarily. I think that we'll have to do battle in Louisiana as we are doing battle in Louisiana now. For the past two years without much publicity we've had 30, 40 and 50 staff workers working the whole state of Louisiana, and this summer we plan to be stepping that up. I don't expect that the other hard core areas, Alabama, most of Louisiana, southwest Georgia, northern Florida, will fall automatically if Mississippi falls. I think that we'll have to struggle county by county, city by city, town by town, state by state.

RPW: What about the debt theory of there being a debt owed to the - we'll call it slavery to Negroes, as distinguished from simply ordinary programs for education and apply across the board irrespective of ethnic or other considerations, a mostly moral debt to the Negro-American because his great grandfather was once a slave?

JF: I'm not impressed with that argument, but I've heard a great deal

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of it. I am impressed with an argument that is closely related to that, however, that because of the past and present discrimination of these Negroes a special effort has to be made now.

RPW: That's different, though.

JF: Yes, that's different.

RPW: That would apply to men of any complexion, or any ethnic origin.

JF: That's right. If you've been discriminated against and deprived then the society has a responsibility to help upgrade you.

RPW: All poor and people are - that's about a - a citizen's right and not a debt for the grandfather. Is that right?

JF: No, I am - I don't believe in this genetic guilt and that sort of thing.

RPW: Of course that theory is a split right down the middle of, you know, the world. Dr. King you see - is for the debt theory, you see - moral justification. you know - there's no agreement on this.

JF: No, but I believe in moral justification of what we're doing, but I put it on the basis of the present rather than the slave period.

RPW: How do you react to Mr. Ruskin's notion that the movement now is really a catalytic agent one might say for a big social movement that is about to come - the Negroes' activities are a kind of a pilot operation, a kind of catalytic agency for a big social revolution which is in order with automation and other technological changes.

JF: Well, I think certainly the Negro revolution is going side by side with at least one of the revolutions of the two - we're in a

triple revolution theory - automation or  
revolution of technology is going side by side with the Negro revolution, and at some point they'll have to get together, and in a sense they have gotten together in the war on poverty - Johnson's anti-poverty program. But the fact of the matter is that most of our activists throughout the country do not perceive of themselves as leading or serving as catalysts in any general social movement. They are interested in their problem primarily. If a man in a cave confronted with a tiger he is not going to be very much concerned about the lion that's wandering around outside in the woods. He's going to be preoccupied with his tiger. I think that's true of the people who are involved in our movement by and large.

RPW: There are two lines of theorizing that go - that lead to that position, of course one being that when the world you know - the present revolution, the world revolution, all of that - the Viet Nam stuff - and the other being the big overhaul of American society which is presumably a catalytic and a pilot. But you've answered the question.

JF: But I would add something to it - the answer, however. I would say that there is a growing awareness in the civil rights movement now that our problems are not simple, that they're complex, that they're involved with economic structure and with the problems of other minority groups and with politics. For that reason we are expanding our program, we are broadening it, we are insisting upon more political involvement on the part of our chapters and our members

on a precinct level. Perhaps Freedom Democratic clubs such as now organized in Illinois, where we can help to determine candidates and put up candidates and lobby to get them nominated by the major parties. We will try to do less of speaking at the power structure - talking at them, and then protesting the decisions after the decisions are made. We will try to help determine the make-up of the power structure and be in on the decision-making and that manner. We also will broaden our program economically, which means two things. One, greater use of the economic weapon to achieve our objectives - the boycott, withholding, selective buying and so forth. Two, it means an attempt to upgrade economically the Negro community, the ghetto. We realize the ghetto is going to be with us for a long time, even if Negroes have the freedom to move out, to move elsewhere, many will stay there voluntarily while others will stay because they are locked in economically even if there's no discrimination elsewhere. So we've got to upgrade it economically, and this means co-ops, it means credit unions, it means pooling of resources to start businesses and industries and that sort of thing, not in the way the Black Nationalists speak of it as a rival economy but in the sense of urging Negroes to participate fully in every aspect of American life. Third, educational. We realize that - now even if we wiped out discrimination tomorrow, we might have achieved the freedom by which we mean the freedom to make meaningful choices in housing and jobs and schools and so forth. But we will not have achieved equality which is essential to fully utilizing that

economic use

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freedom. So we are pressing hard for remedial education program massive in scope by the federal government. If it is not done by the federal government then we will do it ourselves on as large a scale as our resources allow.

RPW: It's a real must.

JF: Yes. I think it's absolutely necessary if (talking together). Yes. If a youngster can't read you're not going to be able to re-train him to fit into automated industry.

