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A REPORT OF THE

NEW YORK ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS



AUGUST 1963

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PREPACE

This report was substitted to the United States Commission on Civil Pights by the New York Advisory Committee. The New York Committee is one of the 51 Committees established in the 50 States and the District of Columbia by the Commission pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Pights Act of 1957. Its rembership consists of interested citizens of standing who serve without compensation. Among the functions and responsibilities of the State Advisory Committees, under their mandate from the Commission on Civil Rights, are the following:

(1) To advise the Cormission of all information concerning legal developments constituting a derial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; (2) to advise the Cormission as to the effect of the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and (3) to advise the Cormission upon watters of mutual concern in the preparation of its final report. The Cormission, in turn, has been charged by the Congress to investigate allegations, made in writing and under oath, that citizens are being deprived of the right to vote by reason of color, race, religion, or national origin; to study and collect information regarding legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws; to appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection; and to report to the President and to the Congress its activities, findings, and recommendations.

In the fall of 1962, the New York State Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission appointed a subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Frofessor William M. Murphy, to study whether there was a clear pattern of discrimination against Negroes in the building trades industry in New York City. The subcommittee was able to procure the services of Dr. Donald Shaughnessy of Columbia University to do most of the field work in the project. The material in this survey report is largely derived from Dr. Shaughnessy's report.

The study was necessarily limited by the relatively small amount of time that could be devoted to this complex subject. A further—and unnecessary—limitation was encountered as a result of the general rolicy of non-cooperation followed by leaders of the building trades unions. With few exceptions, union officials failed to assist the study in any way—making it difficult or impossible to obtain information that was readily available.

Despite these limitations, the study serves to demonstrate that Negroes are denied access to employment in most of the building traies in New York City. The study further indicates that retention of present practices in admission to apprenticeship programs will mean that regrees can expect no more than token perticipation in most of the building trades in the future. Our report considers some of the commonly and other factors that lead to these practices and recommends that these practices be modified.

DISCPIDINATION IN THE BUILDING TRADES IN UK! YORK

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION IN MEH YORK CITY

At six-sixteen on weekday mornings a train leaves Bridgeport, Connecticut, carrying a group of commuters relatively unknown to the general public. They are men with skills in the building trades who arrive in New York City at seven-thirty, and report to construction jobs. It costs about \$15.00 a week to commute from Bridgeport to New York, but a union electrician earns \$200.00 per week, and the work is steady.

These blue-collar commuters represent one of the many indications of the obvious fact that New York City is in the midst of a continuing boom in large construction. There is presently more office space in New York City than in the next 15 largest cities combined. Despite rows of office towers like those north of Grand Central on Park Avenue and rows of residential towers like those all along Third Avenue, there are estimates that the backlog of needed construction in New York City may take decades to fill.

How do these buildings get built? With vide allowance for oversimplication the process can be summarized as follows:

Then the architect has completed his design and specifications, general contractors competent in the size of job being undertaken submit bids to the owners. Subcontractors (electrical firms, plumbing firms and the like) have previously submitted bids to the general contractor upon which his bid, in part, is based. The contract is then awarded to a general contractor—who engages subcontractors—and men begin to appear to perform the work in the specialized trades. First the excavation, then the other trades in their turn appear on the job.

Nost firms in the building industry are not large; they do not steadily employ a large number of skilled workers. These firms build a product that is immobile. This product must be built in the city, essentially by local contractors and subcontractors—and in particular by a locally based labor force.

The men who build New York City's buildings are recruited from labor pools controlled by the unions in the building trades. The union is the employment agency and the men who appear on the construction job --whether they be local or "out-of-town" men-are the men whom the union permits to appear. Since a building cannot be erected in Detroit or Atlanta and shipped to New York and since the unions regulate the local use of "out-of-town" labor, the labor supply is rigidly controlled.

The construction worker tends to identify with his union for a number of reasons. He is rarely on any job for a great length of time. He may well have five or six employers in one year. He is not likely to develop an attachment for a particular firm or to have steady fellow-workers from year to year, and of course, he has no fixed place of work. His job security comes from the local union. The local union is not only his hiring hall but the place where his friendships are formed and the continuing stable element in his employment. Local unions may or may not be ethnocentric but their members are likely to be united against outsiders. In one local "outsiders" may mean people not of Italian ancestry, in another it may mean Jews. For most unions in the building trades, as for many other institutions, color is the most readily identifiable badge of non-membership.

With those economic and social bonds to his local union, the man in the building trades is little concerned with the "lebor" views on the subject of race relations. George Meany, once a plumber, now President of the AFL-CIO, concedes that local unions can effectively disregard the resolutions opposing discrimination that are regularly adopted by federated bodies in the labor movement. On the bread-and-butter issues it is not the international or any council that delivers --but the local union.

This is not to say that the building trade unions lack the ability to unite in support of their common interests. In the building and construction trade department of the AFL-CIO there are 19 international unions. New York City locals of these unions form the New York City Building and Construction Trade Council. This Council serves as a very effective spokesman for the building trade unions in city and State legislative halls and executive departments. While the Council is active and effective in speaking to the outside world on behalf of its constituent locals, it has not traditionally exerted effective internal pressures. (The Council's president, Peter J. Brennan, assured Mayor Magner on June 6, 1963, of "an all-out effort to end discrimination in building trades unions." This assurance clearly must be qualified in view of the Council's mixed reaction to proposals to secure more Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices.)

In brief, the economic structure of the building industry tends to concentrate in the local unions the decision as to who obtains employment and, even more important, who gets admitted to the craft. The dominating role of the union in construction employment affords to contractors the opportunity to disclaim all responsibility for discrimination in the building trades. The employers seem to velcome the opportunity, which accords with their consistent tendency to avoid "rocking the boat." Our study found no instance in which an employer sought to promote equal employment opportunity in the building trades.

APPRIMITICESHIP

Current apprentice programs provide from one-half to two-thirds of the skilled workers needed simply to replace craftsmen who retire, die, or leave the trade. By fixing the number of apprentices in accordance with a ratio of apprentices to journeymen (the mean ratio is 1:6), and not in accordance with present or future demand, the building trades unions continue to maintain an effective shortage of labor. One way that this shortage is preserved in the face of continuing high demand is in the use of commuters like those from Bridgeport who represent an auxiliary source of manpower that can be cut off at any time.

While 120-mile-per-day commuters have found steady employment for several years, a local source of skilled manpower is ignored. New York City has 22 vocational high schools in 5 of which are taught skills used in the building trades. These schools are financed by Federal, State, and city funds. The best qualified graduates of the vocational schools often take low-paying nomunion jobs, or jobs outside the trade. Federal and State apprenticeship agencies have not been heard to complain that Negro youngsters, taught a trade at public expense, are consistently deprived of the opportunity to practice it.

New York State law on the subject is clear and precise. Section 296 of Article 15 of the Executive Iav prohibits discrimination by enployers in hiring, compensation, employment privileges, working conditions and discharges, prohibits union discrimination in membership, and bars discrimination by employers and unions in admission to apprentice training, on-the-job training, and the like. This policy is also reflected in the existence of agencies such as the State Commission for Human Rights, the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and the Civil Rights Bureau of the State Attorney General's office. The last-named agency is largely responsible for the fact that, in the State of New York, there are now two Negroes in the apprentice training program of the Plumbers Union.

