Personal and Confidential

February 13, 1946

My dear Mr. Evans,

I did not intend my letter as a "shush-off" and I was not dodging the issue. I thought you had probably read an article which I wrote in which I answered the very question which you now ask.

I said that when people decided to marry, it was usually very difficult for anyone to do anything about it.

If a child of mine were to make the decision that he or she wished to marry someone of another race—Negro, Asiatic, Oriental, I would feel that it was my duty to point out all the difficulties which life would hold in our civilization as it is at present, and I would not feel happy because I would know how much suffering lay ahead.

Nevertheless strong races usually swallow up less strong ones, and it is done through inter-marriage. I do not know whether it is much worse to have it done through inter-marriage than to have it done in the way it has been done in the south in the past, outside of wedlock.
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

However, I would like to state unequivocally, that I do not consider the question of marriage of paramount importance. Marriages for a long time to come will be comparatively few. The important thing, in order that all citizens of the United States may live peacefully and happily, is equality of economic opportunity, equality of education, equality before the law and equality of opportunity to participate in government through the ballot.

Neither colored people, nor white people on any great scale are going to face the question of inter-marriage for many years to come.

Very sincerely yours,
Mrs. Eleanore Roosevelt
Room 901
342 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Your reply of April 18th to my letter of March 28th
looks a good deal like an evasive "brush off". Whether you think
my letter sounded very Christian or not has little to do with the
case discussed. But since you question the Christianity of my
motive it might be well to remember that Christ never dodged an
issue.

I naturally supposed that as a Columnist you would be
prepared unequivocally to defend your published opinions. As the
opinions you expressed in "My Day" of March 7th, seemed to warrant
certain inferences which were not clearly expressed although they
seemed fairly deductible and which are definitely related to a
question which you yourself characterized as one of primary impor-
tance to the people of the United States, I felt at liberty to
suggest to you a clarification of your meaning and an explicit
declaration as to where you stand on the problem of interracial
marriage in this country — particularly as between Negroes and
Whites. Instead of frankly replying to this question you prefer-
red curtly to question the sincerity and morality of my purpose
in asking it.

That the problem is acute is amply evinced by the inci-
dents frequently publicized in the daily press of which the
enclosed clipping is an illuminating instance.

If you wish to avoid an explanation of your position on
this acute problem to the public whom you venture to criticize so
harshly and whom you so confidently presume to instruct in your
widely published utterances, that of course is your own affair.

Very truly yours,

James D. Evans
Wedding of Former Norfolk Minister To Negress Blocked

New York, Jan. 31—(AP)—The Rev. Frank White, former pastor of the Norfolk, Va., Unitarian church, said yesterday his marriage to Anne Anderson, a Negro, scheduled for today, had been postponed indefinitely because of "certain technicalities."

“Our marriage has been temporarily postponed because the forces in Virginia that are opposed to true brotherhood have resorted to certain legal technicalities to prevent our marriage at this time,” he said in a statement.

He declined to say what the technicalities were or who had posed them.

The Rev. Mr. White announced earlier this month that he and the Anderson woman would be married today at the Abyssinian Baptist church, where Rep. Adam Clayton Powell is pastor. The Rev. Claude Williams, director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, Detroit, was to have performed the ceremony, he said.

Rev. White said he had been forced to resign his Norfolk pastorate because his congregation disapproved of his racial, economic and political views.
TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

From
The White House

Washington

The belief is shared by many that equality is based on education and equality in economic opportunity is essential for national progress.
There no copy available of what I wrote. I think it was published in The Hague Digest.
I have not changed my mind of these. What I object to is that we refering housing to two people who have considered the difficulties.
I made the decision.
We do an unchristian thing which one had no right to do.
I do not think that disestablishment is the goal of what we seek, but sincerely hope that the things
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Apartment 15A
29 Washington Square, West
New York City 11, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I read with much interest your letter of May 13. I have never seen any article from you relating to interracial marriage other than that which appeared in your column "My Day" of March 7th, last, which was the occasion for my first letter to you of March 28. If that is not the article to which you allude I should be glad if you would send me a copy of the one which you mention.

