

ROBERT PENN WARREN BOX 11 JACKSON COLLEGE STUDENTS TAPE #2
February 12

RPW: Well, where were we when we knocked off on the other - back to the trial, I guess. Let me try this statement on you, to see how you respond to it. James Baldwin said in his last book that the Southern mob which we find Little Rock a few years ago or in New Orleans more recently, does not represent the will of the Southern white majority. This is said by many people - some deny it. What do you think about it?

BOY: Well, I would venture to say no or yes to the question. However, from living in the South I find that in many cases each one individual is afraid of the other. They're holding onto a dead past, and if I forsake this past my neighbor is going to ridicule me, and this is the sort of thing has been expressed in massive actions, not so much because of the individual convictions, I think, but more because of outside forces. This is being manifested I think a little bit more in the South as - you know, we have two parties in our last election, which is a thing that never happened in Mississippi, not in recent years.

RPW: You think, then, that there is some possibility of that being true - that the actual cutting ~~xxx~~ edge of segregation does not represent the will of the majority?

BOY: I dare say yes.

RPW: It does not - that intimidation and conflict of loyalties

of various kinds prevents any resistance to segregation,
is that it?

BOY: Yes, this is what I am saying.

RPW: How about you?

GIRL: Me? Well, I don't - as you say, this cutting edge, well,
it's just like the majority - I don't think it represents the ma-
jority - that's the impression that they want the outside to get,
I think.

RPW: They want to act as though they were - present the idea ~~but~~
that they are the will of the majority but you think they are not
really?

GIRL: Yes.

RPW: Well, what prevents the majority, then, from exerting some
sort of pressure. Do you agree with our last speaker?

GIRL: Yes - if I do, what will they think of me? And if I don't,
it's just their personal convictions. I think the thing is a
dead limb that they pass back and forth - everybody - they're
either - they're going on with the program or don't say anything.

BOY: I tend to go along with the editorial about three years ago
in majority, and which it went to
point out that there are many people who didn't agree with the
bombings, the lynchings, and the harassment of Negroes, but be-
cause of the well organized forces of certain groups, such as
the Sovereignty Commission or the Citizens Council, and the sort

of police state in which you live, you find yourself, that people are just afraid to speak out and that as they weigh the cost of speaking out over and against their personal losses, they say, well, I have more to lose than, say, a Negro would if he spoke out, you see.

GIRL: Well, in this case I think the silent majority - those people who are - sit back and watch these things going on and do not side openly with the Negro, it's just as bad as looking at somebody being murdered and don't try to stop them when you can help them. And I feel that the silent majority is just as guilty as those people who openly speak out against the Negro and their dislike for the Negro. It's something like silence is consent. But I feel the newspapers - the Southern newspapers - play this up big. I think they - they're for the purpose of selling and know what they're putting is - they're going to be bought by people and they're going to be read by people, and - they get the opinion that they want to convey to the outside - to outsiders - that it's the opinion of the majority. Well, really, it's just the few people that they happen to print it and word it so it seems like it's all - everybody.

RPW: Speaking of papers, did you see last Sunday, the Atlanta Constitution's article on the troubles here at your gate?

BOY: Yes, I saw it.

RPW: By Martin - I saw that, but I compared it with some other reports that I read in the public press - it was quite a discre-

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pancy, wasn't it? I read an editorial this morning in the Memphis Press Scimitar on the civil rights bill - did anybody see that one? It was an unequivocal endorsement of the bill - a big editorial. It told of the endorsement of the bill and said the Senate had better pass it now - quick - in the Memphis paper.

BOY: Well, I was about to say that in Memphis, although it isn't the Deep South, literally speaking, is no longer considered a city in the South. You will find that there are places in Memphis where Negroes are accepted as being men - regardless of their physical appearances. There are a few night clubs, restaurants there in Memphis who will accept the Negroes.

before 1955, I think it was - maybe even recently than that - to not put pictures of Negroes, nor did they advertise Negro businesses in their paper. But now you find that in their - this high school thing that they have - their top students in Memphis - you have Negroes in there, and you have Negro pictures in their advertisements there in Memphis.

RPW: That makes it a non-Southern city, does it?

BOY: Well, in the eye-sight of the white brothers - in the Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama area.

RPW: Does its new eyes make a non-Southern city?

BOY: Well, as far as geographically, yes - racially, no. As far as the movement is concerned.

RPW: That is, in your mind, the Southern equals segregation, is that it?

