7 December 1963

Professor Harold W. Pfautz Department of Sociology & Anthropology Brown University Providence 12, Rhode Island

Dear Professor Pfautz:

In reply to your recent request for statistics of civil rights demonstrations in this country, our records show that for the period of Emry 20, 1963 to November 4, 1963, the following demonstrations took places

Total Demonstrations	1,898
States	40 & D.C.
Cities	297

The above demonstrations were for the following reasons:

General .	455
Public Accommodations	738
School School	106
Employment ·	231
Housing	111
Other	223

Unfortunately, we can't offer any theoretical assistance in your study of crowds. We have not analyzed or surveyed racial demonstrations other than simply making this count and our sources of information for this are principally newspaper clippings.

Very truly yours,

Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

.

Form No. G-1C (Rev. 12-10-57)

PROM DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

te
Official indicated below by check mark

Attorney General	Management
Deputy Attorney General	MEMORANDUM
First Assistant Deputy Attorney General	†
Executive Office For U. S. Attorneys	
Executive Office For U. S. Marshals	1
Solicitor General	·
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General	•
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust	
Assistant Attorney General, Tax	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil	·•
Assistant Attorney General, Lands	•
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal	-
Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel	
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights	
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Supplies and Printing Section	
Transcription Section	
irector, FBI	•
Assistant to the Director - Room 5640	
irector of Prisons	
irector, Office of Alien Property	
ommissioner, Immigration and Naturalization	والرازان والمستويد والمتاه والمستشيد والمستفادة والمستفادة
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I'm afraid we can't the offer any theoretical assistance in your study of crowds. We have not analyzed maintaken simply making this count and our sources of information are principally newspaper clippings.

Linda:

This will have to be typed down there after all. Our letterhead reads "Special Assistant for Public Information".

Dear Professor Pfautz:

In reply to your recent request for statistics of civil rights demonstrations in this country, our records show that for the period of May 20, 1963 to November 4, 1963 the following demonstrations took place:

Total Demonstrations
States
Cities

1898
40 and District of Columbia
297

The above demonstrations were melin for the following reasons:

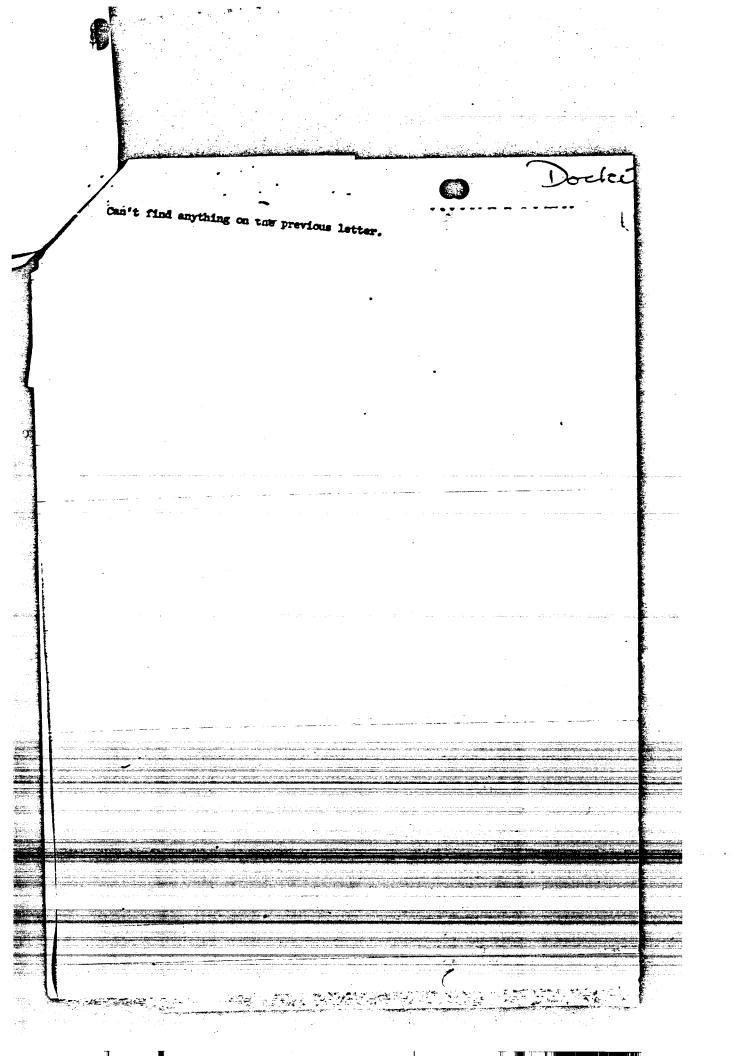
Gen eral	455
Public Accommo-	
dations	738
School	106
Employment	231
Housing	111
Other	222

of sorp described to you have not for the service, please let us move. If the can be further

Very truly yours,

INSERT: The material from which these figures are drawn would not

in some cases supplemented by information from United States attorneys offices.
Since the statement at all cases



FROM: HAIL AND DOCKET ROOM)Assistant Attorney General)First Assistant)Second Assistant)Trial Staff)Chief, General Litigation Sec.)Head, Const Rts Unit at R - min Blair



BROWN UNIVERSITY

Bicentennial 1764-1964

PROVIDENCE 12, RHODE ISLAND

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

November 5, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall Civil Rights Division Department of Justice Washington 25, D. C.

Dear lir. Yarshalls

NOV 2 0 1963 Duracies District of Prince Information

In recent weeks there have been both newspaper and magazine references to unofficial Justice Department statistics on the incidence, location, and course of civil rights demonstrations throughout the country. My professional interest is in the study of crowds, and I am writing to inquire if there is any way in which I could obtain access to these data. I right add that there have been few empirical scientific studies of crowd behavior and that the theoretical significance of these materials cannot be overestimated.

I wrote to the Attorney General, Mr. Kennedy, about two months ago and have never received a reply. Needless to say, I would appreciate very much your interest in this matter.



Shirley have layer have wider?

