

Q: Does that little remark from M r. Evers carry any conviction in you.

HASTIE: It does. Hearing it, made me think of something I don't remember who first said it, or if I ever knew who first said it. The quotation that comes to my mind -- nothing that the white man can give the Negro is as important as the respect he withholds. Now that is important I think ~~is~~ both for the Negro's reaction and for the whiteman's reaction. The Negro's resentment of particular situations is certainly underlain by his resentment of the respect that is withheld. And so many of the acute situations would be , would not be acute, if the Negro has the feeling of being genuinely respected. Many of the demonstrations which, to some people, may seem pointless, or at least misdirected, I think, and here I am playing the psychologist, are expressions of a inward urge to do something that both helps one's self-respect and wins respect from other people. So much from the Negro's point of view, and from the point of view of his white neighbor, I think ~~xxx~~ that as the Negro wins the white man's respect, regardless of fondness or affection, it becomes easier for the two to deal with each other on a meaningful and constructive basis.

Q: That is, the Negro's seeking of identity in the personal sense, is also connected with his seeking of a social identity, is ~~xxx~~ that right, to put it in other language.

HASTIE: Well, I'm not sure which is personal identity and which is social identity. Spell out what you mean.

Q: Allright, I was think his sense of self-respect as his personal identity.

HASTIE: Oh yes, yes, in many ways, perhaps are opposite sides of a coin.

Q: Yes, I should assume that they were. But they go together, then.

HASTIE: I think they do, unquestionably.

Q: Let us take thisline of speculation for a moment, let's assume that a pe rfect civil rights bill has been ~~passed, and---~~passed, is drawn and passed, with teeth in it; let us assume the Fair employment practice things are in operation and are ~~in-force--~~enforced; let us assume we have integration of schools as far as , as practical , forgetting these extreme problems. What remains to be done, and who's responsible for doing some of thethings that are to be done.

HASTIE: Well, the basic thing thatremains to be done, though this is an important step, an essential step, I think, along the way, the basic thing that remains to be done, is to develop a community in ~~white--~~which men wi t in themselves regard race and color as a ~~matter-of-~~matter of no great consequence. That would be my brief answer to your question.

q; Now what responsibilities would theNegro have in this?

HASTIE: He would have , one of his responsibilities, is to seek to deal with his fellow men as individuals, rather , than as white men and black men, just as the white person would have the same responsibility. The Negro would have ~~xxxx~~ to come out of the protective shell, the habit of generations of living, which would impel~~x~~ him to seek in his whole range of community relationships, people ~~xxx~~ of the same race or color, because there is no question that today you find many situations ⁱⁿ ~~which~~ members of the white community are willing to meet Negroes more than half way, in ~~xxxx~~ human relationships which ~~xxxx~~ generally ignore race, yet find Negroes not responsive to it.

Q: How much is that a problem of what we might call de facto inferiority, rather than any race inferiority as such. How much is that problem, a problem that has not been faced, by and large, by Negro publicists, or leaders, or society in general.

HASTIE: How much is there a problem of defacto inferiority that has not been faced?

Q: As a responsibility of the Negro to face.

HASTIE: Oh, there is certainly ~~xxx~~ is a very real problem of developing both social attitudes , personal pride, ambition, all of those characteristics that lead an individual to make as much as he can of himself individually, and as a useful member of society. There's much of that that has to be done, and of course, a substantial part of the burden of that, is on ~~xxxx~~ members of the Negro community themselves.

Q: This goes back, I suppose, to the old ~~split~~ ^{split} ~~split~~ between the Booker T. Washington approach and that of Dubois, and that whole switch from "self-improvement" as a watch word, to right and power, ~~as~~ watch words.

HASTIE: It's very hard, some of it, is the hen and the egg dilemma. It is much harder to work effectively from, for self-improvement, when all of the pressures of society, or not all the pressures, but the dominant pressures of ~~society~~ society, are such as to convince the individual that he is not capable of very much self-improvement. So, I think that Dubois was right in recognizing that from the very beginning, there had to be major emphasis, on status ~~and~~ and recognition and community acceptance, because without some substantial measure of those, the other drive doesn't go so far. Now of course, you can, I realize people would ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ reverse that and say that it is much easier to win acceptance if the person demonstrates ~~hat-he---~~ that he is worthy of acceptance. I think part of Dubois' dealing with that, was his concept of the "talented tenth" and many of the, those who were fighting ⁱⁿ emancipation, the Abolitionists, had the same idea, that the goal can be achieved by a representative number or minority of Negroes, so demonstrating their fitness for acceptance that people would come to realize that denial of acceptance ~~could---~~ should not be a racial thing.