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BOY: Not really. Their laws, yes, but there are some people here in Mississippi who aren't - we were speaking of this majority a minute ago - the silent majority - now, I see the line being drawn, as far as saying the white majority being silent on an economical basis, where they have between there, fighting the Negro on one side and indoctrinating the mind of the poor white on the other side. As ~~Miss~~ Mr. McDowell said a minute ago about the pressures that the organized groups like the Ku Klux Klan - now it's the Citizens Council now, they call it - keep them - keep the wealthy people, the educated white citizens of the state or the Southern region, I should say, from expressing themselves, like Mrs. Hanna said about the ridiculing they would get as a result of that. We find that among the truly religious people of the South, there is no real - they don't endorse, I should say, the segregation issues that are presented, and if you'll notice in the demonstrations that they had here last summer, there wasn't the leaders or the great white leaders - people who are well known, who actually beat these kids on the street. It was these - the poor people around the city and here in the city who actually did all the dirty work, whereas the politicians will get up and endorse these things and say things - and if you notice that this is being changed, and I must go back a little farther - the - Governor Johnson's campaigning speeches were quite different from his inaugural speech.

RFW: I read it.

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BOY: And back to the trial--we - if it's O.K. - I don't think - well, there's a possibility of it being rigged, and a possibility that they will tie it up six-six - the vote - let him out on bond later to see how the public will accept him, and if he's not killed, then bring him back in and - you know - convict him. Now, it could be that. It could be that there's water going under the bridge, so to speak, that people are beginning to wake up and open their minds to the fact that this is wrong from the religious standpoint of view, as far as your rights and the equality of Negroes is concerned. The - in the past, juries have not hesitated to get a verdict right away - I mean, the trial has never lasted that long with a Negro killing a white man - and this time we had a week, and usually it's just a day - you know - and the next day he's out again. Never before in history has a white man been kept confined to jail quarters, although he had an opportunity to contact through mail with the outer world and

But history is being made every day, and I don't think we should look at this ~~time~~ as saying that this is all rigged because of the great possibility that it isn't.

RPW: You speak of history - do you see any irony in the fact that the March on Washington came to the shadow of the Lincoln Monument?

BOY: Well -

RPW: Of course I have had the answer that - where else was there to go?

BOY: That is true.

RPW: Even so, was there any irony in it - or humor?

BOY: I don't think so - this is a personal opinion.

RPW: I don't mean in the fact that they chose it, but in the fact that it is what they did choose - I mean, as I said, they had motives - that they had to go there. What was the purpose?

BOY: I think the purpose was to wake the nation, here in Washington - I mean, there in Washington in the summer - it was something that brought world publicity.

RPW: But why the Lincoln Monument?

BOY: Well, because - it's been written that Lincoln freed the slaves, although -

RPW: We judge a man by his motives and his attitudes and not by the accidental consequences - don't we?

BOY: That all depends.

RPW: Just why did he sign the Emancipation Proclamation?

BOY: Oh, now that - are there any historians in here? That was -

Did you hear in the news this morning that - the Daily News - Jackson Daily News has now published some editorials on the - President Lincoln - and he -

RPW: This is getting around. (laughter)

BOY: - and they're trying to say that he endorsed segregation, and I remember distinctly this quotation they had there, that he emphasized in one of his speeches that he did agree to - and he did want - separate - how was it? - separation of the races, he wanted,

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in this particular speech when he set that out.

BOY: Well, let me say that I watch the documentary on the - on Lincoln - and of course I was interested in - I had to go back and do a little reading, trying to find out, because I had heard in a previous lecture by a particular historian that because of the necessity of trying to save the Union, and not interested in the rights of Negroes particularly, that he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. But in his debate with Stephen he brought it out clearly, to all people, that he stood for equality of the individual, and that basic rights should be a part of every man and whatever color. And I think that it was from a humanitarian point of view.

RPW: I will quote you something on this in a minute. I'm afraid somebody has misinformed you. I will say, then, that I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social or political equality of the white man and the black race - Abraham Lincoln.

BOY: From what speech?

RPW: Douglas.

BOY: Between the debates?

RPW: December 18, 1858. Also, a fairly good - this is an important point, and what you make of it you see - it is an important point.

(Section not distinct - see 185-189 ft. on dial)

GIRL: it came to that point where he had to free the slaves, and he did not free them in those states or sections of states which did not There were parishes in Louisiana where the slaves were not freed as well as other places.

BOY: Just political expediency.

GIRL: Only those which had seceded from the Union - those were the only places -

GIRL: His main purpose was to save the Union, when he freed those slaves.

BOY: Political expediency.

