

It is not at all surprising that a people relegated to second-class citizenship should behave as second-class citizens. This is true, in varying degrees, of all of our minorities. What we have lost in money, production, invention, citizenship, and leadership as the price for damaged, thwarted personalities—these are beyond estimate.

The United States can no longer afford this heavy drain upon its human wealth, its national competence.

The International Reason

Our position in the postwar world is so vital to the future that our smallest actions have far-reaching effects. We have come to know that our own security in a highly interdependent world is inextricably tied to the security and well-being of all people and all countries. Our foreign policy is designed to make the United States an enormous, positive influence for peace and progress throughout the world. We have tried to let nothing, not even extreme political differences between ourselves and foreign nations, stand in the way of this goal. But our domestic civil rights shortcomings are a serious obstacle.

In a letter to the Fair Employment Practice Committee on May 8, 1946, the Honorable Dean Acheson, then Acting Secretary of State, stated that:

* * * the existence of discrimination against minority groups in this country has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. We are reminded over and over by some foreign newspapers and spokesmen, that our treatment of various minorities leaves much to be desired. While sometimes these pronouncements are exaggerated and unjustified, they all too frequently point with accuracy to some form of discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin. Frequently we find it next to impossible to formulate a satisfactory answer to our critics in other countries; the gap between the things we stand for in principle and the facts of a particular situation may be too wide to be bridged. An atmosphere of suspicion and resentment in a country over the way a minority is being treated in the United States is a formidable obstacle to the development of mutual understanding and trust between the two countries. We will have better international relations when these reasons for suspicion and resentment have been removed.

I think it is quite obvious * * * that the existence of discriminations against minority groups in the United States is a handicap in our relations with

other countries. The Department of State, therefore, has good reason to hope for the continued and increased effectiveness of public and private efforts to do away with these discriminations.

The people of the United States stem from many lands. Other nations and their citizens are naturally intrigued by what has happened to their American "relatives." Discrimination against, or mistreatment of, any racial, religious or national group in the United States is not only seen as our internal problem. The dignity of a country, a continent, or even a major portion of the world's population, may be outraged by it. A relatively few individuals here may be identified with millions of people elsewhere, and the way in which they are treated may have world-wide repercussions. We have fewer than half a million American Indians; there are 30 million more in the Western Hemisphere. Our Mexican American and Hispano groups are not large; millions in Central and South America consider them kin. We number our citizens of Oriental descent in the hundreds of thousands; their counterparts overseas are numbered in hundreds of millions. Throughout the Pacific, Latin America, Africa, the Near, Middle, and Far East, the treatment which our Negroes receive is taken as a reflection of our attitudes toward all dark-skinned peoples.

In the recent war, citizens of a dozen European nations were happy to meet Smiths, Cartiers, O'Haras, Schultzes, di Salvos, Cohens, and Sklodowskas and all the others in our armies. Each nation could share in our victories because its "sons" had helped win them. How much of this good feeling was dissipated when they found virulent prejudice among some of our troops is impossible to say.

We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics. The world's press and radio are full of it. This Committee has seen a multitude of samples. We and our friends have been, and are, stressing our achievements. Those with competing philosophies have stressed—and are shamelessly distorting—our shortcomings. They have not only tried to create hostility toward us among specific nations, races, and religious groups. They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludicrous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends. The following

United Press dispatch from London proves that (*Washington Post*, May 25, 1947):

Although the Foreign Office reserved comment on recent lynch activities in the Carolinas, British diplomatic circles said privately today that they have played into the hands of Communist propagandists in Europe * * *.

Diplomatic circles said the two incidents of mob violence would provide excellent propaganda ammunition for Communist agents who have been decrying America's brand of "freedom" and "democracy."

News of the North Carolina kidnaping was prominently displayed by London papers * * *.

The international reason for acting to secure our civil rights now is not to win the approval of our totalitarian critics. We would not expect it if our record were spotless; to them our civil rights record is only a convenient weapon with which to attack us. Certainly we would like to deprive them of that weapon. But we are more concerned with the good opinion of the peoples of the world. Our achievements in building and maintaining a state dedicated to the fundamentals of freedom have already served as a guide for those seeking the best road from chaos to liberty and prosperity. But it is not indelibly written that democracy will encompass the world. We are convinced that our way of life—the free way of life—holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still greater achievements will do it.