RPW: What's the next general move aside from what you were just saying in terms of the - not civil rights now but general movement? You've been covering the economic side of it. What else do you see as crucial or as important? That would make for integration? What does integration mean in your - you know - in your long-range idea? What is the word to use? (talking together)

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JF: What we mean by integration or an integrated society or an open society, - first I can tell you what we don't mean. We do not see a society in which Negroes will be absorbed and will disappear as Negroes - lose their identity completely. I think that's not possible, it's not in the American tradition nor is it desired by most Negroes. There is now a growing awareness in self identity among Negroes and this would run counter to it. What we do see is a freedom to make meaningful choices, that is, no racial racial restrictions on where a person might live. If one wants to live any place in the city or in the suburbs he should be able to live there if he has the money to pay for the housing that's available. In terms

of jobs the same thing would be true. If he has the skills and the qualifications he should be able to work at any job without any restrictions on him. So it would be a permissive society in that way. But I do not see it as a society in which Negroes would lose their identity. I think that Negroes can only come into an integrated society as an equal - proud and equal partner who are proud of their own heritage and traditions and sub-culture and come in because they have something to give and something to share and are willing to receive what others have to give, and this pride does not mean in my judgment a rejection of the contributions which others have made. Nor does it mean a counter-hate.

RPW: How much of this withdrawal we have talked about in - among at least some of the people in Mississippi, the go-it-alone, the hardening up of attitude, the growing suspicion of any white cooperation, or the suspicion of any white's sincerity - how wide spread is that do you think, as a growing sentiment? Do you sense it as a growing sentiment?

JF: I would say a growing sentiment, but only among the staff people. I don't see it as a significant feeling among the rank and file Negroes in Mississippi or any place else. But you must remember that the operation is similar and this is one of its weaknesses, was largely the staff operation if you consider the volunteers as staff, and was not an operation involving the people in the community to any great extent. The people in the community don't have to go it alone attitude now. The pros do.

RPW: Does that seem realistic to you?

JF: Going it alone? Absolutely not. Absolutely not. There's no hope in a go it alone policy as far as the Negro in this country is concerned in my opinion. I do agree with Rusten on this point that we've got to have allies. There must be allies. I don't agree with him in his insistence that we've got to make power allies of labor and that sort of group because if we form an alliance - a formal alliance with AFL-CIO or individual unions we'll be junior partners in such an alliance because they have power and we don't. We'll be the tail to the dog. And this I would not accept.

RPW: As far as I can make out, there's - I would say in the last five years there has been a real change in awareness and attitude among a large number of the white people I'm acquainted with one way or another, a sense of growing urgency that this matter has to be solved and solved with some justice and some human recognition. This is my range of observation. So seeing this among the people that I see or even have slight acquaintance with - I mean, people who would tend to be a little bit segregationist - put on the one hand over against the go it alone, the hardening attitude among certain Negroes. I see this as a kind of a - a sort of a built in necessity I guess for the historical moment. But I do feel it.

JF: I think you're right in your judgment there. I think that there is that sentiment among whites, and it's a fairly general one - that feeling. I am sure that this is because of the pressure that we've maintained through demonstrations and so forth, and I also know from my little study of history that people's memories are very short, and I fear that this sentiment will die down if the pressure is re-

moved, and this is one reason CORE cannot, could not during the summer and cannot now have a moratorium on demonstrations.

RPW: Subject of course is that demonstrations in the North won't work, that there's really a of Southern operation.

They don't have the effect in the North because the targets are too amorphous.

JF: Well, this I would say is nonsense, really. In California our CORE chapters have 26 or 28 chapters out there. They had a state-wide campaign against discrimination in the Bank of America, the biggest bank in the country if not in the world, involving demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and so forth. They won. They won 8,000 new jobs for Negroes, and this is a victory. And there have been other such victories in stores - Safeway Stores, A & P Stores and other companies. We had a boycott here with demonstrations two years ago against a brewery company, and it was victorious. It won. So the demonstrations work if they are focused, but obviously they are more complicated here. We've had demonstrations in housing that have won - won minor victories, such as opening up one apartment house or housing development to Negroes. And they've been carried out successfully by sit-in demonstrations. So the demonstrations worked. I don't see a demonstration as a rabbit's foot, however, or as a fetish, but I'm not a dogmatist there, that wherever you have a problem you wave the rabbit foot and the dogma somehow disappears. The demonstration has to be geared to the nature of the problem. The tactic that you use has to be so geared.

RPW: I was talking the other day to a Mr. Myers of - he is professor of sociology at Yale. He said as far as he could now see that we are doomed to a six percent of blank population, that is, people who can't take care of themselves, will never be and so on, economically or socially. And this is not a question of race. This is a - any ethnic group, it's just this six percent of dead weight. That is, he said that this will gradually level that group and gradually raise - American good will - they raise it just a little bit, you know - subsidize it. But he said that there is no indication that you would ever get a lower figure than that as of now.

JF: Well, I too think that as of now - that is, if we don't use some different methods to try to elevate them, I think that he's right. But I don't think that we can afford to rely upon aimless American good will to (voice ceases) ...