Your last letter reflects a point of view which seems to me would be held by any right-minded white person regardless of the part of the country in which he might live. It is indeed the only attitude tenable for one who entertains a vestige of respect for the best traditions of our American heritage. It was because of your characterization as a prejudice of opinions obviously identical with those expressed by you in your last letter, held by the white community in California, which induced me to write you in the first instance. You make no attempt to reconcile your two diametrically opposite statements, but your "My Day" article of March 7th was given the wide publicity that your public utterances always command; it carries with it your public endorsement of the views and motives expressed by the Californian doctor's letter to which you gave equal publicity — your second letter was written under the seal: "personal and confidential".

It was not my desire to involve you in any controversy in questioning your views as expressed in your published letter. I thought them so harmful to public opinion, however, and so susceptible of engendering mistaken opinions in the minds, particularly among the aspiring and highly vocative leaders, of the Negro population, that I felt entirely warranted in challenging them. Having now elicited a frank expression of what is evidently your sincere attitude on this subject, although expressly under the cloak of confidence, I believe that you cannot refuse to make known your reconsidered judgment in the matter, and that you will feel constrained to give equal publicity to your retraction of your first expressed opinion.

I do not believe that it is a matter for foregone conclusion that promiscuity between the Whites and Negroes, either in the South or in the crowded settlements of our great northern cities, or miscegenation anywhere under any conditions must inevitably lead, as you apparently think, to the...
swallowing up by the stronger of the weaker element in our population. The acceptance of such an opinion would constitute a weakening of the profound moral resistance which an intelligent society should interpose to the threat and/or the accomplishment of such a great evil. To accept such an eventuality would prove a defeatism which I believe can exist in but a small and uninfluential part of our White people. There are undoubtedly some whites now, as in the past, who have no objection to indiscriminate racial intermingling. It is the undoubted goal of a considerable element of the radically ambitious Negro population. This is apparent from the emphasis discoverable in the Negro press — the insistence upon the privilege of social no less than political recognition by and with the Whites, regardless of the preference of the latter. This minority is neither large nor influential but its activities and clamor aggravate the situation and excite disturbing incidents which the sensational press megaphones to the thoughtless and excitable public to the disturbance of peace and quiet.

With such a portentous threat impending as shown by ever mounting racial discord it is important that thoughtful citizens exert the utmost caution and discretion in saying or doing anything which might disturb and aggravate the relationship between the White and Negro elements of our population. We want least of all to palliate or condone any tendency to duplicate here the conditions which have enveloped some other western hemisphere countries.

The rejection of the idea of racial intermingling and intermarriage does not imply the denial of equality before the law or equality of economic opportunity or educational opportunity or opportunity to participate in government through the ballot. These civil rights can be and in many instances have been attained in a very large measure. They can and will, I believe, be enjoyed in full measure within a time which will prove to have been very brief in the history of mankind. The world wasn’t finished in a day and such vast changes in human relationships cannot be achieved in one or two or three generations. Such advance as has been attained is truly phenomenal. The processes of education will increasingly assure this end. The capacity which has been shown by the Negroes themselves emphasizes the effectiveness of the opportunity they have enjoyed. This, however, gives no warrant or justification for the purpose so insistently pursued by Negro leaders and their partisans of forcing their acceptance, on a plane of social intercourse and consolidation, with the vastly predominant 130 millions of White inhabitants. This insistence, and any encouragement of any manifestation of it, can have no other affect than to widen and embitter the separation which exists. By all means let us help the Negro to attain the full status of which he is capable, but to encourage him to dream of becoming a white man is both idle and vicious.

Very truly yours,

James D. Evans
MEMO:

Very nice. I moved office on the 1st of the month.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Would you consider my desire wish that the enclosed be dedicated to the Great Captain for Peace, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt? I feel that there is no one within this present conference more as much as you does to you as it will be the completion of your loved husband's plan. If you approve, I should like to see it translated into everyday if you wish certain lines can be omitted. Thanking you for your time and trouble. Sincerely,

Jane Evans.
The Peace Ship
UNO
Sails
Far on a storm swept horizon, the peace ship UNO sails,
Buffeted and blown and wind swept by angry gales.
What port has she left?  What flag waves high at her mast?
Will she make shore with her beams and anchor fast?
Who is her captain?  What of her crew, has she a cargo she brings?
Watch how she sails, in the teeth of the storm.  Is it the crew that sings?
Who are the crew?  What do they shout?  Are they coming to shore?
They are the men who have given their all and more,
Men who have rotted in dungeons, hung from the gallows, died unafraid,
Men who have labored in darkest hour, suffered but undismayed,
Certain this day would dawn and they in millions come forth,
To sail the Peace ship UNO and give their ideals new birth.
Up from the ocean's depths they have come, back from the North land's grip,
Out from their foxhole hidings, to sail the new Peace ship.
Spread for our feet is their cloth of gold, spun o'er eons of years,
They call to us now to sail the ship, to bury our age old fears.
God grant that we, together with them, hold high their flag unfurled,
For tolerance, for peace, for brotherhood, for hope to all the world.