The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

Mr. President:

Your Committee has reviewed the American heritage and we have found in it again the great goals of human freedom and equality under just laws. We have surveyed the flaws in the nation's record and have found them to be serious. We have considered what government's appropriate role should be in the securing of our rights, and have concluded that it must assume greater leadership.

We believe that the time for action is now. Our recommendations for bringing the United States closer to its historic goal follow.



ПРИ КАПИТАЛИЗМЕ...



ПРИ СОЦИАЛИЗМЕ!

585 Lundee, Street,
Memphis, 11, Tenn.
February, 12, 1948

Hon. James O. Eastland
United States Senator,
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Eastland;

Your speech on the Senate floor Feb. 9th, relative to President Truman's "Ten Point Civil Rights Legislation" was an outspoken challenge. The same dose should be administered by every Senator and Representative from 15 Southern States. If enacted into law it means legalized assassination of American freedom.

Mr. Truman and his gang has persisted in intimidating and interfering with the good people in the South, and have sold the Jeffersonian Democrats down the Potomac river. The Communist, negro demagogues New Dealers and left wing Republicans has kicked in Millions to destroy the South. It is time for the South to raise a few million and put that gang on the spot.

If Mr Truman wants freedom for all people he would fire thousands of bureaucrats that has the American tax payer in a straight jacket. He would ask for removal of his unconstitutional war measures, and stop trying to put totalitarian government over our heads by executive order. And would stop trying to cram civil rights laws down the throats of the Southern people that will destroy the very foundation of American principles and cause blood shed. His kind of freedom for all people is Soviet Russia's freedom administered by Premier Joe Stalin.

We need a house cleaning in Washington. I trust that Governor Wright will call a wide open meeting in Jackson, Mississippi at an early date for 15 States to meet and formulate plans and raise funds to fight the battle. I hope to be there and be counted. It is imperative and we cannot retreat.

Yours sincerely,

.....
[Redacted Signature]

copy to Senator John C. Stennis.

FOR RELEASE AT 9:00 P. M. EDT, SEPTEMBER 24, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED FROM
HIS OFFICE AT THE WHITE HOUSE, TUESDAY,
SEPTEMBER 24, 1957, AT 9:00 P. M. EDT

My Fellow Citizens:

For a few minutes I want to speak to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock. For this talk I have come to the President's office in the White House. I could have spoken from Rhode Island, but I felt that, in speaking from the house of Lincoln, of Jackson and of Wilson, my words would more clearly convey both the sadness I feel in the action I was compelled today to take and the firmness with which I intend to pursue this course until the orders of the Federal Court at Little Rock can be executed without unlawful interference.

In that city, under the leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying out of proper orders from a Federal Court. Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition and, under the law, I yesterday issued a Proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying out of the Court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to the school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my Proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues.

It is important that the reasons for my action be understood by all citizens.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that separate public educational facilities for the races are inherently unequal and therefore compulsory school segregation laws are unconstitutional.

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Our personal opinions about the decision have no bearing on the matter of enforcement; the responsibility and authority of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution are clear. Local Federal Courts were instructed by the Supreme Court to issue such orders and decrees as might be necessary to achieve admission to public schools without regard to race -- and with all deliberate speed.

During the past several years, many communities in our Southern States have instituted public school plans for gradual progress in the enrollment and attendance of school children of all races in order to bring themselves into compliance with the law of the land.

They thus demonstrated to the world that we are a nation in which laws, not men, are supreme.

I regret to say that this truth -- the cornerstone of our liberties -- was not observed in this instance.

It was my hope that this localized situation would be brought under control by city and State authorities. If the use of local police powers had been sufficient, our traditional method of leaving the problem in those hands would have been pursued. But when large gatherings of obstructionists made it impossible for the decrees of the Court to be carried out, both the law and the national interest demanded that the President take action.

Here is the sequence of events in the development of the Little Rock school case.