November 27, 1963

Stephen Lemann, Esquire Monroe & Lemann Whitney Building New Orleans, Louisiann

Dear Steve:

In connection with your efforts for a bi-racial committee, and the debate with Mr. Fenner, may I suggest that the experience in Baton Rouge of Charest Thibaut, Frank Craig, Judge Carlos Spaght, or Douglas Manship could prove him wrong.

Best Regards,

Eurke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

TED STATES GOVE MENT Memorandum

. PARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ro : Burke Marshall

DATE: Nov. 21, 1963

FROM : Frank M. Dunbaugh

SUBJECT: Bi-racial Committee in New Orleans

I am returning the attached correspondence concerning the formation of a bi-racial committee in New Orleans. I am not familiar with any of the persons involved in the correspondence so it is difficult to judge their motives.

Apparently, Mr. Lemann believes that Mr. Fenner's approval is essential to the formation of a bi-racial committee. Mr. Fenner opposes the formation of such a committee. He states in his letter of October 15 that the committee members of both races will be thrown into the limelight and will then become subject to criticism and political pressure. This has not been the experience in Baton Rouge where the committee's activities have been so little publicized that its members are nearly anonymous. The committee operates with such secrecy that the Negroes in Baton Rouge complain with some justification that they have not been kept informed of the committee's activities.

Since the persons involved in this correspondence appear to be attorneys it might be suggested to them that they contact some of the attorneys on the Baton Rouge bi-racial committee, such as Charest Thibaut, Frank Craig, or Judge Carlos Spaght, to obtain their views.

ROUTI @ SLIP SUILDING AND ROOM Frank Dunbaugh SIGNATURE COMMENT COMMENT PER CONVERSATION

NECESSARY ACTION AS REQUESTED APPROVAL NOTE AND RETURN | NOTE AND FILE RECOMMENDATION CALL ME TOUR INFORMATION ANSWER OR ACKNOWL-THE SIGNATURE OF REMARKS do you have any suggestions? BM 7 November

BUILDING, ROOM, EXT. DATE

FROM

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ights Under Law

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ROUTING PLIP lights Under Law BUILDING AND ROOM Mr. Marshall COMMENT HECESSARY ACTION AS REQUESTED MOTE AND FILE ANSWER OR ACKNOWL THE SIGNATURE OF Frak Dulongh REMARKS FROM ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
Tax Division

Lawyers' Consmittee for Civil Rights Under Law

FORMED AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Co-Chairmen

HARRISON TWEED

1 Chase Manhattan Plaza
New York 5, N.Y.

Bernarb G. Segat.
Packard Building
Philadelphia 2, Pa.



Lloyd N. Cutler, Esquire, Wilmer, Cutler Fickering, 500 17th street, N.A., Washington, D. C. 20006.

Dear Lloyd:

Pursuant to our conversation I am enclosing the correspondence that steve Lemann sent to me.

Einest Morial, the President of the New Crieans NAMCP, told me that there is a real danger that the responsible Negro leadership in New Crieans may be supplanted if a ti-racial committee is not established. Negro groups in New Crieans have been anxious for such a committee for a long time and though there are some sub-rosa bi-racial groups operating, there has been no open committee. Both Lemann and Morial feel that harry kelleher is a ship with Ar. Fenner.

You will see from the enclosed correspondence the kind of argument that Fenner makes against the Commission. However, as you will note from the enclosed newspaper clipping. Hammond, Louisiana (which is certainly much less cosmopolitan than New Crleans) has a bi-racial committee which seems to have been working, and I think there has been a working bi-racial committee in Baton Rouge.

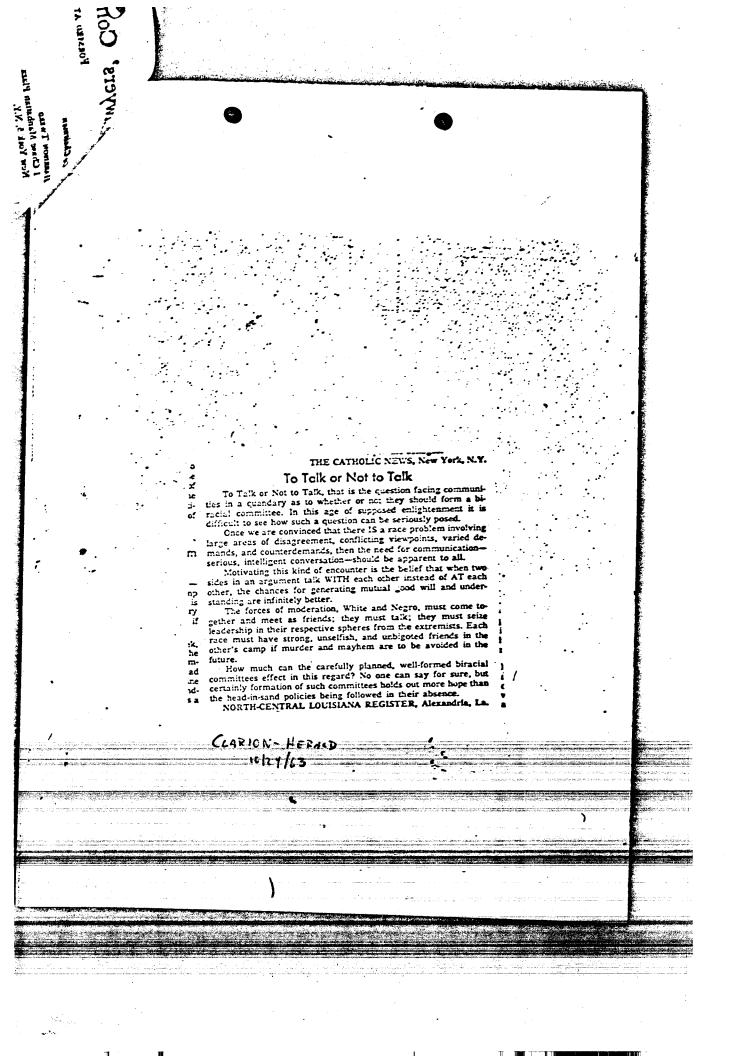
with personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome J. Shestack



NOY 7 1963



October 23, 1963

Mr. Darwin S. Fenner 915 Common Street New Orleans, Louisians

Dear Darwins

I doubt that either of us is going to convince the other about the best way to evoid any major dislocations in the community; in view of your position of leadership I can only hope that events ultimately prove that you are correct.