—Jane Barclay Evans.
I do not quite understand what
the material is
which you speak of,
In any case, think of
you must and experience
in your treatment you
had better pend it to
Mr. White of the
Hadard Co. Best he
He will be most
better able to answer.
NAME: JOSEPHINE ANDERSON YOUNGS
ADDRESS: 515 Harvard Street, N.W., Washington 1, D.C.
BIRTHDATE: October 11, 1924
BIRTHPLACE: Roanoke, Va.

EMPLOYMENT:
1. Foreign Economic Administration - August, 1944 to January, 1945
   Quota clerk
2. War Reallocation(s) Authority - about June, 1945 to October, 1945
   Statistical clerk
   (In each instance I resigned to accommodate my school program)
3. Alpha Kappa Alpha Non-Partisan Council - February, 1946 to
   December, 1947. Miscellaneous duties on hourly basis
4. Alpha Kappa Alpha Non-Partisan Council - January, 1947 - January,
   1948. Legislative Analyst
   Resigned to accommodate school program
   (Appointment was only for these two months)

EDUCATION:
High School - Dunbar High School, Washington, D.C. Diploma in 1941
College - Howard University, Washington, D.C.
   B.S. (Psychology) June, 1944
   Howard University Law School, Washington, D.C.
   L.L.B. June, 1947
   Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
   In October, 1947, I assumed studies preparatory to receiving my L.L.M. in June, 1949

POLITICAL AFFILIATION:
Member of the Progressive Party

   (I joined as a protest against the major parties and much of
    my enthusiasm has waned although there are some good points
    in their platform which I do not find in others.
    I am not a Communist. I tell you this for many reasons although
    I think I would balk at signing an affidavit to this effect.)

LABOR AFFILIATION:
Member of the United Public Workers of America - CIO, Local 3.
I. Purpose of Organization
II. Scope of Organization
III. Structure of Organization
IV. Scope of Membership
V. Methods of Organizing
VI. Specific Action in Re Organizing
VII. Program

PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

1. To organize Negroes into solid political blocs
2. To lessen class consciousness within the race; to instill passionate realization of the fact that none of us can rise higher in personal dignity than the most oppressed
3. To create respect for our racial heritage and accomplishments
4. To inspire self-respect...especially among those in lowest economic bracket

SCOPE OF ORGANIZATION

1. Initiated in one city and then simultaneously throughout nation
2. 

STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION

1. Officers and Duties...Co-chairman (2); direct activities, determine policies; coordinate programs of the several committees; etc.
   Corresponding Secretary - all correspondence except membership
   Office Manager and Secretary - membership correspondence and other general responsibilities around office
   Financial Secretary - handles all contributions coming in and amounts paid out
2. Permanent Committees: (non-compensatory; cochairmen)
   a. Legislation...
   b. Legal; Economic; Labor; Sociological consultants
   c. Education...to prepare brochures, etc., arrange activities, and to guide maturation of programs as to issues of "race questions", political strategy, race leadership, etc. THINK FOR Ourselves
   d. Finance; to solicit funds for support of organization; to solicit funds for establishment of Central Center for Development of Negro Artists (culture of the past would be organized; most talented Negro artists of contemporary times would be trained here; non-profit.) Solicit funds for endowment of Negro colleges which were of top caliber - spiritually, academically, and culturally.
   e. Membership; to be ever active in enlistment of new members
   f. Self-Help: to make membership aware of and interested in helping themselves in business, personal development; to make membership proud of its race and to depict itself accordingly; to make the membership willing and anxious to help each other.
3. Board of Trustees (non-compensatory)
   - to act as check and balance on officers and committee chairman
   - 7 or 5
   - committees chairman meet with board to discuss program of activities but are non-voting, whereas cochairman of organization are voting.
   - Each consultant has one-half vote.
   - Meet biennially with cochairmen and committee chairman in order to
     - give vote of confidence to chairman or/and
     - protest certain programs, activities
     - give or deny, by vote, approval of coming activities
   - Trustees chosen by vote of membership for tenure of one year.
   - Nominees are submitted to national office and it circulates bulletin
giving name and highlights in re nominees. Membership returns ballots to office.