In May of 1955, the Little Rock School Board approved a moderate plan for the gradual desegregation of the public schools in that city. It provided that a start toward integration would be made at the present term in the high school, and that the plan would be in full operation by 1963. This plan was challenged in the courts by some who believed that the period of time as proposed was too long.

The United States Court at Little Rock, which has supervisory responsibility under the law for the plan of desegregation in the public schools, dismissed the challenge, thus approving a gradual rather than an abrupt change from the existing system. It found that the school board had acted in good faith in planning for a public school system free from racial discrimination.

Since that time, the court has on three separate occasions issued orders directing that the plan be carried out. All persons were instructed to refrain from interfering with the efforts of the school board to comply with the law.

Proper and sensible observance of the law then demanded the respectful obedience which the nation has a right to expect from all the people. This, unfortunately, has not been the case at Little Rock. Certain misguided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock by agitators, have insisted upon defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the court have thus been frustrated.



The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms is the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of Government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the Federal Courts, even, when necessary with all the means at the President's command.

Unless the President did so, anarchy would result.

There would be no security for any except that which each one of us could provide for himself.

The interest of the nation in the proper fulfillment of the law's requirements cannot yield to opposition and demonstrations by some few persons.

Mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of the courts.

Let me make it very clear that Federal troops are not being used to relieve local and state authorities of their primary duty to preserve the peace and order of the community. Nor are the troops there for the purpose of taking over the responsibility of the School Board and the other responsible local officials in running Central High School. In the present case the troops are there, pursuant to law, solely for the purpose of preventing interference with the orders of the Court.

The proper use of the powers of the Executive Branch to enforce the orders of a Federal Court is limited to extraordinary and compelling circumstances. Manifestly, such an extreme situation has been created in Little Rock. This challenge must be met with such measures as will preserve to the people as a whole their lawfully-protected rights in a climate permitting their free and fair exercise.

The overwhelming majority of our people in every section of the country are united in their respect for observance of the law -- even in those cases where they may disagree with that law.

They deplore the call of extremists to violence.

The decision of the Supreme Court concerning school integration affects the South more seriously than it does other sections of the country. In that region I have many warm friends, some of them in the city of Little Rock. I have deemed it a great personal privilege to spend in our Southland tours of duty while in the military service and enjoyable recreational periods since that time.

So from intimate personal knowledge, I know that the overwhelming majority of the people in the South -- including those of Arkansas and of Little Rock -- are of good will, united in their efforts to preserve and respect the law even when they disagree with it.

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They do not sympathize with mob rule. They, like the rest of the nation, have proved in two great wars their readiness to sacrifice for America.

A foundation of our American way of life is our national respect for law.

In the South, as elsewhere, citizens are keenly aware of the tremendous disservice that has been done to the people of Arkansas in the eyes of the nation, and that has been done to the nation in the eyes of the world.

At a time when we face a grave situation abroad because of the hatred that Communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world.

Our enemies are gloating over this incident and using it everywhere to misrepresent our nation. We are portrayed as a violator of those standards of conduct which the peoples of the world united to proclaim in the Charter of the United Nations. There they affirmed "faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity of the human person" and did so "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

And so, with confidence, I call upon citizens of the State of Arkansas to assist in bringing to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes. If resistance to the Federal Court orders ceases at once, the further presence of Federal troops will be unnecessary and the City of Little Rock will return to its normal habits of peace and order and a blot upon the fair name and high honor of our nation in the world will be removed.

Thus will be restored the image of America and of all its parts as one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

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OFFICE OF THE
HISTORIAN

Search
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1955–1957, UNITED NATIONS AND GENERAL INTERNATIONAL MATTERS, VOLUME XI

93. Letter From the Representative at the United Nations (Lodge) to the President¹

New York, October 15, 1957.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In your recent letter² you asked for suggestions to repair the damage done to our world position by the events at Little Rock.³ Having reflected, I make these suggestions:

1. That Our diplomatic representatives make a sustained effort to extend hospitality to distinguished colored people. This should not be confined merely to US diplomats in colored countries or posts like mine here, where I entertain non-whites regularly. In “white” countries distinguished colored people who may be visiting should be given hospitality. I [Page 246] know from experience here how much it means.
2. That some favorable action be taken on a loan to India and, in conjunction therewith, on settling the Kashmir question. India is a key country with much of the non-white world.
3. An affirmative attitude by the US on the subject of multilateral economic aid under the UN would have a tremendously good effect in all of these non-white countries and would tend to counteract the harm of Little Rock.