You sure are a nice guy to put up with so scribacious a correspondent.

Sincerely,

DARWIN S. FENNER 9:5 GOMMON STREET NEW ORLEANS IZ, LA

October 15, 1963

Mr. Stephen B. Lemann 1424 Whitney Bank Building New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

Dear Steve:

Thank you very much for your letter putting forth your reasons for believing that a bi-racial committee would be advantageous to New Orleans.

As you must know I have great respect for your judgment. If the Mayor wants to form a bi-racial committee, he can do so at anytime. But, if he does this it is my judgment that I do not want to be a part of it. My reasoning is simply this.

If there is a bi-racial committee, its members, both white and colored, will be thrown into the limelight. This will almost compel the colored members to make frequent demands for changes, and the pace of the changes will then become more rapid than the community can accept. The result may be chaos. The white members of the bi-racial committee will certainly suffer open criticism and become a target for politicians who want to appeal to those members of the community that would resist change.

I hope that you will understand that my objection to a bi-racial committee does not mean that I do not want to see changes particularly in the public accommodation area. This I think is essential and I want to see us to continue to work in harmony with the colored members of our community. I am very hopeful that one of the two Harrys will call a meeting of our group in the near future to decide the next course of action, but I must reiterate what I have said to you in so many words namely, that I feel that the demonstration march did more harm than good for the cause of the colored people. I can assure you that If they choose to continue these tactics, I will completely withdray.

Danne

DSF/gt

EPHEN E. LEMANN

HIS NATUR SAN SANSAN

NEW CRUSANS 12

October 3, 1963

l'e. Dervin S. Temos 915 Comon Street Ner Gricens, Le.

Door Darreins

The activities of your group--and especially your our leadership-in the presention of racial kernony have been so successful that I kesitate to question my judgment you make in this area. I presume to to so only become the conclusion--your withdrawal--sould have such un-

More are three groups concerned with the state of race relations in Her Orleans: the Heros, who have assorted demands (of varying morat in her and in (under) that they feel should be catasfied; the Civizen Councils and their index, who insist on the rejection of all Heyro demands, irrespective of morat; and all the rest of us, who are concerned with the transmility, progress, and prosperity of the community. It would cortainly be tracte to abundon the field to the exclusive was of the first two groups, especially on the basis of the rather innocuous march last Manday.

On the motter of a bi-recial committee, I find it hard to believe that there are many significant citizens of New Orleans who would
not follow the lead of your group. I remember the air-clearing effect
of the advertisements that Cherlie Entities got together a few years ago,
which were at least as redical for their time as advocacy of a bi-racial
committee is today. I think that it would be child's play to get a humared prominent signatures on a statement asking the major to appoint such
a committee and setting forth that any of the signatories would be willing to serve—provided that the first four names were Fenner, McCall,
Kelleher, and Favrot. Putting it another way, I think that your group
represents—and is recognized as representing—the best of New Orleans,
and will find many willing to follow therever you are villing to lead.

I realize that all influence is a perishable comodity, to be used only for nextrain effect. I gather that the only difference between in is as to whether the substantial influence that you and your colleagues would will produce greater dividends in private, or through mobilizing mass of opinion in the local business and professional equality behind you. It seems illusory to expect the bulk of the population to come to an excremess of the very real and difficult problems before us that to the trade of the very real and difficult problems before us to the trade of the very real and difficult problems before us trades. I think you will agree that the problems that problems that problems that the problems would somehow never acres.

15. Derete S. Denter -- 2 I cortainly don't want to augus with you, or harmous you, or count provide any thelicons what you consider armithese, and I as continuely grational for the time and thought and effort that you and your associates have allowed mysteric for the common good. Int I continuelly look at tendence, and have a limited and wonder about Her Orients. ಬಿದು ಜನ ಚನಿಯ, : Einerely, 572:E3X 00 - Mr. Henry Medall, Jr. Mr. Marry D. Hellohov Mr. Chimbont F. Farret DARWIN S. FENNER
SIS COMMON STREET
NEW ORLEANS IZ, LA

September 25, 1963

Mr. Stephen Lemann Mource & Lemann Whitney Building New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Stephen:

Thank you for sharing with me the letter from Mr. Winter Grapolin.

I am still of the opinion that a great deal more can be accomplished by a sub rosa committee than by a bi-racial committee appointed by the mayor. I say this because I believe that there are many businessmen who will actively cooperate in a sub rosa committee, but few of the leaders will join in the bi-racial committee.

You know my sentiments about the leadership we have had in New Orleans among the Negro population. I think we have been most fortunate, and it is because of their attitude that I have been willing to do my share. When the leadership feels that demonstrations are necessary, I will prefer to withdraw.

Sircerely,

DSF/pw

cc: Mr. Harry McCall, Jr.

Mr. Harry Kelleher

Er. Clifford Favrot

September 19, 1963 File 9722-3

Mr. Darvin S. Tomer 915 Common Street New Orleans, Le.

Dear Dorving

Enclosed is copy of a letter Winter Trupolin wrote the Mayor on September 6. It makes a good deal of sames to me, especially as a means of taking pressures away from the Mayor and—to a lesser extent—the City Council.

On the whole, I think that the procedures that were so conspicuously successful in dealing with the lunch counters cannot be made to serve indefinitely—if for no other reason than that the present situation among the Regrees will not permit them to operate quietly. Is a matter of fact, Revius Ortique told John Corporen yesterday that Martin Lather Ming may already be on his way. I recently tolked to an attorney in Plaquenine, who told me semething of the troubles that they have had as the result of imported agitators, and I remain concerned that we don't came to the same end. I think that the type of Legree leadership we have had in New Orleans has been an asset in minimaling himomious relations second only to the responsible white leadership; the latter will, I know, remain, but I an concerned lest the former lose their present positions of influence.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

SEL: RIX

Excl.