SCOPE OF MEMBERSHIP- whole race, but for organizational convenience

ORGANIZATION OF MEMBERSHIP - difficulty will be to avoid cliques and to accomplish integration in spite of artificial barriers
1. Local units organized on basis of alphabet - A through H - 1st unit; I through Q - 2nd unit; R through Z - 3rd unit.
2. Regional offices
Initial efforts shall be directed by and large to young people; or organization gains momentum concentrate on older persons

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION - Survey in order to get estimate number of potential members, to see what their program is and how they are advancing it, to study their techniques for action, etc.
1. Church groups
2. High schools, universities
3. Social groups and clubs
4. Civic groups
5. Fraternal and educational societies
6. Unions
7. National Negro organizations

#1. Work through ministers in order to get their important support
#2. Find leaders, inspire them with the plan and they in turn see that school body is aroused. Leaders organize temporary recruiting committees and try to enroll every student. Stress fact that it is essentially a youth movement and that such an organization is mandatory if they are to put to use the intellectual knowledge they are acquiring. Emphatic understanding that the movement transcends campus rivalries and organizations, etc.
#3. Canvas social clubs and convince them that for the present their energies should be channeled into this organization. Integrate them into membership drive and give them some sort of publicity
#4. Civic groups - cautious approach in order to avoid resentment, etc. Concentrate on young members and try to enroll them on platform of action
#5. Impress them with the opportunity to crusade and lead; firmly but emphatically impress them that the "cause" has no place for politics, rivalries, etc. Show them that their favored experiences and education particularly impose a moral obligation on them to act
#6. Point out cautiously that though unions are doing splendid job for us and others it is others who form the block within the unions in order to effectuate policies; numerically we outnumber them and numerically we have more to gain by goals of unions. Emphasize the potential power latent in the Negro worker; - the economic bargaining power and the political bargaining power. Urge them to solidify and become "power to be reckoned with". Urge them to become members. Study their charter; techniques for action and organization
#7. Study techniques for organization and action; count membership. Approach officers and try to interest them in plan - emphasize that their experience makes them valuable. Concentrate, however, on membership since it is not likely that officers will relinquish reins of established organization to associate with this one.

SPECIFIC ACTION IN RE ORGANIZING
1. Telephone calls and conferences with citizens locally active in such matters; seek their backing and active help in actual organizing. Mail literature
they.

2. Compile roster of Negroes in all local organizations (address, telephone).
   Roster of students attending local high schools and colleges
   "   all local Negro ministers
   "   "   "   professionals
   "   "   "   businessmen
   "   "   "   entertainers
   "   "   "   domestic workers and laborers
   "   "   "   Federal, State, Municipal employees
Detail organizers to make personal contact with representatives of each group
Mail literature to as many individuals in above groups as possible:
a. Brief but forceful presentation of issues
b. How this organization proposes to meet these issues
c. Emphasize fact that the whole problem is one which can be overcome by
   passionate, individual zeal for the cause; respected power we would
   build as a solid unit
d. Program of action
   e. Request monthly membership fee 50¢ and additional contributions
   f. State only limitation on membership: Non-Communist membership

3. Screen applicants in re "f" supra

4. Organization Rally
   - one month from date of mailing
   - speakers: one of organizers give purposes and goals; 2 members tell why
     they joined (one adult, one youth) and what they hope organization will
     do; chairman or organizer give techniques of action and program; someone
     tell of our racial heritage and why we must respect it
   - contributions
   - explain how local units will be formed; the 3 units will hold initial
     meetings 2 weeks from rally (will be held on consecutive nights so that
     cochairmen of organization can get each under way)

5. Action

PROGRAM

1. Legislative: lobbying for local, state, federal legislation in re FEPC,
   Health, Small Business, Anti-Draft Tax, etc.
   Membership important. Should assist through suggestions and lobbying.
   A PEOPLE'S LOBBY