You may remember that I submitted such a scheme to you— involving no extra cost to the US, to be conducted entirely in harmony with US foreign policy (although our control would not be apparent); getting us about twice as much for our money as we now get under the bilateral program; and which would get us credit for helping an altruistic UN program “with no selfish political strings attached”. Under a UN program the services of first-class experts who are willing to *live in the native village* can be obtained at salaries which no equally good US expert would accept.

Ever since I have been here US policy has been negative. This has hurt us.

I am delighted that Secretary Dulles has now approved an affirmative position—including essential features which I had proposed—for us to take at this General Assembly. It still has to be cleared by Treasury, Budget, and the White House staff. There really is no sound argument against it and overwhelming arguments in favor of it. It aims directly at all those countries which are most upset by what happened at Little Rock and is definitely a step in the right direction.

The prestige which the Soviet Union is getting because of its satellites intensifies the importance of effective *non-communist* technical and economic assistance coming in a way which does not look like the US-USSR power struggle.

I would like you to hear me on this subject when it comes to you for decision—if there is any opposition to it.⁴

With warm and respectful regard,

Faithfully yours,

Cabot Lodge

1. Source: Eisenhower Library, Whitman File, Administration Series. The word “personal” is handwritten on the top of the source text by Lodge.↵
2. Not found.↵
3. Reference is to the disturbances at Little Rock, Arkansas, during September and October 1957, during the racial integration of Little Rock High School.↵
4. President Eisenhower inserted a bracket from paragraph 3, to the end of the text with the handwritten notation: “To Gov. Adams.” At the bottom of the page he wrote: “Pls return to my files. DE.” The words “if there is any opposition to it” were underlined by the President.↵

ALLEN & ALLEN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
INDIANOLA, MISSISSIPPI

BRIDGER B. ALLEN
RICHARD M. ALLEN

PHONE NO. 43

Nov. 26, 1957

Mr. Henry Roemer McPhee,
Asst. Special Counsel to
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

*No reply will
be given*

Dear Mr. McPhee:

I am glad to know that you appreciated me sending our Legion Post resolution to the President, along with my letter.

In this rock-ribbed Democratic community, Indianola voted for the President in both races. We simply could not support the so-called Democratic candidates, who had the backing of such unAmerican and communist dominated organizations as the ADA, CIO, NAACP, The American Labor Party, and other radicals. They stood for everything that we opposed. We felt that Mr. Eisenhower would not yield to the radical pressure groups.

I have been active in The American Legion for nearly 40 years, serving this department as State Commander, and been active on the state and National level. We commenced fighting subversives from the beginning. We saw the communists start infiltrating our schools and colleges, churches and seminaries, labor unions, government and industry to where they can now paralyze us if war breaks out with Russia; we especially saw their plans to make a "Black Republic" of the south, and mongralize the races to where we would lose the fundamentals that made a great nation of our country so that the communists could take over without effort.

We see them exercising a dominating influence over both major parties to where the politicians are running over each other for their votes; with practically all the directors of the NAACP being members of a long string of communist front outfits. We have seen the success of these infiltrations in every field. We have seen the NAACP with unlimited money gathered from the unwary being able to silence the press and news media to the point where the evils they foster go unreported to the public. We see the decent whites being crowded out of Washington and other northern cities where they refuse to force or permit their children into association with such mess as exists in Washington. The race problem has moved north. How about reading "Why Pick on Dixie", appearing in the July 1957 issue of The American Mercury magazine?

Why should the northern politicians make a whipping boy out of the south, when we are generally the most patriotic and understanding section of the country? It is a disgrace when an illiterate Negro horn-blower can brand the President as a liar and a coward, and influence the President to put federal bayonets to

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BRIDGER B. ALLEN
RICHARD M. ALLEN

PHONE NO. 43

backs of our schoolchildren and force them to integrate in the class-rooms, while at the same time apologizing to the horn-blower and asking him to be our good-will ambassador in foreign lands. Some one has given the president dangerous advice. How long will the government support by force a movement to mongralize the races, and reduce us to a people without ideals, morals, pride or responsibility?