The national agency in the field of apprenticeship is the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in the United States Department of Labor. The Bureau has an essentially passive role in certifying and registering apprentice training programs. This role is of no great importance since less than half of the apprentice programs in the city are certified by the Bureau. The Bureau appears to have been neutral in the matter of racial discrimination, an inappropriate posture the abandonment of which is recommended, at the end of this report.

First, let us review the practice of several of the unions in New York City:

1. Local 28, International Sheetmetal Workers Union.

There has been no significant change in the size of this local in the past ten years, despite the fast increase in construction. There are no Negroes among its 3,300 members nor among its 75 apprentices. Admission to the apprentice program of the Sheetmetal Norkers Union is on the basis of a personal interview with a joint committee. The applicant is usually sponsored by a union member, sometimes by an employer. The union states that there are four applicants for every vacancy but gives no indication that any applicant sponsored by the union has ever been rejected. The apprentice committee maintains no liaison with vocational schools. Its apprentices attend a union school which obtains no government support. Various requirements are listed for admission to the apprenticeship program, but they are not applied to sponsored applicants. In March 1963, the Civil Rights Bureau of the Attorney General's office charged Local 28 with discriminatory practices.

2. <u>Local 2</u>, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters.

The Plumbers Union says it has four applicants for apprenticeship for every apprentice who can be accepted. On the other hand, the union admits that there are 1,000 out-of-town plumbers working in New York City. Of 3,300 members of Local 2, none are Negroes. While there are requirements that theoretically apply to admission to the apprenticeship program, the main practical requirement has to do with bloodlines. Eighty to 85 percent of those admitted to membership are sons or nephews of Local 2 members. Members of this union consider that the right to nominate apprentices is among the important benefits of union membership.

3. District Council of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (42 Locals).

The Council has 34,000 members of whom over 5,000 are Hegroes. While there tend to be predominantly white and predominantly Negro locals, the Carpenters Union has provided the only substantial employment opportunity for Negroes in the building trades.

4. Local 60, Operating Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association

In this union there is a larger ratio of Negroes presently exployed in the trade than in its apprenticeship program. Three hundred of 2,000 members of local 60 are Negroes, as compared to 5 of the 80 apprentices. In local 60's apprenticeship program, as in most others, no applications or objective standards are applied in the somission of apprentices.

Local 14 and 143 of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

This union trains its members through Apprenticeship local 15--a three-year program. Unlike most other union members, the operating engineers must take an objective examination, administered by the New York City Department of Buildings. The examination is open-not limited to union members. After passing the examination, an apprentice must obtain two sponsors (members of local 14 - 145) in order to be admitted to the union. Thus far only 23 Negroes have been admitted to the 1,600-member union.

6. Local 3, International Brotherhood

of Electrical Workers.

Local 3 recently won fame in securing a five-hour day. This union has different levels of membership, the most important of which is "A-Card construction worker." These men (who won the five-hour day) comprise 9,000 of the 30,000 members of Local 3. The number of Negrees who hold the A-Card and earn \$5.00 per hour is small, estimates ranging from 300 to 400. There are about 2,250 men from outside New York City working in electrical construction, filling jobs from which qualified vocational school graduates are excluded. On the lower level of Local 3, members work for the lamp and lamp shade manufacturing industry and are paid about \$2.00 per hour.

In the spring of 1962, Mr. Karry Van Arsdale, president of Iocal 3, announced that the union would recruit 1,000 new apprentices, on a nondiscriminatory basis. The Urban League forwarded the names of 51 qualified Negroes and the NAACP forwarded 57 names. Negroes and Puerto Ricans were recruited from other sources and a total of 1,600 apprentices were screened by a nonunion committee of three men, one of whom was a Negro. One thousand and twenty apprentices were admitted to the program including about 140 Negroes and about 60 Puerto Ricans. This dramatic result and Local 3's broad recruiting effort is, so far as we know, without parallel in any building trades union in the country.

In the course of its inquiry, the New York State Advisory Committee became aware of undocumented charges to the effect that the approximately 200 Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices have not entered into regular apprenticeship channels, but are being utilized to perform unskilled labor. This issue was raised by Committee Chairman Sachs in a meeting with Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, business manager of Iocal 3, IBEN, and Mr. Theodore W. Kheel, Director of the Office of Impartial Review of the Electrical Industry. Mr. Bachs received unequivocal assurance from both Mr. Van Arsdale and Mr. Kheel that these charges are unough and that the 200 apprentices in question are undergoing regular apprenticeship training leading, in the course of four years, to full journey as status and a Class-A union membership eard, on the same basis as all other apprentices.

The fix execute litted above illustrate that central of apprenticeship program gives the outliding trades unions a potent weapon against the possibility of litture unemployment. By restricting the apprenticeship program, the union can continue to maintain a chronic labor shortage and to assure reasonably full employment for their members. Entry into him a well-protected, high-paying career is an outstanding employment approximity. These employment opportunities have, in effect, become much parromage. A union leader who is not skilful in dispensing that patromage may lose his position. They and the rank-and-file members townser that their power at the bargaining table has won them control of apprenticeship opportunities.

The unions have marrialed a tight rein on apprenticeship openings despite the current threspread projections of a continued high level of new construction. Territor projections by the Department of Commerce indicated that for ever 100 men skilled in the building trades in 1955, 122 would be nesure 1: 1955 and 145 by 1975. Current apprenticeship programs not only in the provide for this growth but, as noted above, fail to produce ensure provide for the growth but, as noted above, leave the trade.

In keeping with This static philosophy of apprenticeship, Negro participation has remained relatively constant. In 1950, Regroes constituted 1.5 percent of the apprentices and 13 percent of the population of New York City. In 19th, Regroes constituted 2 percent of the apprentices and 22 percent of the parallelien of New York City. It is estimated that by 1970 Regroes will apprentice about 33 percent of the population of New York City. In Regro parallelipation in apprenticeship programs continues to bear no relation to the size of the Negro population, then larger and larger numbers of Regroes will be obliged to compete for the dwindling supply of unskilled apprentices.

The alternatives me essentially three:

- l. Retaining by the building trades unions of presently prevailing practices. This is likely to result in no substantial increase in Negro and Puerra Horm apprenticeship.
- 2. Volumer adoption by other unions of programs like that of Local 3, IEEE, with positive efforts to recruit Negroes and Puerto Ricans and an original mody to screen and approve apprenticeship applicants.
- 3. Adoption to public authorities of regulations, contract policies, and other interiors which provide objective criteria for apprentice selection not enforce compliance by the manner in which public funds are expended and retained.

Thile our still an Printed, it was sufficient to reject the first alternative as income and to conclude that while the second alternative may be more dentable, the third is required for prompt and effective action.