Q: You see ~~this~~ things like this, for instance, speech by James Baldwin, which I heard ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Washington, ^{at} ~~at~~ Howard University Nonviolent Conference last fall, -- "The lowest Negro ~~xxxx~~ drunkard or dope pusher has no reason to feel apologetic to any white man." Now this an oracular pronouncement that probably means nothing excepting

an attitude of a certain sort, self-improvement kind of thing.

Denying

HASTIE: Of course, to me, that is, I understand that statement being made, but to me, it's meaningless statement. Of course, he has no reason to be apologetic to any "white man", but he has reason to be apologetic to himself, and to society.

Q: And in a way, to other Negroes.

HASTIE: Of, of course,

Q: Very definitely, would you say.

HASTIE: Yes, yes.

Q: I noticed in a speech by Dr. King, more recently, that he wound up with a shift to the self-improvement theme, very emphatically -- "If you are a street sweeper, be such a street sweeper & that the angels in heaven will bend over and say "what a street sweeper ~~or have~~---we have!". Now this is the old, this sounds ~~ix~~ like Booker T. Washington, you see, back to the laying down your buckets where you are. A whole swing, you see, back, to that

hastie; I'm not sure that it ~~ix~~ is, because I think every school or every leader in one way or another, tries to drill and stimulate pride in his followers. And I don't think that is an earmark of one school, rather than the other. The Black Muslims of course -- pride in blackness -- is part of their thesis.

Q: And self-improvement too.

HASTIE:

And self-improvement also, yes. So I don't believe that's a distinguishing characteristic between schools. It may be that the distinction is that Booker Washington had a tendency to make that almost a whole program, as distinguished from one feature, of a program having other major aspects.

Q: But there seems to be, I don't want to speak as if I had any, made a survey of this, but the notion of self-improvement has become almost disreputable, in certain circles, because it seems to give something away. The propaganda.

HASTIE: Are you speaking now of the contemporary scene, or are you speaking historically.

Q: Well, both, both. The emphasis has shifted ~~very~~ the other way, and, but it's maybe my sympathy with Dubois, you see, I think we have to be on that. The question is now a little different, of whether the self-improvement idea, has now taken on a symbolic value, which is a negative, where it seems to imply time, process, delay, you see, ~~there~~ becomes a bad word.

HASTIE: I see, yes, there has, certainly a large part of Negro leadership is suspicious of the emphasis on self-improvement by those elements of the white community which are thought to be disposed to slow down the drive for equality. On the other hand, I suspect that it would be hard to find any significant Negro leadership

which in dealing with the members of the Negro community themselves, did not place some substantial emphasis on self-improvement.

Q: Somewhere, in fact, in the last book, James Baldwin says ~~§~~ that the best ~~xxx~~ testimony is that the southern mob does not ~~represent~~ the will of the southern majority.

HASTIE: It may be that it doesn't represent the way of the southern majority, in the sense of procedure, but in the sense of maintaining the status quo, or preventing any major shift in racial etiquette and accommodation and so on, I wish I could feel it did not represent the will of the majority, but as of 1964, I'm afraid it does. Of course, we've had, we go back 25 or 30 years and find that prevailing sentiment in the south, came to disavow lynching as a ~~errable~~--horrible crime, but that did not mean that the dominant will was against keeping the Negro in ~~his~~ his place, it was against keeping him in his place, in that particularly horrible and ~~shocking~~ shocking way.

Q: What about the northern will to keep the Negro in his place?

HASTIE: Well, I think unhappily there's more of that will ~~than~~ than we sometimes like to recognize. I think I said to you earlier that the 25% vote for governor Wallace in the Wisconsin ~~primary~~ primary, I'm afraid, truly represents at least a 25% view in your so-called liberal northern communities, against a, some changes in the status of the Negro -- for example, unsegregated or free access to residential neighborhoods, and numbers of other aspects of segregation.