2. Legal: challenge local abridgement of economic and civil rights

3. Economic: survey local business atmosphere in order to determine %
   patronized by Negroes, % owned by Negroes; type of business owned by Negroes
   - overcrowded or room for expansion; businesses not entered into by Negroes
   - possibilities of successful entry;
   Average income of family (Negro) - compare with whites. Percentage spent for
   food, rent, clothes, health, recreation, etc.
   Do Negroes patronize Negro businesses?...if not why not
   why don't Negroes make more business ventures? Is it because Negroes fail to
   patronize each other? (If so, investigate reasons.) Is it lack of capital,
   lack of aggressiveness and initiative, restrictions and hardships imposed by
   whites, etc.
   What businesses have proved most successful financially? unsuccessful

4. Sociological
   a. Local activities: personal development...physical appearance, conduct,
      voice modulation, extended recreational interests, etc. Volunteer staff
      to conduct such activities...staff serves for 3 months at a time - educatin
no consideration for staff members or any officers but, rather, ideas, interest, leadership. Informal
b. CRUSADES: in anticipation of branches being first established in northeast, each summer teams of 9 or 10 will visit rural areas of south...to apprise them of their worth as human beings and as citizens; to arouse them to intelligent revolt against their oppression; to teach them to read and write, basic principles of health; to encourage new recreation; to inspire them to capture in concrete form their culture and mores for historical, educational, and sociological significance, etc. NOTE: try to inspire them to keep such a program under way after crusaders leave. Inspire them to respect themselves by their individual conduct and united voice.

c. Classes in vocabulary building; classes in reading
d. Marriage and social adjustment clinic; competent volunteer social workers, psychologists, and marriage counselors who help individuals in need of their services
Informal "lectures" on merits of healthy family relations, how to foster them, causes of juvenile delinquency and programs of action to curtail it. Sexual and personality adjustments
Purpose of marriage; some basic ingredients of a worthwhile marriage, encourage wider recreational and cultural interests as a way to avoid boredom, as a way to build bonds, as a counter-plan against purposeseness in marriage and life.
e. National Central Center for Development and Preservation of Negro Arts and Sciences.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES:
1. The organization belongs to the people to the people and controlled by them as a mass rather than as separate classes
2. Cochairmen serve for 2 years; may be removed for cause. Elected by members.
3. Charter
4. Job for school teachers
   a. Incorporate into regular program of civics, etc., and homeroom period the aims of this organization
   b. "Work on" voice modulation, appearance, conduct, ideals
   c. Encourage ambition
d. Sponsor activities designed to inculcate above
e. Assume sincere personal interest in development of each child; avoid favoritism based upon parents, appearance, economic stratify
f. Guide academic preparation for college or
   g. Help child prepare self to follow vocation not requiring college
5. Job for Homeroom Teacher: maintain file for each child and pass on to next teacher when child leaves; include
   a. Name, address, etc.
b. Personal development habits
c. Personal development credits
d. Attitude
e. Character of home environment; any personality difficulties stemming therefrom
f. Activities outside of school; hobbies
g. Predispositions (voiced or observed) in re vocational interests
Note: principals should be urged to promote such project
Note: same program should be used by Sunday School Teachers
Note: organization should have facilities to afford recreation to youngsters; ping pong, books, classes in drawing, clay work
h. Scholarships
6. Roving Libraries and clinics
7. Will be said we are fostering separation and segregation...other groups
have such bodies. We already have nation groups composed of only Negroes. Must get away from idea that "colored" is a stigma but fight just the same to have the right to freely choose one's friends and the right to work if qualified, etc.

8. (Inquire in re organizational methods, activities, techniques of getting members into Panamanian UPWA locals)

9. Apprise active and existing organizations of our program; assure them of continued activity by members who now belong to this organization. Get people to re-direct their prime energies to this organization. This organization should cooperate with other groups where possible...i.e., accord on issues and program. This organization should not indulge in petty attacks or criticisms about other organizations where there is simply a difference of opinion; where, however, our integrity and basic policies are attacked we will rise to the challenge

10. Whites may affiliate as sponsors. Suggestions, appraisal, criticisms permissible but have no voice as member per se

11. Establishment of orphan homes and homes for the old

12. Get ardent organizers from ranks of cab drivers, bell-hops, waiters, cooks

Brochures - illustrated; tell in story form purposes, potentialities for action

14. Question and answer pamphlet; why we need this organization

15 Neighborhood unit: church, trade-union, professional, laborer, housewife, student

16. Crew of 3 or 4 for each government building and industrial plant

17. Brochure in re our race: why we should be proud to be colored; our cultural and scientific contributions, power we can wield through organization...other group must recognize our potential power since they have always exerted such force to keep us from exercising it