C - Kr. Harry McCall

F. Winter Trapolin Insurance Agency

302 RICHARDS BLOG. .

NEW CRLEANS 12, LA. . JA 2-21

September 6, 1963

CCPY

Mayor Victor H. Schire City Hall New Orleans, Louisians

Pear Vie:

As you hear some of the dreadful news stories coming out of <u>Viscissippi</u>, wholeans and other parts of Louisiana, you have ample grounds for a warm plow of pride with the lack of such news coming from New Orleans. Other of the are boing rocked by hate, violence, bloodshed and actual bombings.

You in particular, Vic, should be proud of your own wisdom, tact and courage in handling the several racial crises that have recently threatened our City. The City is reaping the benefit of the peace and calm your leadership give it, whether wanted by some or not.

Now I am beginning to hear rumblings again. Before another crisis developes and during the hull, I think you should move to lessen the personal load on yourself. You can prevent some of the hate-mongers from making a political football out of decisions based on fair play, on rights of individuals and minorities, and on moral considerations.

The attitudes of people have natured to the extent that now the time appears ripe for you to appoint an advisory Council on Human Relations. All factions should be represented. Appointees should be unbiased reasonable citizens, who are respected in their fields. All sessions should be "executive". Conclusions reached should be furnished to you alone, to be used, or publicized, as you feel expedient.

The reasons that prompt this advice are:

- Unless unavoidable, I do not think the Mayor should be required to take stands on "racial issues" without the endorsement of a known group of recognized civic leaders.
- Minorities should know they are represented on an active "rights" council, by persons they prefer, and therefore can feel they have had a voice in the conclusions reached.

- 3. Individuals and organizations should know there is an established official city council where their grievances can be discussed calrily, privately and with interest.
- L. Favorable results here, and in other cities where councils have been formed, prove that discussion around the table is the only cure for social unrest.

Vio, our cures so for have been temporary each time the partic button was pushed. I propose a permanent cure. Until 2 and 3 above are satisfied, unrest will continue to forment. The City has been lucky with existing informal arrangement. I say lucky, because of so many things that could have gone wrong, but did not. In each situation in the past, lockers were able to restrain their determined members. However, they can not be expected to be able to continue exercising such control under all circumstances. If we continue to employ this procedure which the City has outgrown, we will be pambling, -- randling unnecessarily--pambling with the mich stakes of human life and economic prorress.

If you would like to discuss this matter in greater detail, I am deeply interested and will meet at your convenience.

Sincerely,

F. Winter Trapolin

FWT/rls

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ROUTII SLIP

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	CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
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your five	a or records
	A
FROM	BUILDING, ROOM, EXT. DATE
	1 1

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

337 EAST CHICAGO AVENUE CHICAGO II. ILLINOIS

November 14, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall Assistant Attorney General Civil Rights Division Department of Justice Washington, D.C.

Dear Burke:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed article which covers a whole host of problems with which you, fortunately, are not directly concerned.

That, however, is not the reason why/I am writing you.
Last year Bill Foster sent me a copy of a memorandum he
sent you advocating the thesis that the Attorney General
could initiate school desegregation suits himself. Having
no use for this at the time, I commented on it to Bill and
then threw it out. Now, I am participating in a
conference at the University of Chicago and commenting on
a paper by Alex Bickel. In it he argues that the section
of the bill proposed by the Administration which gives
the Attorney General authority to institute desegregation suits
is a bad idea. I disagree strongly with this point of view
and remember that there is a certain amount in Foster's
memorandum which could help me in preparing my comments.
I am sorry to bother you about this and would, of course,
have written or called Bill myself. Unfortunately, for this
project, Bill is in France this year, and I am, therefore,
turning to you.

If you can get this memorandum to me I would appreciate your attempting to send it by return mail as the Conference is a week from Friday - on November 22nd.

I am sorry to have to write you in such a hurry but
I thank you for whatever you can do.

JK:ko Sandan John Kaplan

when child

Form No. G.1 'Ed. 29.41)

THE ATTORNE GENERAL

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Deputy Attorney General
Solicitor General
Executive Assistant to the Attorney General
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust
Assistant Attorney General, Tax
Assistant Attorney General, Civil
Assistant Attorney General, Lands
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal
Assistant Attorney General, Legal Counsel
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights
Administrative Assistant Attorney General
Director, FBI
Director, Bureau of Prisons
Director, Office of Alien Property
Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization
Pardon Attorney
Parole Board
Board of Immigration Appeals
Special Assistant for Public Information
Records Administration Office
For the attention of Burke Marshall

5/31

REMARKS:

him?

As you know. Is there anything I ought to tell

RFK

Linda Compression Constitution of the Constitu

RIGHTS DIV:



WUB286 RA329

R NA280 LONG PD FAX NEW YORK NY 27 358P EDT

US ATTORNEY GENERAL WASHDC

AGVA IS IN FULL ACCORD WITH YOUR EFFORTS TO FORESTALL NEW RACIAL EXPLOSIONS BY ORDERLY METHOD OF LEGISLATION AND VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION TO ASSURE NEGROES EQUAL ACCESS TO PLACES WHERE THE PUBLIC IS INVITED.

I AM CERTAIN THAT AGVA CAN BE OF MATERIAL AID TO YOUR
PROGRAM BY ADOPTING AND ENFORCING RULES AND REGULATIONS WHICH
YOULD ACCOMPLISH THE RESULTS YOU SEEK AS AGVA PERFORMERS APPEAR
IN ALL STATES.

I WOULD BE HAPPY TO CONFER WITH YOU, ACCOMPANIED BY MR.
BOBBY FAYE, NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY AND HAROLD BERG.
NATIONAL COUNSEL AT YOUR OFFICE AND AT YOUR CONVENIENCE TO
DISCUSS THIS IMPORTANT MATTER.