GIRL: against those rebellious states.

RPW: This is an interesting problem to get raised in this way. There was an emancipationist who freed the slaves of his own free will. Robert E. Lee was an emancipationist - he freed his slaves early, long before the Civil War. He didn't believe in it at all. This is a sort of funny situation, isn't it? Grant held slaves until after the war.

GIRL: I think that the March on Washington Lincoln Memorial has come to have a symbolic representation for Negroes too.

RPW: Different from its literal historical significance? This is the point I am getting at - it's a strange complication.

BOY: It happens often, then.

RPW: It happens often. Now, what I am getting at is this, really -

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if in 1863 - '58 of this court session, but he still believed it after the Emancipation Proclamation - a delegation of prominent Negroes called on him at the White House - in '63 - to express appreciation - he said the same thing to them - slightly different words -

Something has happened, then, from the days of Abraham Lincoln, who said that, to the Press Scimitar. The little editor there in Memphis goes farther than Lincoln was prepared to go.

GIRL: Yes - even for Mississippi. As you know, most of the Southern papers don't report the news - well, there's a slant to what they report - but in a -

RFW: True, too, of the New York Times.

GIRL: Yes. In certain places there are exceptions to the case. For instance, in my home town, when Meredith came home and was - he was stabbed by a policeman - well, the paper seems to have been on Meredith's ~~Meredith's~~ side, because he said that Meredith had the right to come home, just as anybody else did, because this was his home. And this was an editorial in

And generally speaking, you would hardly believe that a white man would actually speak out in a small segregated town like that.

BOY: I think that there's a liberal - I think it's one of the papers in Greenville - that is quite liberal in its editorials about this - this has been - as early as, what, '58, '59 - when I was in high school - in many cases they have been ridiculed for it by many of the whites in that area, but -

RFW: He had a fist fight in the vestry one time.

BOY: Oh - that was one other point I had thought of a minute ago, but I waited for an opportunity - a comparison of the - this case with the one in about '56 or '55 - Greenwood - the Till case - These men were protected and they never could find - they sat on the lawn and they ate - they just actually they had a holiday - and yet the moment they got off the trial, their whole race turned against them. They couldn't find a home. On the other side, I doubt -

RPW: The Martin Brown case.

BOY: Yes - ever found out about this thing, but not - it was something else that they protected - not the individual. I think they were holding onto -

BOY: Their systems -

BOY: Yes - and this - that a white man can kill a Negro and be freed, but he wasn't accepted later. This may be the case in this matter. If he gets off, sure, for a while - but then what? And I think this is expressive of an undercurrent of this great and sovereign state.

RPW: There is something I am referring to on a question I am going to raise in a moment - I was talking recently to a very prominent Negro lawyer in New Orleans - he is very prominent in civil rights activities - he shall be nameless for the moment - an extremely intelligent man - and a man - a very thoughtful man, clearly, with high integrity. He said, I must say I have no real confidence in the white man. He said, no change has

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really taken place - I am surprise at myself, but I am becoming almost a Black Muslim. He said, I am subscribing now to their literature. And then - another person I talked to recently, who is a very brilliant young lady - stands next to the top of a law class in a very good university - and she has been in quite a few jails - quite a few picket lines too - said she was born and raised on a little farm in Virginia - and she's been all through the picket lines and jails - she said, now I have come to feel that in the South we have a chance to work it out. She said, it's going to be - you know - rough, but she said, I believe society if it works, because of the common history between the white man and the Negro and some sort of mutual recognition, even behind the system of segregation or under it or above it or somewhere. She said, being on the land together that long meant something. She added, I am afraid of Harlem and I'm afraid of Chicago and I'm afraid of Detroit - what has happened there. I don't see the society beyond that. She said the possibility of impersonal blood there. Now, these opinions are quite at opposite ends of things, you see. Both of these people were born and raised in the South. There are two extreme positions. Both of them extremely intelligent - clearly., and very thoughtful and serious people. And they arrive at these diametrically opposed conclusions. Now, the girl has had more rough stuff than the lawyer. She's had it rough. What do we make of this - if anything? Both of them are in history -

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it isn't just - merely a matter of personal experience, you see.

Who wants it?

BOY: Well, when I first heard James Baldwin speak last summer, to a group -

RPW: Where was that?