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Our conclusions and recommendations follow:

CONCLUSIONS

- 1. Participation of Negroes in the building traces in New York City ranges from total exclusion in some traces (sheetheral workers, plumbers) through token participation in others (plasterers, operating engineers) to substantial, if often segregated, local union membership in others (carpenters).
- 2. Access to employment in the building trains is substantially controlled by local unions. Through apprenticeship programs normally subject to the joint control of unions and menagement, the unions determine who shall acquire the skills--and the journeyman rating--necessary to employment on nearly all new construction in the city.
- 3. The number of persons admitted to apprenticeship in any year is not determined by current demand but by the ratio of apprentices to journeymen deemed appropriate by agreement of the union and the employers in a given trade. There demand continues to be high over a period of years as it recently has, "out of town" men are imported temperatily to meet the demand.
- 4. By rigid limitations on the number of apprentices, the unions have maintained a chronic labor shortage in the building trades. Addition to and completion of an apprenticeship program is fair assurance of reasonably steady employment for a regular work week and entremely high pay for overtime work. Union members value highly the right to secure admissions to apprenticeship programs—and tend to exercise it (especially in the plumbers union) in favor of their sons, nephers and others with whom they have personal connections.
- 5. Since admission to apprenticeship is exercised largely on a personal basis, and by persons already pursuing the various trades, patterns of exclusion of Hegroes will tend to be perpetuated. The elaborate Federal, State, and local apprenticeship structure leaves essentially untouched the crucial subjective decision as to who is admitted to apprenticeship in the building trades--for example:

Five New York City high schools train young men in the building trades. Their honor graduates have less chance of admission to an apprenticeship program them any business agent's nephew.

The complex New York State Apprenticeship Council, created by statute to "promote an orderly development of the supply of skilled journeymen or graftsmen," is fearful that if the issue of minority apprenticeships is taken, industry and labor might withdraw from, or not join in, apprenticeship programs registered with the Council.

The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, created to promote and improve standards of apprenticeship, clearly has lacked the power (and apparently the inclination) to enforce nondiscrimination as a "standard" of admission to apprenticeship.

- 6. The men who now control admission to apprenticeship programs remember with fear the chronic job scarcity of the 1930's. This remory and their enormous bargaining power suggest that union leaders will not lightly surrender the prerogative of regulating admission to apprenticeship programs.
- 7. The admission of Hegroes to apprenticeship beyond a token basis requires that there be introduced into the present personal, subjective procedures for entry into apprenticeship programs standards that are objective and public. Recommendations that fail to move in this direction do not come to grips with the economic realities and the highly personal relationships that underlie the present system. If the building trades unions insist on retaining the present "patronage" approach, they will eventually be confronted with a form of "civil service" selection analogous to that which has deprived the political parties of their former control of most areas of public employment.
- 8. The commendable voluntary approach of Local 3, IBEL, actively recruiting of minority group youngsters and investing apprentice selection upon an independent group, has not been followed by other unions, and as of July 1963, there is little indication that it will be adopted by other building trade locals in New York City.

RECOGNETIONS

The New York State Advisory Committee recommends to the United States Commission on Civil Rights that steps be taken to bring about the following changes in present practices:

- 1. (a) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and
 Training be authorized and empowered to require
 that all apprenticeship programs in the construction industry be registered by the Bureau; that
 it establish, in consultation with representatives
 of unions and management, objective criteria for
 admission to apprenticeship programs; that it
 determine the number of available apprenticeship
 openings in each program, giving consideration to
 the skilled manpover needs of the nation as well
 as to those of the industry and the immediate
 locality; and that it establish a meaningful and
 effective evaluation system for each of the trades,
 - (b) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be authorized and empowered to require that all notices of acceptance and rejection to apprenticeship programs be filed with the Bureau, and that acceptances and rejections be accounted for in terms of the established objective criteria of admission:
 - (c) That the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training be authorized and empowered to conduct systematic apprenticeship recruiting programs, in part by means of uniform vocational guidance procedures in public schools, and to investigate, on its own initiative, apprentice training programs which are, or are believed to be, engaged in discriminatory practices.
- 2. (a) That departments, agencies, offices, and bureaus of the Federal Government be required to withhold all financial support from apprenticeship programs which fail to admit qualified Negro applicants or fail to comply with the requirements of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training described above:

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- (b) That departments, agencies, offices, and bureaus of the Pederal Government be required to withhold all financial assistance from any contractor and from any building project employing the labor of any union or local thereof which cannot give satisfactory proof that it does not follow discriminatory practices.
- 3. In the event that the foregoing procedures are found to be ineffective, we recommend that Congress enact legislation declaring that admission to apprenticeship in the construction trades is a matter affecting interstate commerce and that such admission be vested in a suitable agency empowered to adopt and enforce procedures analagous to those employed by the Civil Service Commission.

The foregoing is a report which primarily summarizes material supplied to the New York State Advisory Committee by Dr. Donald Shauchnessy. It also draws upon "Apprentices, Skilled Craftsman and the Negro," s publication of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, and the experience of Frank Logue, Regional Consultant to the United States Commission on Civil Rights for New York and the New England States.

Morbert J. Willer
Alletsent Attorney Concession
Columnia Division

Sept. 11; 1963

Assistant Attorney General Civil Rights Division

BH:stj

Solicitation for a Political Contribution

Attached is a solicitation for \$10.00 to the "Kennedy Retirement Fund" which was nailed by the Republican Action Fund at the Republican National Headquarters to Mr. A. B. Caldwell, an attorney in this Division.

You will note that the picture shows three rocking chairs -- one labeled "his", a smaller one labeled "Bobby's", and an even smaller one (containing a teddy bear) tabeled "Teddy's".

This solicitation was sent to Mr. Caldwell's office. It is a solicitation for a political contribution. It is accordingly a flagrant violation of Section 603 of Title 18.

I feel I should disqualify myself from this case, and am, accordingly, referring it to you for immediate and forceful action.

cc: Attorney General

Deputy Attorney General

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HWH: sbh 144-80-3

Maceo H. Hubbard --

typed 9-12-63

Florence B. Howell 442 Emerson Street, N. W. Washington 11, D. C.

Miss Howell is an old customer, and in my opinion mentally disturbed. As I stated in my telephone conversation with you, I would suggest that no reply be made to the letters returned herewith.

Our file shows that around 1939 or 1940, Miss Howell, then a student at the West Wirginia State College for Negroes, sent the Iresident of the college a letter threatening to kill him, and as a result was arrested and sentenced to a term in the Federal Reformatory at Alderson, West Virginia. Upon her release, she sought readmission to the college. When this was refused, she claimed that she was being deprived of her civil rights. She next sought employment in the federal government. Apparently the Civil Service Commission gave her some sort of examination or test, but refused to certify her as eligible for federal employment after receiving information from the Bureau of Prisons concerning her behavior etc. at the Reformatory. Hiss Howell next demanded employment in the Department of Justice, and this is apparently the demand that she is making today. Our file indicates that she has been advised, in several letters, since the early or middle 1940s that the Department cannot assist her in connection with her request for employment, and that her difficulties involve no violation of the civil rights statutes. I, as well as other Department attorneys, have interviewed her, and advised her to the same effect.

Enclosures

cc: Records.
Nr. Hubbard
Chron.