AS THE AGVA CONVENTION STARTS ON JUNE 10TH, I WOULD APPRECIATE
THE OPPORTUNITY TOSEE YOU PRIOR TO THEN, SO THAT NECESSARY
LEGISLATION TO AID YOUR PROGRAM COULD BE PASSED DURING THE
CONVENTION. RESPECTFULLY

JOEY ADAMS PRESIDENT AMERICAN GUILD OF VARIETY ARTISTS
(23).

436P FDT MAY 27 63

Note of Association

S GREEN WARREN

Form No. DJ-No. (Rev. 4-13-61) ROUTING SLIP	
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· Carl	
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A Minds

October 4, 1963

Honorable Furke Marshall Assistant Attorney General Department of Justice Washington, D.C.

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Dear Mr. Mershell:

The impending trial of nine members of the Albeny Movement on charges of obstruction of the federal judicial process and of perjury brings to a head a problem of which, of course, you are not unaware, but which we would wish to call to your perticular attention.

There exists, as you know, a small but significant cadre of young people, white and Megro, Worthern and Southern, who, in numerous places in the South, whether in connection with voter registration or otherwise, have provided what Southern Negro communities naturally often lack -namely, the initiative, the energy, the will to exercise constitutional rights. These young people have thus done selfless, dedicated work, supplying what the federal government cannot give, but can only support. They are denounced as outside agitators by the segregationists, but in a federal union in which social justice is the business of all citizens, these young people are in fact a brave body of volunteers performing a task that is in the highest national interest. They are, we believe, a national asset, and their morale, their sense of mission and their consciousness of support for their efforts in the country at large are properly ratters of national concern. They face enormous difficulties and severe hardship and danger; most have been herassed, some have been abused and beaten, a few -- as currently in Americus, Ga. -- have been subjected to blatent persecution in local courts. They rust have the sense that the country at large sustains them and that the federal government is sympathetic to their efforts and will support and protect them when it can lawfully do so.

We are greatly worried that these young people now face a crisis of morale, that a feeling of abandoment is taking the place of their consciousness of support, that a sense of despair threatens to envelop their sense of mission. This is especially so with respect to Albany, where, for a veriety of reasons, the movement in which some of them have participated has not been a success. We believe that many of them have come to feel that the government does not intend to use the federal criminal process or any other means to protect them, and that they have been left entirely without recourse in face of unlawfully repressive local police action. This feeling is not unnaturally brought to a climax by the government's impending prosecution of members of the Albany Movement. That prosecution, in other words, has come to symbolize, we are convinced, much more than it signifies.

We are sware that the Department has brought law-suits, some of them criminal, against Southern officials charged with violating civil rights. A

we are swere of the difficulties of proof and the like. We write nevertheless to urge upon you the importance of continued and intensified efforts in this direction, end to request that, for the reasons we have recited, the Department assign the highest priority to such efforts. It is clear beyond doubt that the federal government cannot alone achieve the objectives stated in the President's eddress to the netion and in his subsequent message transmitting to Congress the proposed Omnibus Civil Rights Fill of 1963. Government can open the avenues to the achievement of these large ends, but the people concerned must themselves seek to gain the place in American society that is rightfully theirs. The cadre of young leaders whose corele is, we believe, in the balance thus plays a singularly important role, for without the energy and the sperk they provide -- though they are not, of course, slone -- all may come to naught. We would therefore also urge you, at this time of crisis for these people, when they attach such symbolic meaning to the Albany prosecution, to find the occasion for an official statement of some sort, indicating that the Department has tried in the past, and that it will intensify its efforts in the future, to prosecute for violations of civil rights in connection with voter registration drives and other legitimate manifestations of Negro grievances, and otherwise to offer what protection it can against excesses by local officials.

Paul A. Freund
Carl V. Loeb University Professor
Harvard University

Mark Lew. Edwe Professor of Law Harvard Law School

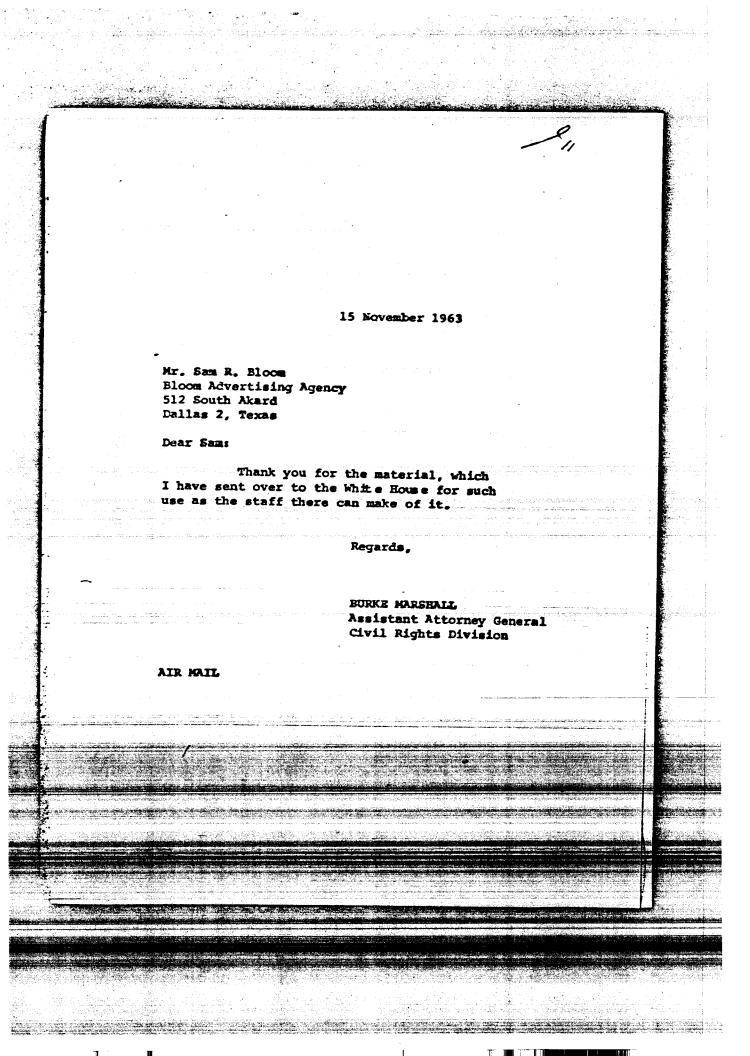
Doneld F. Turner Professor of Law Harvard Lew School Feithfully yours,

Alexender M. Bickel
Professor of Law
Yale University

Charles L. Flack, Jr.

