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I think the thing that concerns me now is a - is that the northern city is a frontier and the prospect is of a great acceleration now of mass uncontrolled and unled lives . It seems to me that the watershed of the peaceful demonstrations has been pretty much reached - was reached early last summer and the tangible results of the peaceful demonstrations have been so limited in terms of working any practical changes in the lives of ordinary negroes in the city ghettos that the issue now arises of whether or not non-violent tactics work.

Now, is this a matter of decision among leaders or as you seem to imply, unled spontaneous violence, not policy but spontaneous outbreaks, without particular objectives, just expression.

For example, about a month ago now in Cleveland, in the middle of the winter which is significant I think, a negro boy was arrested; I don't know if the arrest was justified or not but apparently that touched off a riot reportedly involving a six or seven hundred people. Negroes engaged mainly in looting stores of white merchants and the like. Well, as far as I know, no one planned that but the frustration of people is so high, so acute, that this apparent little incident was enough to touch it off and the prospect is, I am afraid, that there will be more and more and more of that. There already has been a considerable amount in the North, there have been few, well small riots. Now in Minneapolis, in Chicago and New York and Detroit and this one in Cleveland and Seattle even, Los Angeles and it seems to me that is quite likely to accelerate, and one must remember too that the Negro Revolution has been non-violent so far in its tactics and ethics, is a rather unique thing. In other great American Social Revolutions,

with the exception only I think of the Womens' Suffrage Movement, the tactics on both sides have been those of violence. For example, in the Labor Revolution or in the Veterans' Bonus March on Washington.

Do you think that this violence will spill over into the South?

I think -- yes, particularly in the parts of the South that most resemble the North, for Example Atlanta.

It is a big city. Rather than Mississippi, for instance, rather than rural Mississippi, of course you have violence there now, what I am talking about is mass explosions is one way there now, by and large.

Well, I don't know, it is hard to -- it is an unpredictable situation; conceivably there could be violence in a northern city, which is so shocking that some real social change results from it, but I am inclined to think that it is unlikely and that if there is a ---

Which is unlikely?

That if violence comes, it will be a -- it will have constructive results.

You think unlikely it will have results?

I think it is conceivable that some kind of violence could take place that would be so shocking to the white community, that they would get off their butts and really do something.

But you don't think that violence would accomplish that?

I think that it is more likely that if there is spontaneous violence on the part of negroes and aggression by negroes against white people and white stores and white institutions, that the response of the white community will be to suppress that violence and then will really be in trouble and -- because I really don't have confidence as a white man,

that there is enough maturity in the white community, to respond in any other way; though I would say also, that if -- again if there is negro violence, that what white people are called to do is not to resist it, because the only way that violence and hostility absolved is in voluntary love, but I have not great confidence that many white people are prepared to practice that.

But have you practice that -- assuming a riot is underway, what does the mayor do, call off the police and say we love them? Anybody on the street, black or white.

Well, I think there are two questions; one is what does the mayor or the police -- what do they do, and I suppose they try to control, to stop the violence by whatever means they have at their disposal, by force. But I would distinguish that from whether or not white people who are involved take any action on their own.

You mean the man who owns the store?

Yes, or the man who happens to be on the street when something happens.

You mean whether he would just take the knife in the ribs, the brick on the head without fighting back. There is no discipline for that.

Uh, huh. What do you mean?

Well, I mean if the negro demonstrators are trained to this, the man walking down the street has no discipline and no theory, he can't make it up himself as he goes along, very well.

I agree. One would have hoped that there would be the grounds for such a discipline in a -- you know -- in the churches, in the white churches, but I don't really think there is, but that doesn't diminish

my belief that that is the only way that there can be an absolution of the violence.

What practical measures could be taken, just say in New York City that would head this off, assuming that you had the power to put them into operation for getting the difficult things done.

Well, a lot of things. One is for example, in the school business as you know is the current focus here, and I think that one very practical measure -- step that would be taken is to fire the President of the Board of Education, Mr. Donovan; he is an able man and I think a sincere man and he has a pretty good record on Civil Rights as these things go, but he has made some very improvident statements that have made him a kind of symbol of the obstinacy of white society to intergration and I think has to be a -- his usefulness has been sacrificed --- I think so far as the moral of the negro community is concerned, for Donovan to be a -- dismissed, that would be considered a victory, and in terms now of the issue of forstalling violence, what we need to have is a some very concrete things that can be pointed to as signs of progress. Very much the same situation prevails, I think, in Chicago with Superintendant Willis -- I don't know anything particularly in detail about him, but he has become a symbol and even if he now comes forward with some better plan for intergrating the schools in Chicago, it is not going to get a hearing because the hostility to him is so ----

How much is the busting issue here, a symbolic issue and how much is it a real one, it has real value as a remedial measure?