Miss Howell has been making attempts to see Mr. Marshall for several months. In seeking an appointment she sent us a spurious telegram, about two months ago, purporting to be from the iresident of the Local Chapter of the N. A. A. C. F. and the wife of Clarence Mitchell. Head of the Washington Branch of the National N. A. A. C. P. In addition, I am informed that she cursed out one of the secretaries in Rarshall's office.

If you still want to reply to her letters, I shall be glad to prepare a draft. I am almost certain however that a reply will simply generate more letters. telephone calls, and other efforts to reach the Attorney General personally.

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US ATTOP EY GENERALS OFFICE

ESERT MAPSHALE WASHDO

THE FOLLOWING ARE PERSONS SHIGGESTED -V THE

THE POSSIPILITY OF AN INDUSTRY WIDE MEETING OF FILM AND TV INDUSTRY FOR THE PURPOSE OF IMPROVING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF MINORITIES IN FILM. THE MAMES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

LEW WASSERMAN, REVIEW STUDIOS UNIVERSAL CITY CALIF. MARLON

PRANDO 12500 MULHOLLAND DRIVE BEVERLY HILLS CALIF. ROBERT PLUMOFE

UNITED ARTISTS STUDIOS 1041 MORTH FORMOSA HOLLYWOOD ROD SERLING

1450 MONCAO DRIVE PACIFIC PALISADES. BOB LEWINE CBS TELEVISION

HOLLYWOOD CALIF. STEVE ALLAN 10165 MOCDALE RD SHERMAN OAKS.

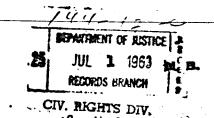
DILLIE WILDER 1041 MORTH FORMOSA HOLLYWOOD. ROBERT WISE 702

OCEAN FRONT SANTA VONICA. DR EASON MONROE 323 MEST 5TH ST LCS

ANGELES. MRS TONY FRANCOISA 707 NORTH ARDEN DRIVE BEVERLY HILLS. THOMAS G NEUSOM 1111 EAST VERNON LOS ANGELES THOMAS NEUSOM

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6 September 1963

MEMORANDUM TO THE SOLICITOR GENERAL

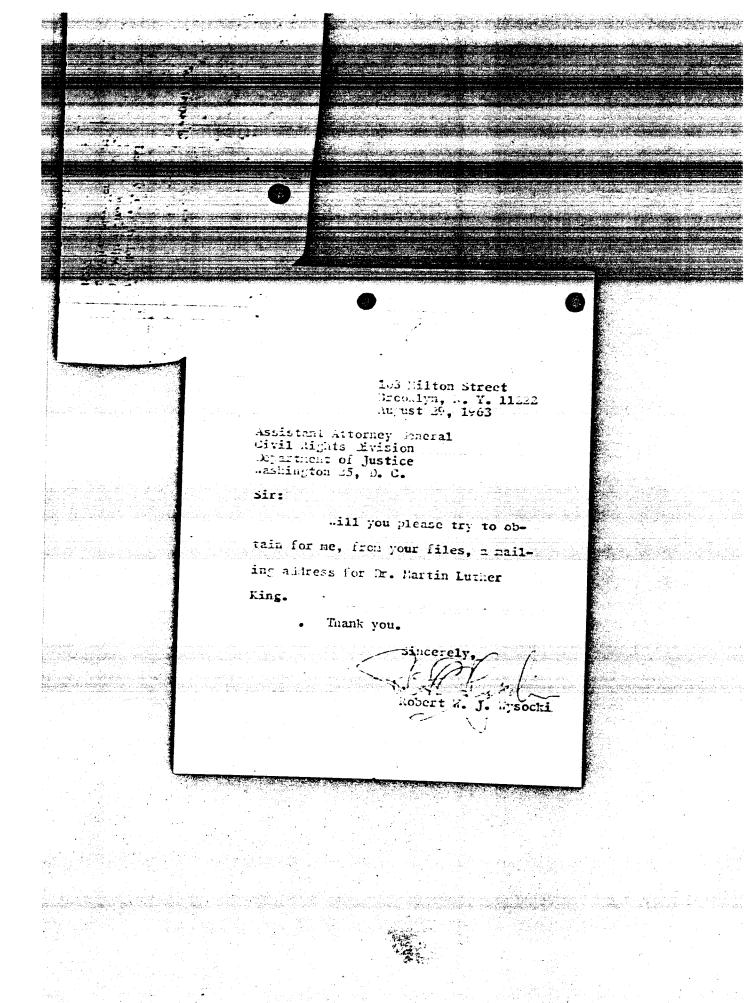
Attached is correspondence received by me from Robert D. Childres regarding the possibility of employment here in the Department. As he evinces an interest in working with you, I attach the same for your consideration.

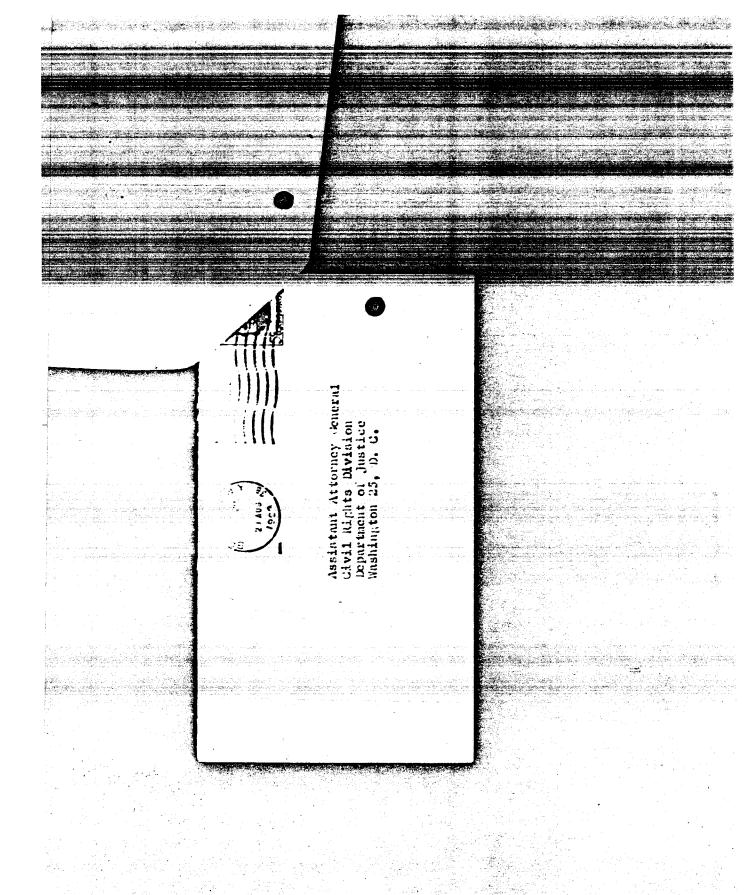
BM

Attachment

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103 Milton Street Brooklyn, New York 11222 Dear Mr. Wysocki: According to our records, Dr. Martin Luther King can be addressed as follows: Dr. Martin Luther King 407 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia Very truly yours, Linda K. Stores Secretary to Burke Marshall Assistant Attorney General Givil Rights Division





DEPARTMENT OF LISTICE

Memorandum

John Barrett, Second Assistant vil Rights Division

SUBJECT: Plaquenines Parish, Louisiana: Leander Perez v. U. S. Waval Air Station

> On August 30, United States Attorney LaCour in New Orleans told me that he plans to talk to Sheriff Wooten in Plaquenines Parish regarding what action. if any, the Sheriff intends to take to enforce the recently adopted resolution and ordinance of the Plaquemines Parish Condission. Mr. LaCour knows Sherlff Wooten and is inclined to think that he will not do anything drastic. Er. LaCour assumes that the "resolution" which declares the Naval Air Station "off limits" for civilians will not be enforced.