BOY: This was in New York - the first time he had spoken in Harlem for some time - he spoke to us on the demoralization and when he completed his speech, I remarked to my neighbor, I said, gee, I'm so happy he's not a Black Muslim. Because it seems - as you listen to him and you read especially you find that he sort of leans toward the doctrine of Black Muslims. And yet he says that the only solution for us is love. But I think that there are so many of our people who are becoming disillusioned as they grow older by many of the things that they see around them. As Martin Luther said in his - was it Martin Luther or ~~Richard~~ Baldwin who said - just imagine yourself being told to wait, and these people are getting tired of waiting. And I suppose that it's just a matter of becoming disillusioned and not having the power to be optimistic about what can happen with people and with attitudes. And I think that there is a possibility of things changing, and I don't think that things are getting worse - personally I don't think so.

GIRL: I agree with you, Mr. McDowell. I think in the lawyer's case that he has - he seems to have become - to be bitter with life - thinking in that way. But as for the young lady, I think

she's being very optimistic, and I can see a change myself - and she seems to be able to - she seems to be growing to me - any time that you can look out and see things for the better, I think you're growing. And I'm inclined to believe the young lady and to agree with her.

RPW: You're inclined to agree with her - cite one good reason.

GIRL: Well, I do agree with her. Because things are changing.

BOY: And don't you think because that - well, the white brother is beginning to know the Negro brother a little better in recent years - well, actually, this whole thing started right after the Second World War. But the paper media and the news medias have not given the other side of the thing as much as possible - or as much as they should have. The Negro is really waking up, and to look at his country and to wonder why am I taking this position as inferior - why can't I do what everybody else is doing - whereas I have - most of us - I mean, a lot of them sacrificed their lives and there's a chance of their lives being taken for a country that they are not a part of, really.

GIRL: after the Second World War.

BOY: This is true. The great movement - the present movement in this era, I think started then.

GIRL: We wouldn't NAACP papers paving the way and the gains

BOY: Well, I didn't go back that far - I was just starting with the - after the Second World War. If you want to - this was my point.

GIRL: historical perspective on the part of Negro students generally about this emphasis to this movement and to see only a part of it in small measure which doesn't give you a sense of history nor a sense of any contribution and a sense of all the different factors which have gone together to make this kind of movement possible. I think all the work of the after the Second World War.

BOY: I really don't look at it from all attributes of what has contributed to the movement. We must consider people - great educators and people who sacrificed their life for - to become educated, and their pride, to push that pride aside -

GIRL: people who are involved in civil rights movements themselves before World War II - just those who were primarily concerned professionally with civil rights. You don't find any of this before World War II. You don't ~~even~~ find any evidence of civil rights professional workers coming forth.

BOY: I find a - well, I see, through reading and from history that there were contributions made. I didn't - when I started out a minute ago I wasn't saying that nothing was done before World War II at all. I think great things were contributed before World War II, but that was only part of my point -

GIRL: you were just beginning to get the masses - I think this is where it has been significant, since World War II, that you have begun to get the masses of people and, in fact, as you know yourself, you don't have the masses of Negroes with you in Mississippi - when I say with you, I mean with the people who are concerned with civil rights - you don't even have the masses of your students with you.

GIRL: You're quite right, and one of these reasons, I believe, is the fear of losing their jobs. Because, as you know, the chief professional job that you have in Mississippi is the teaching profession, and everybody's afraid that I'm going to lose my job.

And so I'll sit back. I agree with you on what you are doing - I'm with you whole heartedly - I'll give you a donation, but I can't speak out because then I'll get fired in the morning.

RPW: Is it true that students in this college can't participate in the local organizations that are involved in civil rights?

BOY: This is not true at all, because I am very active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and I am a student here at Jackson and I live on campus. The president has said that it's perfectly O.K. if what you do does not interfere with your class attendance and this sort of thing. That's not true at all.

RPW: I have had a personal experience with Mr. Carroll and myself. Once we went to the president's office to have - get his

confirmance on having Reverend Smith come to the college and speak to us on basis and information that would be helpful to the students. And while we were there, the president, hearing the name Sellwood, became angry - he became so frustrated that he ordered us out of his office before we had finished talking to him, but nevertheless we stayed on for a moment to talk further on. After three or four more words, he ordered us out again and still we stayed on. And after that I was told by Dr. that in faculty meeting he raised the question that the instructors were instructing their students to do things that were not in order with the college, and he told us that if we do anything like that again we would have to be dismissed.

RPW: How do you make those two pieces of testimony square?

BOY: I have another point. I found myself that Jackson is changing very rapidly. Many years ago my father told me that during his childhood the white man always told him to work and get something - don't go to school. But heretofore I have found out myself as I have been conversing with some white people for some time, that they always speak about going to school and get your education, because some day you might be able to use it formally. And so I agree that it is changing quite considerably.