18 Business ventures:
patterns, cotton mills, greeting cards, modest jewelry, quilts, stationary, some wholesale pharmaceutical supplies, ceramics, recording company, ties

19. Brochures setting forth educational phase of program

20. Organize volunteer neighborhood baby sitters corp...rotating

21. Organize women of community to give sewing lessons, art lessons...clay, paint, etc., rehabilitation of old furniture, etc., to girls of neighborhood...could meet each Saturday; rotate from house to house

22. IN AS CRUSADEES: not only for personal development but also for construction purposes...i.e., crusaders and members of community rehabilitation old shacks, etc., for libraries, youth centers, clinics, community halls, etc. Get people interested in helping themselves by showing that others care about them and want to help

23. Lapel buttons, window stickers for home, car, and business offices

24. Political education:
a. Through local and branch meetings
b. Education committee for each local and/or education board for representing all locals in city
c. Informal lectures on pertinent issues - analyze rationale underlying various schools of thought and conclude with organization's position and reasoning behind it
d. Education in re Negroes' potential power...i.e., where our vote is concentrated and what is statistically meant by when said we can "swing vote", etc.
e. Analyze various political schools of thought - what and whose interests dominate. Same in re xxxxxx economic theories
f. Analyze current magazine and newspaper articles where pertinent Teach membership to understand what they read and discern underlying
significance... evaluation in terms of writer's or speaker's political ties, economic interests, public record, etc.

g. Encourage members to have such discussions other than those by branch

h. Utilize all techniques for developing intelligent militancy... i.e., having rationally come to a decision back it up to a man and notower because of economic pressures. Reveal to masses their strength

i. Mechanics of democratic government: lectures, tours, mock voting, etc.

j. Educate masses to such degree that when their own leaders would use them or gamble for self purposes with them, that they - the masses - will repudiate them firmly.

k. Have members use person to person basis to educate others - pass on their "education" at work and play

l. Arouse masses to point where in future they give their vote as bloc to political candidates with most impressive record - not promises

m. Anti-poll tax fund - (pay taxes of voters who are eligible except for this)... contributions, parties, etc.

25. Persons with some means of economic security would "adopt" southern youths -
a. Prime purposes of such plan would be to help and inspire ambitious kids... guide them as to their educational plans, help them with personal troubles, etc. Send clothes, books, etc.

b. Main communication would be letters

c. Purely voluntary

26. Neighborhood sanitation squad - men volunteer on rotating basis; same in re physical upkeep of houses, yards, etc. where repairs not major.

27. Volunteer crew of men to give few hours each Saturday to boys of neighborhood - may be in re sports, manual skills, nature or nature walks, etc.

28. Office keep roster of Congressmen showing state, district, etc.; voting record, election times, party dates, etc.

29. Negroes should be independent voters

30. Organization should be non-partisan in re politics

31. Legal consultant should also perform services in nature of those rendered by Legal Aid societies

32. Suite of dances depicting the several phases of our development in America; show, too, our life in Africa. Premiered when membership drive launched and all proceeds of that performance go to the organization. Thereafter, a certain percent of proceeds realized whenever this suite performed should go to SELF-HELP, INC.
The problem of preparation are many and I have not given serious thought to them as such. In the event, though, that such a project should become a reality I have some disjointed ideas on the subject.

I think that a year of research is necessary to collect information about the following things and others:

- would people be interested
- financial situation
- selection of laboratory community
- selection of one or two other communities to really inaugurate branches of organization
- roster of persons qualified to spearhead movement, to serve as consultants (economic, legal, etc.), to be "press agents", etc.
- survey of proposed legislation of national significance as well as survey of international policies - both from racial point of view; survey of same from objective point of view; agenda of proposed legislation and additional legislation
- survey of economic ills of South as whole
- survey of economic status of Negro by region, by state
- survey of business and industrial opportunities for Negroes by region, by state
- survey of agrarian conditions of South as whole
- survey of agrarian conditions as relates to Negro
- survey of secondary education of South as whole
- survey of secondary education of Negro
- detailed plans for organization

During this year I would suggest that no notoriety be given the undertakings.