I told Mr. LaCour we were considering what legal action might be taken if the ordinance and resolution are actually implemented.

Mr. Murphy advised me that he has not been able to find any federal statute which would apply to the action of the Plaquemines Parish Commission. He not only researched the question himself but also contacted the Air Force and Mavy JAG offices. Navy JAG is obtaining copies of the resolutions for us. They so into effect on either the 5th or 6th of September. Section 244 of Title 13, which punishes discrimination against uniform service men in places of entertainment or amusement, applies only to the District of Columbia and other federal territory.

It may be that Section 241 could apply to a conspiracy to injure or oppress citizens in their federal right (and there surely must be such a right) to go freely to their places of employment on the Naval Air Station, to take supplies into the station and otherwise do business on the station. I don't

thing it would apply, however, to the use of off-base business facilities by uniform service men, although even there it night apply as Perez is certainly intending to injure and oppress them by reason of their service with the United States. Prosecution under 241, however, requires grand jury indictment.

Typed 8-30-63

BETTENTISH

Hr. Ben F. watle Secretary Federal Communications Commission hashington, D. C. 20554

RL: Lerogatory Broadcast - Station WhOG.
Brunswick, Georgia

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Dear Mr. watles

This letter is in furtherance to telephone conversations I had with Mr. Richard Saul and Mr. Stanley Eastman of your office.

On August 29, 1963, we received a complaint from Mrs. Frances Paulcy, Georgia Council on Human Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, concerning derogatory, racial advertisements that were made on radio Station WMOG, Brunswick, Georgia.

Mrs. Pauley furnished us with this information: On August 28, 1963, the Glynn Society for Democratic Action (a segregationist group), ran ads over Station WMOG which stated in part that "The niggers are now marching in hashington"; "Keep the schools for white people"; and, also there was an appeal for funds.

Complaints were made to the station by local residents concerning the tenor of these ads and the use of the word "nigger". After complaints were phoned in to the station, they stopped using the expression "nigger", but the ads were comtinued.

The foregoing information was reported to Mrs. Pauley by Brunswick residents, Mrs. J. C. Wilkes (Negro), wife of a Negro dentist, and Mr. Edward T. Rogers (white), a young chemist who is retired because of a physical handicap.

poin of these complainants are exponential and a citable persons.

I took the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Sauland Fr. Saufman of your office that, if it was possible, inmediate steps should be taken to obtain the written copy from which these radio advertisements were read. This would be particularly helpful if it is natural whether the word "nigges" was used or not.

I would appreciate it if you would advise the undersigned, or ir. Burke marchall, if I am not in town, concerning what action you take with respect to the foregoing complaint.

Sincerely yours,

BURE: PARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Pivision

By: JEROPE T. H.ILBRON Attorney

CC: Pr. Schin D. Guthman Special Assistant Public Information

> Mr. Burke Harshall V Assistant Attorney Concest

Mr. Saul Raufman Sederal Communications Cornission

Records Chrono Heilbron AD STATES COVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

Assistant illerney Goursel Civil Rights Division

jiji lah

JK. TOFROM

Jerone K. Heilbron Attorney

SUBJECT: lerogatory Broadcast - Station WMG, Drunswick, Georgia.

Pauley, Goorgia Council on Human Relations, and obtained this information concerning derogatory racial broadcasts made on Station Mich., Brunswick, Georgia.

MIOG is part of the "Johnnie Reb" chain. hrs. Paulty states that the "Johnnie deb" chain is owned by Mr. Allan Woodall of Columbus, Georgia. The "Johnnie doo" stations are:

MDAX - Columbus, Ga.

MALG - Albany, Ga.

MNO3 - Frunswick, Ga.

WDAX - EcRay, Ga.

MAYX - Waycross, Ga.

On August 28, 1963, the Glynn Society for Democratic Action (Ers. Pauley believes there is possibly an affiliation between this group and either the White Citizens' Councils or the KKK) ran ads in which it was stated that "The niggers are now marching in Washington"; "Keep the schools for white people"; and, there was an appeal for funds.

The foregoing information was reported to Ars. Pauley by Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, wife of a Negro dentist. The information given by Ars. Wilkes was verified by Mr. Edward T. Rogers, a physically handicapped, retired chemist. Mr. Rogers is white. The phone numbers of these persons are as follows:

Mrs. J. C. Wilkes - AM 5-3052 Mr. Edward T. Rogers - ME 8-8026. Hranch, Fuderal Communications Commission, about the foregoing. He assured no that he would in-mediately write Station MHOG for a copy of the subject advertisement and would advise me further of what action could and would be taken.

ROUTING SLIP BUILDING AND ROOM Mr. Marchall 4. PER CONVERSATION
AS REQUESTED SIGNATURE COMMENT APPROVAL NECESSARY ACTION NOTE AND RETURN NOTE AND FILE RECOMMENDATION CALL ME YOUR INFORMATION ANSWER OR ACKNOWL-THE SIGNATURE OF REMARKS

Burke
She attached letter to

the F.C.C. will be

delivered to thom by

messinger, today:

ferry REMARKS FROM BUILDING, ROOM, EXT. DATE HEILBRON lucy 30 63 DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF PROTURE.

تحميلا

August 26, 1963

MEMORANDUM TO MR. BURKE MARSHALL DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Enclosed is a clipping you might have overlooked from the August 26 Washington Post. Though such polls or surveys are only fuzzy indications of public opinion, we thought it interesting that so many of the people reached by this survey generally understood the harm done by racial discrimination to our international objectives. We thought perhaps this survey indicated a certain measure of success for our efforts to impress the layman over the last two and a half years with the international significance of what is not just a domestic issue.

Pedro A. Sanjuan
Director
Special Protocol Services

Enclosure: As stated

It Hurts Abroad; Housing Is Big Issue

£ 1963. The Washington Post Co. onstrators for equal rights fer, for example, not to have converge on Washington this a Negro family as their nextweek, an American dilemma door neighbor.

will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of the United States abroad is the tracial discrimination hurts the united Americans (78 per cent) tempered rather sharply when feel that unsolved racial rook.

cept many of the realities that make a difference to them desegregation might bring personally: When Negro and white dem- with it. A majority would pre- Personal objections of white

white Americans (78 per cent) tempered rather sharply when feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be own willingness to have great-defended in the court of er contact with Negroes in their own personal lives. We put four propositions to white white majority in this coun-Americans and asked undertry is not fully willing to accept if that condition would:

1	per cent
Nerr	neighbors living
nex	HEIPHOOLD HAINE
	door 22
Child	en going to
102.00	CH SOITHE ME
· sch	ol with Negroes 22
Norma	s attending
	a witchding
52m	church 23
Worki	ng next to Negro
	IF HEYE OF MERIA
On I	ob 21
Whi	e the vast majority of
Sec	HARRIS, A2, Col. 3
	,

HARRIS—From Page Al

Race Problem Felt Most In the Field of Housing

line is sharply drawn on hous your family." ing. The area of social contact, living side by side with cross-section of white Americannists ammunition. Khrudilemma that will surely echo try have hurt the United A second major reason across white America this States or not: cited (by 16 per cent) is that Washington, when said, "Negroes have a lot to complain about and they have been treated shabbily. As a

whites in this country is will. Christian, you can't believe abroad is the belief that they ing to accept desegregation in segregation. But it's easier have given the Communists on the job, in church attend to say it like that than it is a valuable propaganda weapance, and in education, the to face it for yourself and on An elderly retailer in Sno-

fliet point. A suburban Nut. ca was asked if it felt the shehev hasn't lost any time ley, N. J., housewife put the racial problems in this coun-taking advantage of it.