BOY: I'd like to make one remark concerning the young lady and the lawyer - I think that - I remember one particular incident where a young man who had come to a small town in northern Mississippi - a minister who began to arouse the attention of

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many of the whites and Negroes, had a conversation with a ^{white} social worker, and she became extremely angry during the conversation and there was a burst of emotion, but after the conversation she came back and said, never before have I known a Negro - never before have I associated with them in any other capacity than a work hand - someone to do the things that lower - people may say the dirty work in many cases, and after this I think that was a revival within her that this is an individual, and this is the case in much of the South. I think maybe because this lawyer is on a plane that he can not really meet and associate, to get to know the individual for his work. He has taken this view where the young lady, who has worked with the groups on a lower level, has begun to understand, because of humanity, the worth of the individual and not govern themselves by stereotyped things.

RPW: This lawyer, you know, in the army, was in an integrated command in Korea - he went to an integrated law school in the South, had friends, and still in the course meets those friends and they go off and have a drink or have a sandwich, but still he says he feels this way - it has grown on him lately.

BOY: I think this is something individual too - I think this person's prerogative - if he wants it, then let him have it.

RPW: It's his prerogative, sure-- we can't change that. I am just curious about how it strikes one. Well, I'm sorry that we -

(end of session)

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Mr. WARREN: When you speak, will you give your name before you start speaking - that gives me some control of the - in case I want to check the reference, you see. Where shall we start, Dr. Clark, this time?

GIRL: I think we should start out by

RPW: That's a good idea. Let's start with that.

BOY:

GIRL: Yes, like King or Randolph or Foreman or Farmer.

RPW: Excuse me a second - we'll have to pass this down, you see, to the person - not like this but out before you like that - and a normal voice will pick it up. It won't carry it quite that far.

BOY: Well, in relationship to this, we must be aware - we as students are not faced with this circumstances in which we would come in contact with any of the effects of this push for civil rights or for the advancement of the Negro.

RPW: This is where you would not come in contact?

BOY: Not so much as the Negro businessman or the person who is out of college or not in school. You see, we are in rather a type of closed society here. We don't come in contact with the white man too much. When we go home to our several different communities where we might live, we are faced with a form of a new way of life, you see. And when we get there we hear about what King has done, or we read about what Farmer has said, and

we just get whatever we know about these people from reading about them, and we have to take our education but we are here in college and try to relate this to what we hear about these people, and then try to choose the best one, you see. But in getting an education I think that our - myself, have found my own principles about what I would think would be my right way to pursue equality if there is such a thing as equality. Now, I am saying if there is such a thing as equality, because I think in these terms - we ~~are~~ as Americans - and when I say Americans I mean all of the several races which comprise the miracle - all of us face the same problem nationally. The best way I feel to gain any state of equality would be to start on a reshaping our economic status. Now if you could get almost - well, if you could have a state or society in which the incomes of the people were about - almost on the same level - common - where you didn't have too many poor people - or too many rich people - well, you couldn't feel too much of a difference than between you and - let's say, you as a college professor and I as a farm hand - well, we couldn't feel too much difference if we had about the same income, you see, because money does influence the and actions of people. And so I agree that the best leader for the Negro, or for anyone, - that would be yourself. You're your own leader.

RPW: That was a good formulation.

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BOY: I would, in addition to business, I would think that the Negro should try to, shall I say, raise the standards culturally rather than just basing it specifically on business. I think that we need to - I'd say, to elevate ourselves into society - trying to get the people to accept us - do those things which are acceptable to society as a whole, and not which are acceptable to the - I'd say, the white race, or Caucasians, of themselves, but do things which are acceptable to the American society.

RPW: For example - would you try to give me an example of what you're thinking about -

BOY: Take myself - we are right now acting for permission to go into bus stations and to be able to sit on one side, we sit on one side - whereas we will be integrated - like that. Now, whereas the present situation, we have to - they want you to go on one side over here - you sit with the Negroes - you come over here where the whites are, they threaten to jail you or they want you ~~smash~~ out. Now what we want now is to be able to mingle with these people - show them that we are actually as good intellectually as they are - by doing this, we can further influence them to support us, even though we are already supporting ourselves, in business.

RPW: Put your name on the record, will you please? Just tell me your name.

CHARLES FIELD: My name is Charles Field.

RPW: And what was your name?

JOHN BAYNE: Bayne - John Bayne.

RPW: John Bayne - the remarks just before these remarks. Isn't there a difference, though, between rights and acceptance?