Well, I think it has real value, for one reason particularly. The reason why there are segregated schools as everyone knows, is because

there are segregated neighborhoods, segregated housing, and it seems to me to deal with the housing issue is a much more complicated and long-range issue; I mean -- how do you abolish a ghetto? Well, I don't know how you abolish a ghetto but you don't do it over nite and so, I would say, that is a long range job and it is going to take ten or fifteen or twenty years, perhaps longer; but that in the meantime, we can prepare some people in the city, in the community to adjust to and live in intergrated neighborhoods and intergrated housing, and one way to prepare some people for that is for them to be as school children in intergrated schools; and the only way you are going to intergrate the schools -- the only way you are going to do that is to get around the existing neighborhood segregation, so you transport kids out of their neighborhood to another school, and I approve of that -- it is a very tactful device.

Is the Princeton plan adequate?

I would say no; let me mention another thing, that is--I would hope that if there were and what I would like to see there is the bussing of students all over the place. I think it is very important that some white students be brought into Harlem schools, as a way of driving home or bringing to the attention of the white community in a form that they can no longer ignore, since their kids will be affected, the abominable conditions that prevail there, and that I think will be very edifying and maybe in a technical sense, some children in these years will be deprived in their school education but maybe there are some more important things to learn about. Maybe for a kid and his parents to see the inside of one of those

schools is what must be suffered, for us to get anywhere. The apathy and the lack of concern among the white leadership in New York, including but not only the political administration, is almost ridiculous in its extremes, because they all know or they have been told or they have had the facts presented time and time and time again for years and years and years, and yet these conditions persist. Now like I know one Junior High School in Harlem, know of one Junior High School in Harlem where there is such a shortage of classroom space, that four or five classes use the auditorium simultaneously -- well -- you can't teach a kid anything under such circumstances, because he can always hear what is going on in the other class meeting a few rows away, and kids are kids and so they horse around and wave to their friends and whatnot, and it is just ridiculous and yet such conditions persist.

You will find some negroes, some very thoughtful negroes too, I know, you have said this to me, they are against the bussing because it solves nothing, the school itself is the real issue, the busses are , only a symbolic value, and they are actually against it and will say so. Now, these are people whose integrity can't be questioned, see, one of them I know was raised in the Harlem schools, educated there, he knows in a way that neither you nor I could know, but he said it is quite ridiculous to make this an issue, what you need is money for the schools and lots of teachers, lots of white teachers, but -- the bussing is a deception, it deceives the negroes to make this an issue. This -- I quote this from this young man, S Carmichael is the person who said this, these words, there are others who said it.

Well, it is no solution to anything but I do some limited of practical arguements favoring it, like the ones I mentioned -- the houseing -- and it is a way of further sustaining hopefully the non-violent character of the protest and may in fact be a way in which we get more money for the schools in Harlem, particularly as I say, if some white kids have to go to Harlem schools and find out how awful they are, then there will be a new -- an additional pressure on the school administration to do something about conditions there that they haven't had up to now.

We are up against, then, the matter of the father or the mother of a family who wants the best for their child, which is a quite selfish but a very human way -- you know -- my child is not going to fight the bus again to get to the schools, now I will welcome any negro into this school but I will not let my child be bussed if I can avoid it and as one of my negro friends said -- and I don't blame him -- he says Harlem is no place to be, he says "I've been and I know" -- this is a problem that is hard to deal with.

But then -- but my feeling then is, let the complacency of the white community be disrupted, I mean that all across the board as far as I can see, the recalcitrant in the racial crisis, the element in society to represent the real obstacle to public intergration, is not the so-called die-hard southern segregationists, I don't think -- but it is the nice white northern liberal, with all his sincerity and good intentions and what not, who is asking now the question 'Well now, what do the negroes want?' and fails to realize when he asks that question that he is assuming that it is his perrogative to dispense to the negro, what the negro will get, and

that, I think, is the real essence of white supremacy, and I think it is deeply embedded in the mentality of most northern -- white northern liberals and it is that which must be somehow exercised if we are going to have peace ---

Did you ever read *The Conquest* between Irving Howe and Ralph Ellison?

I haven't seen that yet, no.

It bears on this point.

Yes, I have heard something about it.

It is a very important document, I think.

The other thing that is disturbing to me is that so little thought, as far as I am aware at least, has yet matured in either the negro community or among the white people, about how the races can be reconciled -- I mean, if there can be a certain degree of enforced intergration in public institutions, but that is not the same thing as reconciliation and that is the issue that mainly concerns me, and I guess from my point of view what is really at the root of it is -- has in a sense nothing in itself to do with the race, what it really has to do with is whether or not a man is reconciled within himself; if I am free enough to love and accept myself as a human being, then I have no problem about accepting another human being, no matter what impurical differences there may be between him and me --

Are you speaking as a psychologist or are you speaking as a theologian when you say that, or both?

Well, I am not a psychologist and I don't know if I am a theologian but ---

Well, I mean your role behind that remark, anyway.

yes, theologically I would say, that is the real issue, and it is an acutely threatening one to a lot of people and one that both negroes and whites share in common -- I mean -- part of the problem surely of the contemporary American negro is that he grew up and inherits -- not just the exile of slavery and sometimes ~~xxx~~ physical and personal suffering of a specific character, but also that many American negroes acquiesced in the idea of negro inferiority.