> tion abros **Total Whites**

			per cen
Has	hert	abroad	. 78
Not	hurt	abroad	. 8
Not	sare		. 16

The top reason (volunteered by 23 per cent) why people feel that racial troubles are bad for the United States qualmie, Wash, put it this

place our unresolved civil rights she Effects of racial discrimina issue has given our country a bad name, has hurt our repe tation generally. A 24-year-old t lawyer in Kingsport, Tenn., summed up much of the think-ing, when he said, The pictures of dogs attacking colored people in Birmingham have been sent abroad and you know what kind of opinion that gives them about us.

27 Aurust 1943

Benjamin B. Taylor, Jr., Esquire Taylor, Porter, Brooks, Fuller & Phillips Louisiana National Bank Building Baton Rouge 2, Louisians

Dear Mr. Taylor:

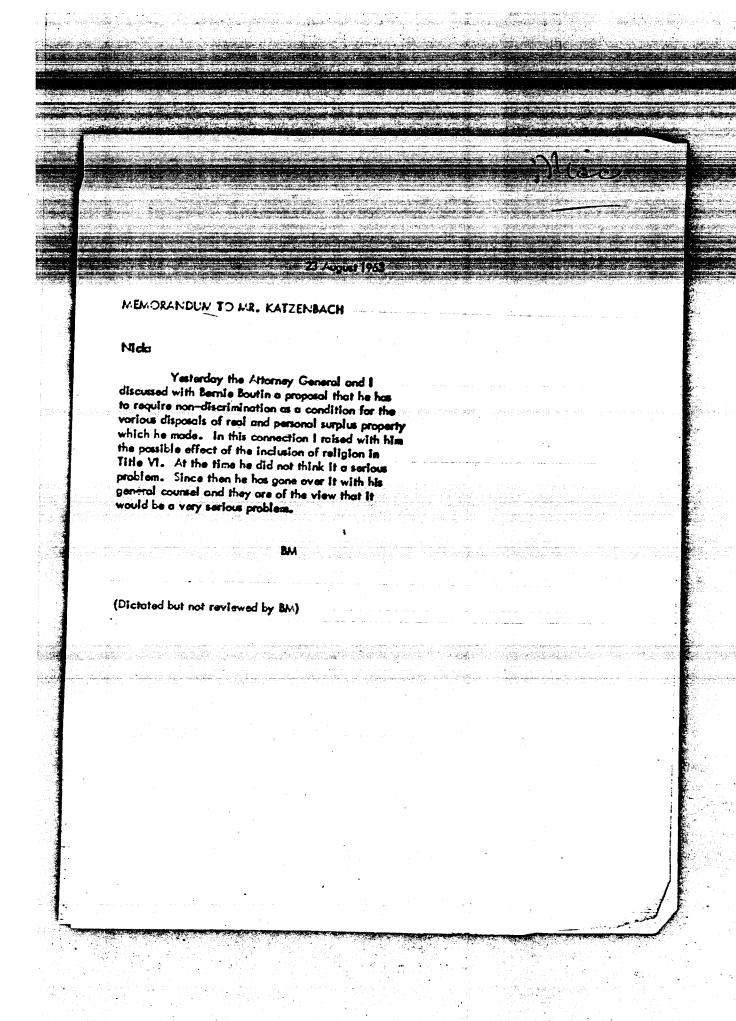
Thanks for the letter and the clippings.

You are doing your city and all of us a great service.

Very truly yours,

Burke Incrsholl
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

Itr. and clips to Frank Dunbaugh



6

Mese.

22 August 1963

Honorable Asa D. Kelley, Jr. Attorney at Law Smith, Gardner, Kelley & V.Tagins Post Office Box 1085 Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mayors

This is in reply to your letter of July 24 written in the interest of Mr. Cleo E. Lovett who is presently confined at the Federal Correctional Institution, Tailahassee, Florida. I have examined this case in detail and find that the U.S. Board of Parole has twice reviewed the circumstances of Mr. Lovett's conviction and confinement and has, on both occasions, denied parole. Vihile the specific reasons for denial have not been given, it is a fact that Mr. Lovett has been confined on several previous occasions for similar offenses.

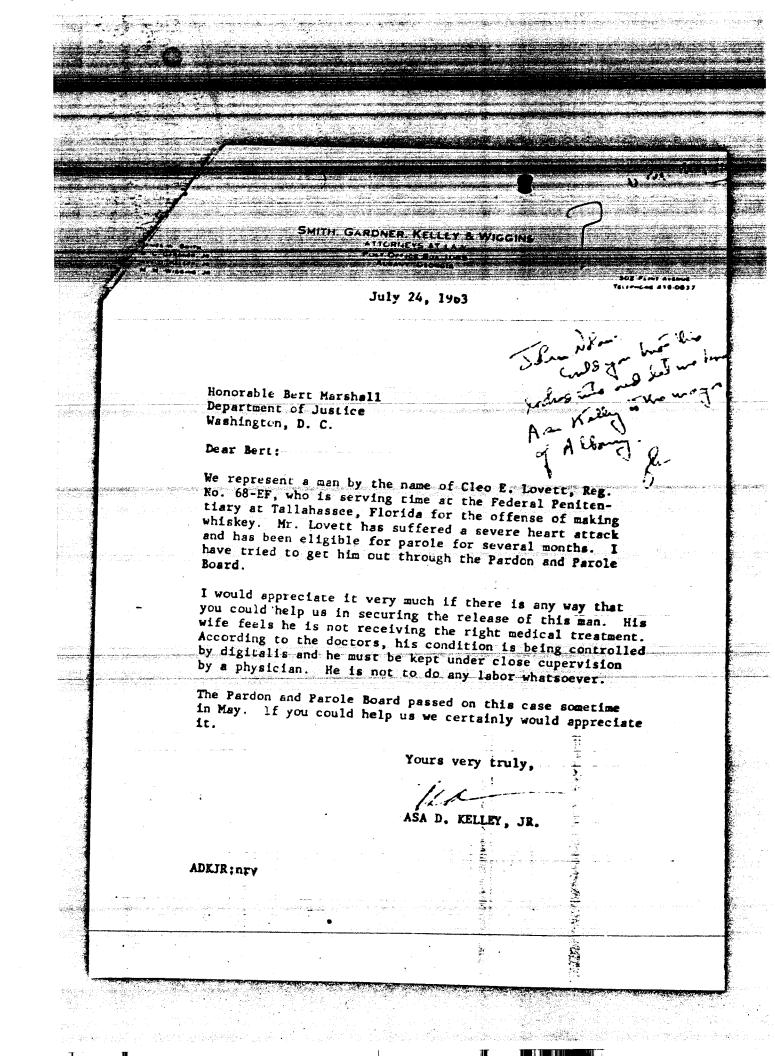
Even if the Parole Board does not revise its decision later, the normal release date for Mr. Lovett will be some time in April of 1964. The Tallahassee Institution has a modern, fully equipped hospital and a competent medical staff of Public Health-Service officers who are available for continued observation and treatment of Mr. Lovett's heart condition. This should enable him to gain in health and strength prior to his release.