Q: I read a report on the Gallup Poll about northern attitudes , a few weeks ago, recent poll, I mean, recent in a matter of months, on public accommodations, the sentiment, northern sentiment ran very high, say 75% in favor of, you know, free access to public accommodations, no discrimination.

HASTIE: Yes, I would think it might even run higher.

Q: Or even higher, as given then, about 75-80, maybe 80%, it's high anyway. The other , right with it, "would you consider leaving your neighborhood of a Negro family ~~a~~ came in?" It ran almost as high, ~~xxxxxx~~ would seriously considering leaving it -- or would do so. About 55,

HASTIE: Q: That doesn't surprise me, in fact, if I had given detail in answer to one of your other questions, as to what has to be done, after there is the needed legislation, one of the basic indexes of the change of sentiment in which people don't think of race as an important thing about other people, one of the basic indexes is attitude towards living in the same immediate neighborhood with Negroes. And I have the feeling that that is the , perhaps the last of the major community practices to be changed, and perhaps the most difficult change.

Q: Is it possible that it would be ~~easier to~~ easier to change in the south than it is in the north?

HASTIE: I heard that said from time to time, and there is of course, some historic basis for it, because urban residential segregation on a broad scale, is the product of your restrictive covenants and your comparable practices, in the building ~~a~~, the development

of northern ~~six~~ cities, largely in the period between the first and second world war. And you have historically found during that period, many southern communities, in which a relatively few Negro families who were economically in a position to live in a better neighborhood or who happened to own property and lived for a few generations in that neighborhood, lived quite peacefully, there. So historically there is a northern , there was a northern development of this segregated residential pattern. Now, whether it is easier today, to get persons in the south to change that pattern, than in the north, in that there is some feeling of community, greater feeling of community in southern towns, than there is in northern towns, I don't know.

Q; You find this strange thing, an extremely bright young Negro lawyer in New Orleans, complaining to me that they had no ghetto. This is a ~~big~~ political defect.

HASTIE: In New Orleans.

Q: They have no concentration of votes , you see.

HASTIE: New Orleans is an atypical city, because of its whole historic background , of Creoles, people of mixed blood, and even of anti-segregation legislation that was on the Louisiana statute books, but ignored, ~~for~~ 30-40 years ago.

Q: It's true too in other southern towns, to a degree, the interlocking of neighborhoods, and overlapping of neighborhood, was regretted by a very modern-minded young man, who ~~would~~ would like to have his ghetto as a ~~political~~--political device, you know, to break

the ghetto.

HASTIE: Yes.

Q: It gets funny, doesn't it.

~~MATHEX~~ HASTIE: Yes, I think one of the very early ~~xxx~~ public housing projects in 1930s in one of the South Carolina cities, I've forgotten whether it's Charleston or Columbia, doesn't matter, but even in those early days of public housing, there were those in Washington and in the national organization, who were making some effort to set up public housing on a nonsegregated ~~xxxx~~ basis. And in this particular South Carolina city, I forget which, it was finally agreed, ~~hat~~ the new ~~housing~~--housing project, which would be a long narrow area, between two paralleling streets, with an alleyway running parallel to and between these streets, would be set up and this type of segregation. The houses facing on street A would be for Negroes, the housing facing on street B would be for whites, and there would be a common alley separating them, and the people would visit over their back fences, as the case may be, but in that sense, it was just a small indication of a community desire for the status of separation, though~~x~~ it really was not a meaningful separation, in the community life.

Q: What about the fact that there's a tradition, not a tradition, but just a fact of long standing, of personal association. That's a, that never crosses the mind, I presume, or any Negro or ~~N~~ any ~~xxxxx~~ white man, in the south, as something unusual. Personal physical ~~xxx~~ association.

HASTIE: Yes.

] Q; There are associations of all kinds.

HASTIE: Yes, association is entirely acceptable, so long as the etiquette of the superior group and the inferior group is respected.

Q: Now what about the reverse in the northern mores, there's no etiquette involved, but simply, a refusal of association, or withdrawal from association.

HASTIE: Yes.

Q: If the etiquette is changed, and segregation changes an ~~xxx~~ idea and etiquette is changed, the spadework you might say, of the personal association, some people maintain, has already been done ~~at the---~~ in the south. ~~xxx~~ It never had to be undone, it was always there, in some way, in all kinds of ways.