A psychiatrist I know in New Haven tells me that he has some negro patients -- a psychoanalyst -- he says its a shocking thing to find in an analysis or even in preliminary investigation, this hidden fact, the negro doesn't even know it -- Sambo is right, I guess.

I know a number of negroes who hate themselves and the way it becomes conuertized is they hate themselves because they are negroes, but I think the issue is the same for such a man, essentially the same, as it is for a man who -- what? -- hates himself for any other reason.

There is an objective in this case, connected with the visability and all of that -- given that fact and I assume that to be a fact-- concretely what is to be done as far as the -- just keep it on the negro for a moment-- I think it is probably right about the white man, I read your diagnosis --

I think there are two levels. There are a lot of practical things that can be done that might help to create a climate in which the -- whatever you want to call it -- the theological issue or the issue on a more profound level can be resolved, for example, it has

now just become a matter of the survival of the nation, that there be public intergration, you can't have an economy of this complexity etc. that leaves out of gainful employment and therefore the of education and ordinary rights of citizenship, you can't run an economy that leaves out twenty million people. That means, it seems to me, that white men have a profound self-interest in as rapid and as peaceful public intergration as possible. If these people are excluded from jobs now with automation and all of that, then what is going to happen? Well, the only social alternative is some kind of public assistance and that is going to be more expensive for me than to abdicate help to provide for them---

That is not merely a race question now.

No, no, it isn't, it is acutely - it acutely affects this particular group in society.

It does indeed, but now lets take say X number of jobs and Y a number of people and Y is bigger than X, you are solving something , if you do a ratio or if you do a proportion, you are solving something sure, but you still have something unsolved, something very ratically unsolved. That is a question ----

Yes, I am just saying that we have to begin where we are and -- take another thing which is -- we very much need, it would seem to me, a citizenry in the country, we increasingly need one that is highly educated and skilled in which there is more opportunity for higher education and what not -- well, among others who need that and particularly need that are negro citizens; but then if you look at the colleges, you will find now a lot of southern universities and colleges that are tokenly intergrated, but then look at the

northern colleges and they are also just tokenly intergrated, and the main reason as far as I can see why that is so, is not because there aren't qualified negroes already coming out of high schools in a significant number, but because most negro families can't afford \$3,000. a year to send a kid to college, to one of the northern colleges, so then I would advocate and call it preferential treatment if you want -- I would advocate special scholarships and special efforts to recruit large numbers of negro students.

How much has the negro been dented, shaken up?

I think very much -- that is -- it has been what now, almost over six years since the peaceful demonstrations and so on have been organized -- demonstrations have been going on, and in the last say year and a half, at least here in New York, there has been, I think, a very significant change in the participants in the ~~xxxx~~ demonstrations -- that is, in the early days it was students and clergy but now like in the march on Washington and the school-boy cops here and in Chicago, the people that have been demonstrating along with students and clergy and so on, have been housewives and women who -- middle-aged negro women who work as domestics, say, and who may well risk their jobs by becoming involved and who are I think naturally conservative about and apathetic, but they -- my impression is -- in substantial numbers have now become involved and that indicates that -- the days of substantial apathy are over, though that may be succeeded by cynacism too, I suppose but ---

Because of small delivery -- I mean -- of the demonstrations --

--- But that returns to our discussion of non-violence that-- when it really comes to the practical life of some American negro

today. What has he got to show for the non-violent tactics? Well, the things that I think he remembers that first come to mind are the assassination of M Evars or the bombing of the church in Birmingham -- or the dogs, the police dogs and hoses and billy clubs and there are thousands of people who have been in jail and -- as over and against token intergration at the University of Mississippi or what not -- it might even be argued that the non-violent demonstrations have increased the resistance to change on the part of white people -- I don't know -- but I could understand a negro feeling, if that is what is taking place and even increasing.

When the SCLC had a conference in Montgomery a year or so after the demonstrations there, they couldn't get a single church given to them for the big meeting, something happened to the negro community. Do you have any theorizing about that, any information?

How long ago was this?

This was -- it was a year and a half after the -- I have the exact date somewhere -- after the bus strike, the bus business there, successful demonstration and it came back at a state-wide conference, not one church was available to them for a meeting, for a rally.

But I think that wasn't true after the bombing.

No, I guess not.

I think they had a big -- as well as the service they had. I was in Jackson on some cases, some cases two years ago and there was to be a meeting in the negro community that evening, and we were invited to go, the lawyers and the defendents who were on the cases. When we arrived at this little negro church, there was an arguement going on between the deacons and the minister, the

minister had invited us there, in which the deacons were saying it is not fitting to use the church for a political purpose or a controversial purpose, it is alright to come here to pray etc. and indeed, the meeting did not take place; there was a prayer meeting but nothing about the demonstrations or the intergration crisis was permitted to be discussed but I think that that kind of apathy and non-involvement is -- is surely diminishing and I don't think that it is a substantial problem any more.

Probably some people in Mississippi and Louisiana will say that it is.

It may be more so in the South than in the North.

Do you have any notion why the leadership should have been so heavily southern in the movement? It has been altered somewhat now but --

Well, I suppose that one answer may be Uncle Tom -- that is --