BOY: I would think so - yes. Actually because, you see, in our - in the American society, there are - and in America there are different societies - whereas they have - based sometimes on economics and also sometimes the cultural traits of this particular group of people - whereas there are some traits in a certain community which is actually one economic level - they have certain cultural changes - different cultural changes but they are, I'd say, related, based on religion. And some of the things which are acceptable in one religion would not be acceptable in another religion.

RPW: Let's take this example - Several Negroes who are actively involved in civil rights movement in the South, have commented on this - the resentment - not universal and continuous, but sporadic and more than occasional - among Negro workers in the movement against white workers who came in - they're not accepted. This is for various reasons given for this by different people. There's a case of an acceptance -

BOY: From my personal point of view, I couldn't find myself resenting a person who is trying to help me to do something which I want. Now, for instance, civil rights myself, and I couldn't find myself re-

jecting someone who's trying to actually help me to get what I want, and I feel that if we can get the white person to support us and voice his support, we -

RPW: You're talking like a reasonable man, but there are very few reasonable men that know -

BOY: I look at everything - and I guess through this view - in fighting the war - now we'll liken this civil rights battle to a war - no war is won because you have a great general and no type of motivation among the soldiers. There must be an individual effort among - well, the Negroes. I believe that in order to advance my race I must first advance myself, and that is, I think, the primary thing. I am aware that the white - I'll have to say the white race, because the majority of the group - American - as far as race is concerned - the white race has an opinion for the Negro which is not too favorable and maybe that opinion is the way it is because they haven't been in contact with the educated Negro or the Negro of the bourgeoisie. Now, I believe if we should pursue some type of goal, and set up within yourself a set of ethical principles, let's say, and do this no matter what happens, I am aware that I am a man, that I exist, that I live - I will follow along these lines - if I do this I know it will bring up this person here - I know it will bring up me. If it doesn't have any effect whatsoever on the other race, well, it just doesn't, but I know I am bringing myself up. I'll get happiness in security, in making economic ad-

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vances, in being able to have a nice home, in being able to know I can get a first class education because money will buy a first class education if it will not buy respect. And I believe that we should just make individual efforts - that would be -

RPW: Mr. Bayne, in your matter of equalizing income, how would you go about that - your remark of a few minutes ago? What machinery - what implements for that do you envisage?

BAYNE: Well, the first - the main implement which I would have to use would be education.

RPW: You mean bring it about through general education?

BAYNE: Education of the masses - the masses of the Negro. Now, you would be surprised about how many Negroes actually do not have any education whatsoever. The high school education which we get - well, it's not really much of an education. Let us say I went to school - I went to school eleven years with high school because I got out a little bit ahead of time. But the average student, without any motivation whatsoever and with a poor background and with parents of a poor income, would not - he will not be prepared to make any kind of advances or even to take on any jobs which would call for some kind of training, yousee. Well, we must better our educational system and I think this has been - I think we have noticed it, and this is one of perhaps the main reasons why we say we want to get integrated, we want to get into school, you see. But I think - if I should - I feel that if I could get a good education and go back and sort of this vicious cycle of this poor education - we're turning out

the poor students - well, I think this would help quite a bit. It's up to us.

RPW: Let me change the subject a little bit and throw another question out - Dr. Kenneth Clark - you know, the psychologist at C.C.N.Y. - has recently done a piece which in substance attacks Martin Luther King's philosophy. This is very close to a quotation - I can give you the quotation if you want it. You'd like the quotation? Good - I'll get it. (pause) Here it is. On the surface, King's philosophy appears to reflect health and stability, while the Black Nationalists betray pathology and instability - he had been talking about the Muslims before this, you see. But a deeper analysis might reveal that they have an unrealistic if not pathological basis in King's doctrine. The natural reaction to injustice is bitterness and resentment. The forms which such bitterness may take need not be overtly violent but the corrosion of the spirit seems inevitable. It would seem, therefore, that any demand that the victims of oppression be required to love those who oppress them puts an additional and intolerable psychological burden upon these victims. He seems more emphatic later on but I won't continue it. In other words, to forgive is to get mentally sick. That's about it, under the paraphrase. What's your name, please - will you put your name on the record?