I had thought, perhaps, that funds might be obtained from the Rockefeller Foundation for the year of research, the laboratory community, and for the salaries of a secretary for each of the next six communities. At the end of the first year we would give publicity to the organization and solicit members and from their contributions try to meet our expenses. The services of the chairman and consultants in each community would have to be non-compensatory until each community were able to compensate them. For the first few years it is likely that national headquarters could not be established except that informal group which conducted the surveys...but such details would be worked out more logically once the organization began to take shape.

Aside from this contemplated source of income, I have two personal projects in mind which might afford some financial assistance. I have written a popular song which I shall have copyrighted and try to have published. Also, I have a hundred of designs for dresses which I shall try to sell. Whatever I receive from either of these ventures...IF anything...will be given to help establish this organization.

In the event that funds are available for this organization I would like to conduct the research...extra clerical help could be secured on a part time basis if necessary...an apartment could serve as my living and working quarters...a few persons should be informed of the proposed organization and they should act in the nature of trustees or consultantes and help formulate final plans and render criticism and suggestions as to how the research should be conducted.

Would Guggenheim funds be available for such research?
I would propose that this organization be called SELF-HELP, INC., for although help from others is necessary and invaluable we have neglected to help ourselves in many ways. I would like to see us aroused to help ourselves and each other and I feel that the task as one of education; education to this way of action instead of waiting. It is true, however, that with the help of others we are steadily advancing our cause in some respect. Yet, there are so many of us who are not organized as an actual and fighting force.

I do not minimize the efforts of organizations which are vigilant when it comes to civil rights and progressive legislation. But I honestly feel that they are letting us down when it comes to helping and guiding the masses of our people in their every day problems and aspirations.

The fortunate ones of us are too often prone to fight the battle away from the masses. We fight for the masses but not with the masses. It, perhaps, is a natural thing. Most of us have to struggle for whatever we achieve so that we forget the individual struggles of those coming after us.

......

We are as we are for many reasons. Most of us know from the beginning that we will always have the jobs of indignity...the jobs of cleaning up for and after others...the jobs void of all initiative and creative expression, the servile tasks, etc.

For most of us it is a hum-drum existence. It is not a life. For most of us there is no place for dreams...

We have no stabilizer for this world. We have religion as a stabilizer for another world.

Why then is it a mystery that "eat, drink, and be merry..." seems to be the nature of so many of us? It is especially this mass with nothing to cling to that I want to help. To me, one answer is to give these people a stabilizer in the form of SELF-HELP, INC. Through it they could realize their worth; they would have a sense of belonging...not through mere membership but through vigorous participation in all phases of the organization.

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I spoke of religion.

It is a notorious fact that many ministers within our race use us to their own ends. I would like to use them.

In many communities the minister is the first citizen. And more than likely he is the most persuasive. I would like to see these ministers become interested in this program for if they did they would enlist numerous members. In some instances, however, their aim may be difficult to accomplish, for ministers, like political bosses, do not relish the entry of any element which will displace them as autocratic leaders. Therefore, organizers approaching them, and the organization in general, should be careful to assure ministers that we need their help; we should avoid arousing any idea that we seek to "dethrone" them.

Perhaps I seem callous. I am not. I believe that the soul is as important, if not more so, as the body. It is just that I see practical uses to which the church can be put and still be honestly within its bounds.
I love my race. I would not want to be anything else. Like Theodore Bilbo I would hate for my race to be assimilated with any other. (However, unlike him I feel that marriage is a personal matter. I think every person should be able to marry any person he or she desires; every person should be able to choose his or her associates as he or she desires; every person should be able to work wherever he or she is qualified to and desires.)

This is why I suggest that we collect the history, culture, etc. of our race. Racial pride will be thus stimulated.

It is my feeling that the whole South needs economic recovery.

And just last week I was startled to hear that Senator Eastland et al introduced a measure to secure economic recovery for the South. More amazing was their statement that the racial issues of the South stem from its economic ills.

I have a theory which may be ridiculous or naive. It is this:

absentee landowners (living in the North; Republicans by and large) foster racial bigotry to hide their own faults. They pay whites pitiful wages and neglect social welfare by industry. At the same time they covertly encourage racial misunderstanding so that the whites do not have time to complain of their economic ills but must continuously keep "the nigger" in his place. And it seems logical that although whites know they are underpaid and living below a decent standard, they act and think in ways to obviate their feelings of inferiority. They can say to themselves "Well, I may be living below the economic standard throughout the rest of the nation but at least I'm better ... as poor as I am... than a 'nigger'."