Henry R. Luce Professor of
Jurisprudence, Yale University

Fleming Jemes Jr.
Lefsyette S Foster Professor
of Law, Yale University



BLOOM ADVERTISING A DALLAS

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

November 14, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

For the purpose of adjustment of Federated Department Store management to their operating cities, we are required to do a profile study of those cities. In the case of Federated, it is documented with considerable statistical information.

It was Abe Fortas' suggestion that a briefed-down version of this Dallas profile would be helpful to the President in view of his forthcoming visit to Dallas. I leave to your good judgment any useful purpose it will serve.

We are also enclosing information about the sponsoring groups, the Trinity River Development Program, and each of the institutions of higher learning which scuttlebutt indicates will be included in the President's subject material.

Very sincerely yours,

Sam R. Bloom

Enclosures

ec: Mr. Abe Fortag

UNITED STATES GOVERNMLAS

DEPARAMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Burke Marchall

Assistant Attorney General

DATE: October 21, 1963

FROM : William J. Holloran

SUBJECT: Phone Call from U.S. Attorney George E. Hill

USA George E. Hill phoned from Grand Rapids, Michigan, at 3 p.m. today. He talked with me after he was unable to reach Doar, Barrett, or Hubbard.

He advised that pressure is being put on him to have the Government involve itself in a community real estate dispute, which he felt was not within the Department's jurisdiction. A group of Negroes, headed by a dentist known to him, successfully bid for 20 acres of residential property offered by the Sinking Fund Trustees, an instrumentality of the city of Grand Rapids. The \$60,000 bid (following an earlier rejection of a lower bid) was accepted by the Trustees and a contract was signed which was approved by the mayor. Two City Councilmen thereafter raised objections on the matter of financial responsibility and challenged the legality of the sale. There was an unsuccessful injunction proceeding involving the question of whether the property was subject to a city park plan, but Mr. Hill had no details to offer at this time. Since then a city ordinance has been passed relating to surety bonds on purchase of city property and an attempt is being made to put the acreage in another drainage district which would cost the purchasers some \$17,000 more.

The group is complaining to Mr. Hill that they are in effect being discriminated against through these maneuvers. They indicated that they wish the Government to intervene as in the Meredith case, but he explained that the Department's actions were in connection with the enforcement of a Federal court order.

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 28, 1963

TO:

Mr. Burke Marshall

FROM:

Relph A. Dungan

Ma. Ompo

Relph: To the count lie of

Mr. Duyan

c/o The Ford Foundation Fost Office Box 1885 Accra, Ghana 21 September 1965

Frofessor Walt W. Rostow The White House Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Professor Rostow:

I hope you will remember he from our meeting Rebruary 14, 1961, just before I left to take up my job as Hanpower Advisor to the Government of Ghana. You very generously took tire to offer guidance and advice which has since proven extremely useful. I am presuming upon this acquaintance to elicit your assistance in the presentation of a suggestion to the proper authority in The White House.

The suggestion has to do with the Negro problem in the South. I realize that this problem is completely outside your bailiwick; nor does it come within my professional activity. However, I hope that you will be able to pass along the suggestion, since I am unable to do so directly from here.

The general suggestion stems from my experience here in Ghana over the past 2½ years. Combined with this were the impressions gained during my home leave in the States this summer. In viewing the two scenes, the Ghanaian and American, it seems to me that both have certain common elements. Even though, as you know, discrimination on the basis of race is almost non-existent here, I wonder if the root of the problem confronting the Southern United States cannot be attacked in the same way, and using the same techniques, which are being employed here in our efforts to speed up development, accelerate education and raise the standard of living. From over here, it appears to me that the basic problem confronting the South is comprised of three related problems: retarded education (both formal and adult); retarded economic growth and development; and a primitive level of living for the underprivileged, be they black or white. It is hard for me to believe that the major problem confronting the United States in this racial area can be solved by legalistic methods only even when used in combination with newspaper and other communications devices.

Very briefly, my suggestion is that the Government should mount a massive development program aimed at the South, treating that area just as we would treat any other uncerdeveloped area. After all, the basic problem confronting

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the South is the fact that the entire area is under-developed...
educationally, industrially, socially, historically. Nould
it not be possible to create an arcney to undertake the total
redevelopment of the five or six key Southern states— starting
with the establishment of hundreds of new factories and plants
appropriate to the areas, to be manned primarily by Northern
personnel especially recruited for these assignments. The industrial projects could be widened to include agricultural
projects as well. The basic point would be to provide massive
economic aid and to create thousands of new employment possibilities, most of which would be filled at first by employees
from the North. Then gradually, on to this basic economic aid
program, could be built educational, vocational training, mass
adult education, slum clearance and re-housing, and other local
programs which would have as their objective the acceleration
of social and educational change. To this could be added a
contingent of American Peace Corps volunteers to move in, as
they have here, on educational, vocational, and self-help
projects.