RUTH SPATES. My name is Ruth Spates. I think that Dr. Clark has almost forgotten that Martin Luther King is a minister, and therefore most of his -

RPW: ministers get sick

Miss SPATES: No - I'm saying that he would go along with the teaching of - Martin would say this - that we must turn the other cheek, so therefore I would say that - one doesn't necessarily have to become sick to turn the other cheek, but it would go along with the teachings of the Bible, to turn the other cheek, to forgive your enemy. Because if you turn it over into the hands of the Lord, as they say, He will revenge for you if necessary, so therefore this turning of the cheek is one method of turning over to Someone's hands who is higher.

RPW: Does Dr. King say, trust the Lord and sit tight?

Miss SPATES: No, because - I'm not a student of the Bible and I don't believe - I'm not quite sure, but I remember a statement made, the Lord helps those who help themselves. So therefore he is not quite saying that we should sit tight. If we help ourselves a little bit, if we make the effort, the Lord will help us in this effort.

RPW: What's your name, please, sir?

WILLIAM LUCKY; My name is William Lucky. Dr. King, when he says that one should forgive and forget - I go along with Dr. Clark - I don't go along wholehearted when he says it creates a burden of sickness, but in accordance with this statement I think about this non-violence. Now, if a person hit me, truly enough I'm not going to forget it. But I would cast him aside. Because I have a purpose in mind, and until that purpose is accomplished it serves me

that I'm going to tolerate it. And I think when Dr. King said that we should forgive, he knew altogether that we weren't going to forgive, we're just going to lay it aside and say that until our burden was accomplished - our goal was accomplished, we would just have to tolerate it because we would get what we want through non-violence.

RPW: Will you give your name, please, sir?

ROBERT WALKER: My name is Robert Walker. remember that Dr. King being a minister - you know, the basic idea of religion is appealing to the emotions of a person. All right, if something is done against us or we're trying to seek stability in society, well, can we get out and actively demonstrate for this - you know, let everybody know that this is what we want. So, in the long run people are going to, you know, consider the facts and everything, and then by doing this you're going to cause the man to get in the this individual effort

You're going to do this in

You will appeal to the emotions of the person and then you can get the stability, the help and everything which will lead on to our high advancement

RPW: Mr. Bayne?

BAYNE: I think another error that is being made by the Negro or by our leaders consists of the fact that we fail to try to identify ourselves -

RPW: In what way do you mean?

BAYNE: Baldwin talked about this - the Negro identifying himself you know - saying, if you have a heritage, now I will try to take this down piece by piece - I will say starting from the - how I got my name - well, I will never be able to find that out you see and I can trace my founding on a line of my heritage, let's say - not my heritage - my family line - back about two generations. I have nothing to lean upon - I have no way to say I'm of noble blood because my people came over on the Mayflower or my great-great-grandfather fought in the - this battle in England or in - he was one of the or something like that, you see. And we don't realize that in Africa, where we are supposedly originated from, there are quite a bit of things which we have to be proud of, you see. And they constitute a heritage, and if we become aware of this, well, we have a good starting point - something to stand on. You see, right now we're a bit shaky - we just might be - ready to cross the river and you have to walk on the water - you don't have a boat to ride in, you see. And you just can't figure what might - go on and do - you don't know how the student is going to act when he's trying to be non-violent - you don't know how the common worker is going to act, and you don't know how the educated or the business man is going to act. You can just say that we hope they'll follow this path and one man will say this is right, but everybody, you know, ~~xxx~~ has -

RPW: You raise a question there that's fundamentally interesting, I think. I encountered it first many, many, many years ago

boy - a long time ago when I was young - and it's

had many formulations since then. DuBoise says that a great split in the Negro psyche - the Negro soul - that on the one hand there's a tendency to identify himself and bring one's loyalties to the Negro-ness - emphasize this. To say he was in Africa today - he is inclined to make a mystique out of it - to feel some special affiliation, if not indeed with the African tradition in the sense of connecting with that, at least with the Negro cultural unity and blood unity in America. Now, this impulse can go to the extremes of Black Muslims doctrine of exclusiveness and separatism and a ferocious sense of superiority and being somehow chosen - waiting for Armageddon or the Great Day when the white devils are all plowed under. That's an extreme form. But it's a question of the locus - the focus of loyalty. The basic sense of identification as Negro

The other thing that's split -

pulls away and makes a split - would be the drive to identify with a ~~European~~ Western European-American cultural tradition and accept its values, including Christianity or Christianity.

This creates a problem for some people - a real split - because

presumably insofar as the Negro enters

that culture fully, his identity will disappear - it's been absorbed - lost - blood gone. It's suicide in one sense to enter that culture. Here's the split. Now, how much of significance, you see, for individuals - because I think individuals are individuals. But you'll find it's a real problem for many Negroes and they have to have a solution for it.