~~xxx~~ HASTIE: Yes.

Q: From fishingtrips to bedrooms, it was just always there.

HASTIE: That's probably ~~t-are, but---~~ true, but it ~~xxxxxxx~~ doesn't ~~xxx~~ minimize the difficulty of the problem of changing the attitude.

Q: HASTIE: No, no, no, people are gonna get shot over that.

HASTIE: Yes.

Q: No, I didn't mean to make that easy, but I'm thinking, I'm looking forward, to another stage. This line of speculation is that some people would hotly deny that it makes any sense at all. Some people say yes, it's a factor to be considered of importance. I'll read you a quote if I may, maybe I'll change the subject a little bit. "The whole tendency of a Negro History Movement, not history, but ~~xxx~~ its propaganda, is to encourage the average Negro to escape the realities, the actual achievements and actual failures of the ~~xxx~~ present. Although the movement consciously tends to build race pride, it may also cause Negroes unconsciously, to recognize that group pride is built partly on dillusions, and therefore may result in a devaluation of themselves, for being forced to resort to such self-deception." This is from ~~Arned-Res-Arnold~~ Rose~~xxxx~~, Myrdal's collaborator.

HASTIE: Yes.

Q: I might save time for you if you would ~~xxx~~ puzzle my ~~wxxx~~ writing if you wish, you're a judge a long time, so you can hear things.

HASTIE: That seems to me to presuppose a sophisticated analysis of history, that is not common experience, whether one is ~~eealing~~ dealing with a Negro or with any other person. I am not I doubt whether the reading of such history, has much broader consequences ~~han-tt~~ than the intended consequence ~~xxx~~ referred to, namely, a sense of some measure of pride, rather than ~~sxxx~~ shame in one's race

and background. I ~~don't~~ don't think that the reading of history such history, tends to make people believe it is unimportant to try to improve one's self, or, I just doubt whether in actual experience, ~~that~~ that consequence is realized.

Q: I would offer this as a piece of evidence. I would offer the evidence, of southern history, southern, official white history, where it's the old south, you see, offered^s an official ~~view-of-it~~ view of themselves, ~~by~~ of ourselves, you see, by their white confederate southerners. And this, as recognized by many many many people, still cling to this idea, even they know it's a fraud, they are passing themselves, and they feel sort of uncomfortable ~~about~~ about this. ~~And~~ When you hear to it, you break out of it, you see. But I recognize the human possibility, because I've seen this thing working for white southerners.

HASTIE: Perhaps this has an ~~aspect~~ aspect

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Q: ~~Self-~~ Self-delusion.

HASTIE: WHAT Mr. Rose had an aspect that I did not grasp at the first reading of it. It may have the effect of ~~giving~~ giving an excuse for being as I am. I have been mistreated, I have been taken advantage of, and therefore the responsibility for my improvement is exclusively the responsibility of those who have mistreated me. If that is what was meant, I certainly can see an element of truth in it. Is that the view that you think is being expressed?

Q: Well, I think that's part of it. I think there's another part, if I make it out, again by analogy. Or you could go to the

extreme case of the Black Muslim history, the false history, the fabricated history, to justify pride. But it just has to be that false., to use history as a substitute for a present reality and to build a pride which is outside of rational justification. I think the southern myth, the white veranda, and the julip and the contented darkie plucking banjo and ~~xxx~~ cavalry charges, instead of the historical south, as ~~x~~ we gather from real history. A ~~myth~~ myth, a delusion, a dream, which is used to justify some sense of superiority, or defect, as you say, in other words, it can work both ways. In the south it works both ways, ~~xxx~~ justifies the alibi, as well as ~~consolation~~ consolation.

HASTIE: Well, insofar as Negro history is used to attempt to inculcate in the Negro the idea that he is a superior person, rather ~~an-in~~---than an inferior person, as contrasted with just another human being like other human beings, of course, it's bad. I ~~xxx~~ don't believe that , there has been too much impact , whether it be of the black muslims or the Garvey movement, or any of the writings of Negro history, I don't believe there's been too much impact in convincing Negroes that they are members of a superior race. Now, to the extent that there has been that effect, certainly it's unwholesome.

END OF TAPE THREE