We appreciate your interest and expression of friendship for Mr. Lovett.

Very truly yours,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE John Nolon NECESSARY ACTION AS REQUESTED HOTE AND RETURN HOTE AND FILE YOUR INFORMATION PREPARE REPLY FOR REMARKS July 29 Could you have this looked into and let me know? Asa Kelley is the mayor of Albany.





ro : John E. Rolan Jr.

Adm. Asst. to the Actorney General

OFFICE OF THE

FROM

Fred T. Wilkinson, Led I Will Deputy Director, Bureau of Prisons

AUG 2 1963

TORNEY GE

SUBJECT: Cleo E. Lovett, Reg. No. 19112-TF

We discussed this case by telephone on July 31 and I am supplying summary information you requested in order to reply to a letter addressed to the Attorney General by the mayor of Albany, Georgia.

Mr. Lovett was convicted and sentenced to three years confinement for conspiracy to violate Internal Revenue laws. He began service of sentence at our institution in Tallahassee on January 2, 1962. He will be eligible for normal release in April of 1964. The record indicates this conspiracy involved a major operation resulting in an estimated tax fraud of \$125,000. It is estimated that Lovett on three occasions purchased a total of 102,000 pounds of sugar from one source. He has been convicted of violation of liquor laws before and he had a total of five commitments to local, state, and federal institutions for law violations. He also has a long arrest record for offenses generally growing out of drumkenness.

Mr. Lovett was first heard by the U. S. Board of Parole in December, 1962 while serving sentence at our prison camp on Eglin AFB. Parole was denied. Later, according to a letter in the file from the Parole Board chairman to Congressman J. L. Pilcher, the Board made another review of the case and again denied parole.

It is evident from correspondence in the file that Mr. Lovett is held in high esteem by his neighbors in Georgia. As a matter of fact, it appears that he is a successful farmer and business man. He was returned from the prison camp at Eglin to the Tallahassee institution after a stay of approximately five months because he suffered a heart attack at the camp. At Tallahassee he has the advantage of the complete hospital facilities and a full-time medical staff to observe and treat him.

John E. Nolan Jr.
Adm. Asst. to the Attorney General

August 1, 1963

Fred T. Filkinson Deputy Director, Bureau of Prisons

Cleo E. Lovett, Reg. No. 19112-TF

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FTW/mm

PROPOSED DRAFT OF REPLY TO MAYOR'S LETTER

My dear Mayor:

reply to your letter of

the interest of Mr. Cleo E. Lovett who is presently confined at the Federal Correctional Institution, Tallahassee,
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the U. S. Board of Parole has twice reviewed the circumstances
of Mr. Lovett's conviction and confinement and has, on both
occasions, denied parole. While the specific reasons for
denial have not been given, it is a fact that Mr. Lovett
has been confined on several previous occasions for similar
offenses.

I am glad to note that even if the Parole Board does not revise its decision later, the normal release date for Mr. Lovett will be some time in April of 1964. I am sure you and his family and many friends in the area will be glad to know that the Tallahassee institution has a modern, fully equipped hospital and a competent medical staff of Public Health Service officers who are available for continued observation and treatment of Mr. Lovett's heart condition. This should enable him to continue to gain in health and strength prior to his release.

We appreciate your interest and expression of friendship for Mr. Lovett. It should be a great comfort to him to realize that his friends hold him in such high esteem.

TON

a Mise.

NATIONAL BROADCLETING COMPANY, INC.

B PERVICE OF PARIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

HCA Building, RLC 5 City, No. 10 of 20 N

Contraction of the Contraction o

August 22, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Constitution Ave. betw. 9th & 10th Sts.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I would like to call your attention to an unusual three-hour program to be presented on the NBC Television Network on Monday, September 2, from 7: 30 to 10: 30 p. m. EDT.

We feel that the importance of its subject, the civil rights issue, warrants a program of this unprecedented length and placement, preempting as it will our entire schedule of programming that night.

We hope, in fact, that the program will be a major step in the effort to keep Americans informed on what is certainly one of the most significant developments, perhaps even the overriding development, of our

The program is titled "The American Revolution of '63." It will examine the events of this revolution as they have occurred in all parts of the country and it will explore the varying positions and public attitudes regarding the central issue.

The scope of the program -- and the problem it will deal with -- is indicated by the fact that it will require the services of all our correspondents in this country and many of those abroad.

I hope you will be able to view this program and I hope that, from time to time in the future, I may take the liberty of calling your attention to other NBC News programs that may be of interest to you.

Sitteralu

William R. McAndrew

Executive Vice President

NBC News Division

Miss

2 August 1965

Mrs. Lowrence Coe 3580 Watauga Avenue Memphis II, Tennessee

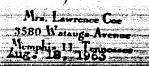
Dear Nes. Com

Thank you for your letter. It was nice to hear from you again, even though the Governor acted on the same day your letter arrived.

Sincerely,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

of the state.



r.Burke Morshall pepartment of Justice Loshington, D.C.

Jear ir. Marshall:

The enclosed clipping is from yesterday's Press Ecimiter. Though I on sure you are in close touch with the situation in Tennessee rethe senatorial vacancy I thought ou might like to have an analysis from this end of the state.

with Judge wilson Tuesday night, trying to analyze the prospects of the Democrats in the future- by that I mean the national Democrats, not the Southern Democrats. As a result of this and numerous other discussions over the state going on simultaneously this is the situation as we see it:

Sen. Gore will be influenced more and more into anti-administration votes-and at the same time will be more vulnerable to Republican attack in Nov.'64. Only opositive, Democratic stand on the big issues can mobilize these people who have supported Lefauver and the administration in the past and only a very strong person can do this. Damund orgill could possibly have done this but physically he cannot stand a state wide race and his age (63) is against him. That leaves Judge Wilson as the only person who can do the job, in our opinion. Though he has been



on election mage to just don't think the party can win out here vittout his vigorous political leadership. I am convinved that he himself realizes this worth from my conversations with him and from a telephone conversation with his ex-law partner, wene Joyce, in whidge with his che practical point here is when he would have to resign the judges ip and how he could get along while campaigning. Even if we in the state could raise the additional funds for a year (which we trink we could), how will this look and what effect will it have with the voters?