Then, too, there is struggle for decent jobs. There are not enough jobs paying decent wages for white persons. Self-preservation, which is said to be human nature (and I think it ugly), explains why they would narrow the field of economic competition as much as possible.

I understand this although I hate the pattern.

But I am only concerned that relief be afforded all parties.

I wish that enough businesses and industries could be operated in the South so that there would be jobs for all wherever they wanted to work. I believe that much of the antagonism by whites would be dissipated if they knew that the colored person working next to him is not depriving another white person of work.

The fight for PEPC, minimum wage hour, a forty hour week, etc. must continue but there are many things which can be done on a small scale to alleviate the core of the problem.

For this reason I would like to see, e.g., the people of a community form a corporation to conduct a small scale and practical business or industry. THE WORKERS WOULD BE THE STOCKHOLDERS.

For my people this would be an opportunity to be a part of "free enterprise"; it would give them a sense of responsibility; they would give their best efforts to their work because it was their business; they would respect themselves.

And just suppose that whites, anxious for a steady and decent job, wanted to subscribe and thereby become workers. This would be an example of fair employment by mutual consent. Working side by side these people would learn to know each other. When a Federal bill were passed establishing an PEPC then these whites could defy their own who proclaimed the horror of such legislation.
I am not a pacifist. But there are many avenues of helping ourselves in addition to legislation.

Originally I had thought that the organization would be limited to Negroes but as I write I think, perhaps, that the services of the economic consultants of SELF-HELP, INC. should be available on equal terms to the whole community.

Furthermore, whites of the community should be invited to participate as friends in other activities.

I have another dream for such an organization. I would like to see a general health center in each community of such character that medical interns could do their internship at these places and their work be accepted by the proper medical authorities as satisfying the requirements for an internship.

I would like for colored voters...indeed all voters...to be independent. I would like for politicians to know that with us they must stand on their record: their record on domestic and international issues.

For state elections it would be fine if all communities supported the same candidates; on local issues the membership should be solid; on national elections we should be solid. However, no branch of this organization should be coerced tacitly or otherwise contrary to their convictions. The political aim of SELF-HELP, INC. should be to make the people think; help them to see the issues; show them both sides of the argument; explain to them the "side" of the national headquarters. The branches should communicate continuously with headquarters to seek enlightenment as well as to explain to the national office their opinion where differences exist.

At no time should national headquarters misrepresent the tenor of feeling among the masses. It may show by statistics that thus and so represents the thinking of the majority. It will have no authority to arbitrarily promise votes. It can seek to persuade politicians to take a particular stand and indicate that where such position corresponds with the sentiment of the masses, the masses will vote for them.

It shall be the duty of the national headquarters to keep the masses informed and keyed or mobilized for action...such ultimate action being finally being determined by the masses.

There is vast talent among us which has been thwarted because of lack of development, e.g., the designing and making of dress patterns. I have thought that maybe this organization could form a corporation for this purpose with the branches as entities representing the shareholders. In turn, the branches would form corporations with their members as shareholders. Such a venture would serve as an outlet for talent, a means of financing the organization, and it would add to the incomes of people.

Another important purpose of SELF-HELP, INC. would be to revitalize an appreciation of the simpler pleasures of life. Not only should the organiza-
tion concern itself with this as far as its members are related but it should try to arouse the community as a whole.

As a nation I sometimes think we are a bit shallow. We need to broaden our concept of fun and recreation. We need to crystallize our folk ways and enlarge them. Dances, parties, night clubs are not the only sources of entertainment.

Hostels, nature lore, square dancing, philosophical discussions, fish fries, bob-sledding, amateur dance groups and drama companies, etc. are fun, too.

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Whenever and wherever others of the community seek to participate in our activities they should be welcome. We should not, however, solicit their affiliation simply to have an "interracial organization".

The prime purpose of this organization shall be to help ourselves. This in itself promises to create warmer relations between the groups.

Probably the only limitation on others should be that they cannot be members but they may be associates if they desire.

My personal feeling is that "interracial organizations" are fine and have done a great deal. I do not say even that we can do as much to better racial relations under our system as they who affirmatively seek members from all groups. I do believe, however, that to accomplish our purposes we will gain respect and understanding from some who irrationally resist "interracial organizations" per se.

Nor shall the organization in any way discourage members from working in interracial groups.