Take housing as one example. It appears to me that one of the basic causes of the inter-racial friction is the completely impossible level on which most of the Regroes are forced to live— and this can be applied to the underprivileged whites as well. In the South, as in Ghana, the continuation of this subsistence level of living makes it virtually impossible to interest these people in social, educational or economic change. We are at the present time engaged in Ghana in a massive re-location project for those dispossessed by the Volta River Dam. Eighty thousand people must be moved from their present villages to new locations within a two-year period, before the Volta Lake forms. Fi'ty new towns are being built at this moment, much of this on a self-help basis, with Government support. Ten of the new towns have been completed and families are moving in. The housing provided certainly is not fancy but it is clean, sanitary, practical, flexible, and certainly many notches above the huts which were the traditional homes. These individual housing units are being produced with astonishing mass production methods at the cost of approximately \$500 per dwelling unit. The reception by the people has been rewarding. Initially, the families were suspicious and reluctant; upon occupancy, they found the homes not only acceptable but also an incentive to further improve their living conditions and those of the entire community. Needless to say, each of these moves from the old to the new village has been surrounded by a wellplanned program, including mass education, the promise of formal education for all children, together with the provision of employment in either agriculture or industry at the new site. Both cooperative farms and industries have been

established well in advance of the move in order to insure the economic viability of each of the new communities. While it is still early to be able to state for certain that this relocation program will be completely successful, very little serious doubts exists concerning the final results.

It would seem to me that this same pattern could be used in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and could be expected to provide a basis for new hope, new motivation and a completely new perspective for all of those, Negro or white, who might be directly affected. Before one can realistically aspite to equal status, one must have light to read by, water to wash with, and employment upon which personal pride could be built. These amenities are dependent upon more than legal methods and public demonstrations and Freedom Riders.

This example in the housing field is but one. But it does serve to illustrate the need for a programmed attack upon the basic causes of the disorder, rather than upon the symptoms. The formula must include Government support, official status for those carrying out the program, and continuous mass education...all based upon a practical program of economic improvement. It is quite obvious that a group of Northerners could not invade the South as individuals and expect acceptance to their suggestions for educational, social and economic change. Hence the need for Government support and status.

We Americans have spear-headed this identical attack in all areas of the free world -- Africa, India, the Middle East, the Pacific, etc. Might it not be equally successful in our own troubled Southern States.

This is the substance of my suggestion. It is probably not new and it certainly is not startling, but I have confidence that it could be successful.

With kind regards,

Sincerely.

Robert D. Loken Advisor on Manpower

Robert D. Loken

to the Government of Ghana

PNT.

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Form No. G-1C (Rev. 12-10-57)

FROM
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

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OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL to Official indicated below by check mark

Attorney General	MEMORANDUM
Deputy Attorney General	
First Assistant Deput, Attorney General	
Executive Office For U. S. Attorneys	7
Executive Office For U. S. Marshals	Burke:
Solicitor General	
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MANA

Release Monday, October 28, 1963.

1. Burke -

"An economic revolution in quietly taking place in the South as a result of the rocial revolution of the American Negro," said author Harry Golden, in an autress last night at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, adding, "The new employment pattern is the textile industry of the South results the theory that you cannot legislate against racial degregation."

The editor of the larolina Israelite said that since the turn of the century not a single Negro had worked in a cotton mill in the South above the job of janitor. Continued Mr. Golden; "President Kennedy issued a directive against racial segregation in employment in firms working on government contracts and within eighteen months, local ordinances, attitudes, prejudices, and habits of a half century were overthrown; today in my state alone there are now over three hundred Negroes performing jobs which had hitherto belonged to the white man."

Mr. Golden pointed out that this quiet development in employment is of special significance. The most remarkable

More

2.

aspect of this development is not that there are a few hundred Negroes in the carding rooms and cloth finishing departments of the Southern mills for the first time, but that desegregation is taking place at that level of the white culture— sich had always been considered the most rigid in its insistence on the separation of the races - the white cotton mill worker." Mr. Golden said that this new employment pattern is progressing throughout the South; "....not only affecting the mills with government contracts but the other mills which anticipate bidding for government contracts."

Mr. Golden told the Free Synagogue audience that the Negro civil rights movement is today providing the vitality to the American civilization that in previous generations had been provided by the millions of Irish, Polish, Jewish, Italian, and Czech immigrants.

Harry Golden urged acceptance of the recommendation of the National Urban League which has called for a "Marshall Plan" to help the Negroes catch up with the industrial and urban developments from which they had been excluded during the past century. He proposed that a portion of a United Jewish Appeal funds be allocated to the civil rights movement; "The greatest security for ourselves will come when we are fighting for others."

Mr. Golden was introduced at the Free Synagogue by Rabbi Edward E. Klein, its spiritual leader. October 25, 1963

Mr. Pierre Salinger Press Secretary to the President The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Pierre:

Since this speech at the Free Synagogue in New York Suniay night includes some news which has not been explored before, I think the Fresident should know about it.

The total destruction of racial segregation in the cotton mills of the Scuth came about because of the President's directive and while the cotton mills obviously are keeping it confidential, it is of vast extent. Not only that but the cotton mills of the South have withdrawn their usual propaganda against the textile unions, the photograph of Phillip Eurroy giving a check to Ecy Wilkins below the caption, "This is what happens to your union dues."

The victory therefore because of the President's directive, is of monumental proportions.

With kindest regards, I am

Shorely

enol.

os i Atty Jen. Rebert Kennedy Harry Golden Es C. Elito

to all the proper coupers.

____l.

5 November 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR LOUIS MARTIN

This is the letter I spoke to you about. On second thoughts, we are so late in answering it that there does not seem such point in it. Will you try to make him happy when you talk to him so that he won't feel the Attorney General didn't pay any attention?

BM

Attachment

Ltr. dtd. 8/22 from W. C. Patton to the AG

5 November 1963

Richard L. Mackay, Esquire Suite 1506 Dallas Federal Savings Building Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Fr. Fackay:

regione i Constitución de la con

The Attorney General has asked me to respond to your letter of October 16.

We appreciate the information comcerning the International Hospital. Good hospitalization for everyone is one of the unfulfilled needs of this generation.