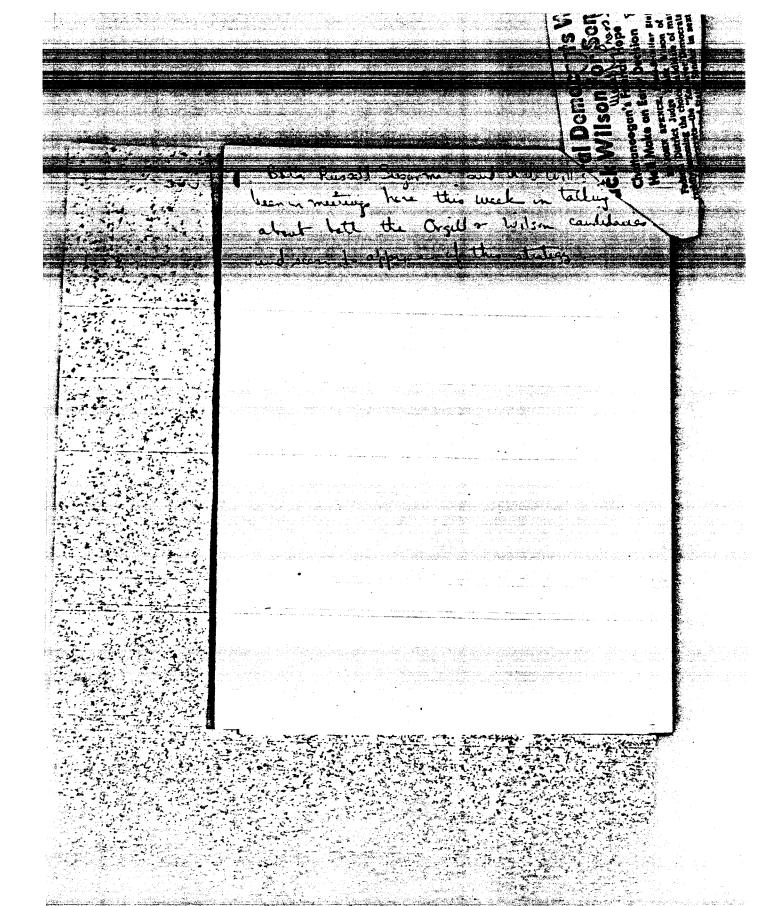
It is our opinion that hoss Bess would not be able to wind together the necessary supportative we would have a repeat of last summer's divided governor's race. We hope he will be offered and will accept the lostmaster General's office. his position from hiddle tennessee is against him and also the general feeling that he does not have the necessary weight.

Ism aware of the delicate situation with the governor. We only hope down here that you are aware of the kind of politics he plays with the Last Tennessee Republicans.

Right now we are ungrip El Orgill to run for major this Fall - as a ralling force to help us next Summer and in the Fall of EV. We think this would help us aget a good man elected from the 9th District - and we have quite a good crop available have.

(over)

France Coe (Us. Jaurence



ral Democrats Will Jck Wilson for Senate

Shellengoon seronde los He'll Make an Early Decision

By JOHN SPENCE, Press, Secondar Statt Bister

Federal District Judge Frank Wilson of Chartamenta is rapidly becoming the choice candidate of many of the state's liberal Democrats—the "Kefauver Democrats"—for the party promination for United States Senator in next year's primary

Judge Wilson has known

Strong support in Memphis, in Carroll and Dyer Counties, in Nashville and Middle Tennessee as well as in both upper and lower East Tennessee.

The 45 years ald insist and the country of the country of

and lower East tennessee.

The 45-year-old jurist practiced law and entered politics in Knoxville after World War II. He moved to Oak Ridge a year or two later.

Led Estes Campaign
He was a leader in the late Sen. Estes Kefauver's 1948 campaign for the Senate. He made a race of his own for Congress against Republican Howard Baker in 1950. He lost, but Raker's margin must be the senate of t but Baker's margin was the narrowest any Republican has experienced in the Second District in this century.

Wilson managed East Ten-nessee campaigns for Sens. Gore and Kefauver and for Edmund Orgill in 1952, '54, '59

and '60.

Sens. Gore and Kefauver, sens. Gore and netauver, with hearty support from the Kennedy Administration, sought and secured his appointment to the Chattanooga district judgeship in '61. Friends of Kefauver,

Friends of Kefauver, in widely separated meetings across the state since Tuesday, which was the day of the Senator's funeral, have arrived independently at the conclusion that Wilson is the best condidate their could have best candidate they could back in '64. Telephone talks between members of the groups have brought the consensus to

have brought the consensus to light.
Wilson's life tenure in the well-paid federal judiclary caused the Gore-Orgill-Ke-fauver supporters to doubt, at first, that Judge Wilson could be persuaded to run.

May Be Persuaded
But they have talked with
him, with his brother, Knoxville Atty. Bill Wilson, and his close friends and concluded it is worthwhile to try to per-suade the Judge to resign the federal post early next year.

Congressman Ross Bass' an-Congressman Ross Bass' announced interest in running
makes an early decision by
Wilson necessary. Bass, as a
Middle Tennessean, would be
at a disadvantage because
Sen. Gore is also a Middle
Tennessean, and the record Tennessean, and the record shows that the voters of Tennessee have not, in this cen-tury, elected two senators from the same Grand Division



FRANK WILSON

August 15. 1963

Er. Earshall this is a list of the topics which Congressman Diggs would like to discuss with you on the 20th of August:

- Clarification of the power of the Federal Government to intervene when local law enforcement officers practice brutality.
- 2. The tise of southern FBI agents for investigative purposes of civil rights cases
- 3. What recourse does one have in cases such as the Clarksdale fire bombing where the defendants were exonerated despite ample evidence for conviction.
- 4. The status of Negro staff people in the Civil Rights Div.

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MECRO PAPLOYEES

Attorneys

1 - GS-15 1 - GS-12 1 - GS-9

Maceo W. Hubbard Gerald W. Jones ' Thelton E. Henderson

Clerical

2 - GS-7

2 - GS-6

10 - GS-5

5 - GS-L

8 - GS - 3

1 - GS - 2

1 - 65-1

G. LaVerne Williams Shirley T. Jones Sarah B. Hood Arlene S. Hudson Regina R. Bailey

Hattie Y. Ballard

Sylvia A. Battle

Marjorie R. Crutchfield Irma W. Davis

Maude E. Patrick Emmy I. Shackelford

Delores Taylor

Virginia T. Thomas Josephine T. Trimiar Catherine L. Day

Barbara E. Gross

Lydia A. Hill Sudie W. Hooper Sarah W. Jones

Charlotte E. Dudley

Delores Dunn

Jaronza H. Ellis Veronica T. Mason

George E. Roberts

Martha Robinson

Barbara A. Steward

Vivian Toler

Douglas H. Banks Reginald T. Hammond

Totals as of August 18, 1963 Regro Attorneys - 3
Hegro Clerical - 29
Total Regro Exployees - 32

Total Division Employees - 103

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION NEGRO SUPPLER EMPLOYEES Celestine Arrington Ruby Lee Magee 2 - 05-4 James A. Thomas John W. Walker ---Total number of Summer Employees - 22 Total number of Negro Summer Employees - &