BOY: I would like to say this -

RPW: Your name, please sir?

HERMAN BEASLEY: Herman Beasley. In accordance with what they have said and what you mentioned, we said that if we pull to the side or - our case will be lost. But then it's not really what I would think ~~was the case~~ what we're really seeking for.

Everyone has an individual talent, and as we go back to our heritage, we really cannot trace our heritage back far because we don't know - I mean, in coming up there was no record - no great deeds that our ancestors did. But we can say that the Negro of today is striving for a certain goal, and if he can obtain that goal he will not necessarily lose this or heritage, but he would just gain what he is seeking.

BOY: I think that we're trying to go back the way that the - let's say the English people did - the people from England - you know, in the formation of England as a nation, well, they started by people I guess just drifting into England

and the people that went to Kent and all the other different - I think it was about several little countries there - well, some were living there all the time and others came from different countries, and they were primarily I guess - primarily - you would call them barbarians. They were not really cultured or they didn't have anything to lean upon, there were not too many artifacts which would educate - history of previous ~~times~~ ^{great} history or previous courses - but we see them

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today and we something to lean back on - the struggles that they went through, you see. And the Negro is going through the same phase, you see. We started here in America. We came to America. Well, at first we were almost barbarians, let us say. Those were the characteristics of the - I guess you'll find them common to all humans which would indicate ~~there is a~~ possibility for us. Of course it would be - well, you see. But we have been trying since then to build up something, as I said. We want to have something to lean upon. If we don't have anything to lean upon I don't see the point of pursuing this struggle for equality first. You see, when the English people signed this Magna Carta - this was for the rights

benefit anybody but still it marked the - a group of people struggling for rights, you see. They didn't have that much of a heritage behind them, but they got their rights. And if you believe in the Christian doctrine - which sometimes you may find it hard to do - you're going to struggle for equality because you have to believe that all men are basically equal and brothers.

RPW: What do you gentlemen think about this topic of - is there is a split in this matter of identity?

OTIS SHEIV: Well, I'm Otis Sheiv - and I think the African heritage of the Negro has little to do with the racial situation of the day. Basically, it's - the Negro is trying to reveal some heritage I would say for the coming generations - or make condi-

tions so that they will have something to be proud of. And say it's - where we are today, we have little - we have something, but little to be proud of - of our origin in America, let's say. But the present-day Negro is trying to be something that the coming generations will have to be proud of - say that

something, you know. And when there is a force trying to obstruct him from building this heritage, that's where the Negro is failing today mainly.

ROBERT WALKER: My name is Robert Walker. I think that the Negro has found a - you know, come to the place where he realizes that he is a member of the human race and is an American, and according to the documents in the history of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, say, that we know these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And the Negro realizes this and he takes the initiative to fight for this. Because, you know, he's - not merely is he a Negro or a member of some ethnic group, but this is a - he's a human being and - so far as the religious doctrine is concerned - well, we all were created in the image of Christ - and the Constitution states that all people born and naturalized in the United States are citizens of that state, and you know they have a right to what is theirs.

RPW: You would say - you would involve this question of split - the tendency between the two poles - the two kinds of loyalties -

by saying that it's not because it's a question of a human definition and not a cultural law - is that it? The identity of the human - I mean, in your - God relations rather than in your cultural relations?

WALKER: I wouldn't say cultural relations - I would say relations of a human - the Negro has realized that he is a human - he's a member of the human race.

RPW: That's where the question of identity lies - the real focus - and not in a cultural affiliation - is that it?

WALKER; That's right - yes.

BOY: I have found - my name is Charles - I have found through observation that the white man or the Caucasian usually base their arguments upon, I'd say, culture. They try to evade the fact that we are actually of the same origin in God. Now, they use this - the argument because, well, they feel that if they find some Negro who is out here actually doing something bad - take, for instance, - if we are fighting or a Negro steals - he calls the Negro a rogue. But if a white man steals, he calls him a kleptomaniac -

RPW: Not always.

BOY: It's very seldom he's called a rogue. Whereas - and what we're fighting for now is to be able to just get them to accept us as people who can actually learn -

RPW: He's promoted to kleptomania - is that it? (laughter)

BOY: But actually, what we want is - going back to the non-violent thing - when we get to the place where we are accepted

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by the white race - we want them to think of us as people, and those things which we suffer now in obtaining our rights -

RPW: Hold it - sorry - End of Tape #2, Jackson College - continue with Tape #3.

(end of tape)

No continuation of this session sent to me.

J. J. J.