There is no violation of federal law involved in any of the facts alleged in your letter. There is accordingly no action which the Department of Justice could take. Very truly yours,

Burke Marshall Assistant Attorney General Civil Rights Division

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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL Deputy Attorney General..... Solicitor General Executive Assistant to the Attorney General Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Assistant Attorney General, Tax Assistant Attorney General, Civil Assistant Attorney General, Lands Assistant Attorney General, Criminal..... Assistant Attorney General, Legal Counsel..... Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security..... Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Administrative Assistant Attorney General..... Director, FBI.... Director, Bureau of Prisons..... Director, Office of Alien Property..... Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization... Pardon Attorney Parole Board Board of Immigration Appeals Special Assistant for Public Information For the attention of PUCY Co. MARKET

REMARKS:

ASST. ATTORNEY CENERAL LEANDS DIVISION

OCT 30 S OF PH '63

RICHARD L. MACKAY

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR

SUITE 1508 DALLAS FEDERAL SAVINGS BUILDING

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RIVE**SS-06 B-00**7

October 16, 1963

Honorable Robert Kennedy Attorney General of the United States Washington, D.C.

Re: International Hospital Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

I would like to register a complaint against person or persons unknown in the Dallas area, probably within the banking fraternity, who are preventing the successful refinancing of the only truly integrated hospital in the Southwest.

You have probably been advised by Mr. Thomas A. P. Krock (son of Arthur Krock of the New York Times), who was retained by the hospital to do public relations work on its behalf, about International Hospital. I am enclosing herewith a fact sheet on the hospital prepared and released by Mr. Krock. I am also enclosing herewith a biographical sketch on myself.

The hospital was officially opened on June 12, 1963, and has operated successfully and without any trouble because of racial problems to the date of this letter. We have had approximately 30% White and Pan American patients and 70% Negro. The hospital is located in the center of a 3-mile in diameter circle surrounded by approximately 133,000 Negroes and 65,000 Whites and Pan Americans.

Our initial medical staff consisted of 32 doctors, of whom 5 were Negro and 27 were White. Our hospital staff, as distinguished from medical staff, is approximately 75% Negro and 25% White. Some of the heads of our hospital departments are Negro. Personnel have been selected on the basis of ability rather than color. Our pay scales are equivalent with those of other hospitals and in some instances, are even higher.

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Rentura is be defined

M. X.

Honorable Robert Kennedy

October 16, 1963

We have had no trouble whatsoever between the Negro and White doctors, nor hospital personnel, nor mixing of patients in the hospital itself.

On April 8, 1963, I purchased the hospital facility and the 50-year leasehold thereunder from a group of promoters who had caused the facility to develop something of a bad taste in the mouths of some of the Negro physicians who had been on the staff. However, I have been able to obtain approval of the hospital and its present staff and ownership by the Dallas County Medical Society, by Blue Cross-Blue Shield Insurance Company, the Hospital Licensing Division of the State of Texas, and by numerous insurance companies, including, but not limited to, Aetna, Prulential, Mutual of Omaha, National Banker's Life, New York Life, Mutual of New York, Atlanta Life and Maryland Casualty.

In the initial purchase, I borrowed money from the Oak Cliff Bank and Trust Company, Dallas, Texas, based upon a letter of committment from Republic National Life Insurance Company of Dallas, Texas. Mr. Erwin Atkerson, Senior Vice-President of Republic National Life, and Mr. James Dycus, President, and Mr. Robert Gibson, Senior Vice-President of the Oak Cliff Bank and Trust Company have been most helpful and sympathetic in attempting to make the 75-bed hospital a useful community facility in the area in which it is located.

Unfortunately, the financing arrangement was in the nature of an interim loan, and I have been seeking permanent financing in an amount of from \$425-450,000. for a term of 20 years at from $6-6\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum interest.

Three separate and specific groups had indicated a willingness to make such permanent financing possible. These are as follows: Oak Cliff Savings and Loan, Dallas, Texas; Yates, Heitner and Woods, St. Louis, Missouri; and Edwards, Northcutt and Locke, brokers, Dallas, Texas, through American National Life of Galveston, Texas.

I was advised that these loans in respective order were turned down after checking with one or more officials at the Republic National Bank, Dallas, Texas. The basis for the turn-down

October 16, 1963

Ronorable Robert Kennedy

apparently had nothing to do with my personal credit, nor the hospital facility, but rather with the types of people who would be using the hospital facility.

Just today I was advised by Mr. George Phillips, Field Manager for Equitable Leasing Corporation of Asheville, North Carolina, that the First National Bank in Dallas had turned down a sale-leaseback in which Equitable Leasing Corporation would borrow the money from the bank and use that money to buy the hospital equipment and furniture from the hospital corporation, and would then lease same back to the hospital. The turn-down, according to Mr. Phillips, was for the benefit of Equitable Leasing Corporation as well as for the benefit of the Bank inasmuch as "the type of people who were patronizing the hospital were not exactly the right sort."

As a strictly business venture, the hospital will produce better than 25% net return per year on gross receipts (and had done so in its two years of previous operation by the former owners). The type of people (Negroes) who are the primary patient load for the hospital mostly carry hospitalization and doctor insurance. Our experience rating in 3½ months of operation indicates that better than 95% of our charges have been, are being, and will be paid for by insurance companies.

Therefore, regardless of the "type of people" in the hospital, it will still be a paying business proposition.

In fact, I have been able to save quite a few thousand dollars by not having to have segregated emergency rooms, operating rooms, x-ray, laboratory, delivery rooms, nursery and employee cafeteria.

I do not know who, at the Republic National Bank in Dallas, or who else in this area, is attempting to prevent the financing and operation of the hospital, but I do know that I am going to have to close this facility if financing cannot be obtained. In fact, I am already making plans to do so.

I thought it might be of interest to you and others who are interested in the suffering of humanity and the care of the sick to investigate the circumstances involved and the

Honorable Robert Kennedy

October 16, 1963

succession of events which have led to my having to close this hospital. Perhaps the story, when it becomes known, may be of service to someone else who is more fortunate than myself.

Respectfully submitted,

Richard L. Mackay

RIM:ms