This is not writgen in anger, but in deep concern and alarm as to where this country is headed. How long would an army last with 10% ineffectives in it, should we fight a first rate nation? I hope you will take this latter and my other one in the spirit in which it is w ritten.

Yours for a better America,

B. B. ALLEN.
B.B. Allen

**ВЫШЕ ЗНАМЯ
ПРОЛЕТАРСКОГО
ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗМА!**



Join The Citizens' Council 9/16
STATES' RIGHTS, RACIAL INTEGRITY
AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT
The Mississippi Society

of the
Sons of the American Revolution



OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY-REGISTRAR

Byron de La Beckwith,
331 W. Monroe,
Greenwood Miss.
9/12/58
11

- PRESIDENT
NORMAN C. BREWER, JR.
GREENWOOD
- 1ST VICE PRESIDENT
R. A. ELLISON
BELZONI
- 2ND VICE PRESIDENT
W. M. GARRARD, JR.
INDIANOLA
- TREASURER
ROBERT K. McNEES
LEXINGTON
- SECRETARY-REGISTRAR
L. L. McNEES
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GREENWOOD
BURNICE W. SMITH
HATTIESBURG

President of the United States,
 Dwight D. Eisenhower,
 The White House,
 Washington, D.C.

Dear President Eisenhower —
I wish to praise you in your
speech last night telling the Chinese
to negotiate or fight.

Now then to another subject —
This summer we were host to the National
Society S.A.R. Every S.A.R. who came to
Mississippi saw, participated in and
approved your way of segregation. 98%
of the S.A.R.s are infuriated over forced
integration and are doing something to
stop forced integration — nearly every one
of us except you — do you still choose to
be and act like an S.A.R.? We wish
you would get hold of yourself and again
order segregation. This seems unlikely
there for it appears to us that you
(over)

would rather see white and negro bodies
piled high in the streets so their blood
will mingle freely in the gutters. This
is the only way our blood will mix.

This is the last that you shall
hear from me in so far as we
begging and pleading for you to restore
States Rights, Racial Integrity and
Constitutional Government to the land.
It is evident that you neither desire
this for the people nor wish for
them to obtain it. Never-the-less,
we shall have it whether you
wish it or not.

Many will suffer now but soon
all will be better for the South and the
Nation.

It is my purpose to make life happy
for most of us by thwarting some of them who
would destroy all of us.

Sincerely
Pyron De La Sackville
Board of Governors, Miss. Society
Sons of the American Revolution.



OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN

Search FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1917–1972, VOLUME VI, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, 1961–1963

131. Circular Telegram From the Department of State to All Diplomatic and Consular Posts¹

Washington, undated.

2177. For Ambassador and Principal Officer. Government is deeply involved both with immediate problems arising from incidence of racial tension and with long-term issue of civil rights which lies at center of country's existence as a democratic state. Administration is keenly aware of impact of domestic racial problem on US image overseas and on achievement US foreign policy objectives.

There should be no illusions as to seriousness this situation. As far as American domestic developments concerned policies of this Administration have been sound and its actions consistent. On one hand, Federal Government power and prestige are committed to full equality, a commitment fortified by even larger elements of our society. On the other hand, there still exists articulate and determined opposition. We must assume therefore that racial incidents will continue and their geographic location will spread. Problem is national rather than exclusively southern dilemma.

Foreign reaction is source great concern. Evidence from all parts of world indicates that racial incidents have produced extremely negative reactions. Characteristic is recommendation in May of assembled foreign ministers at Addis Ababa conference of African Chiefs of State. They recommended Chiefs of State pass strongly worded resolution on discrimination in US and communicate directly with President.²We believe this is clear indication depth of emotional feeling in most of Africa and indeed the world. We think more conciliatory stands may be taken for tactical reasons. In this context, final statement on racial discrimination of Chiefs of State at Addis Conference was remarkably moderate. At best, however, it suggests we have certain amount of time before our racial problem will impinge even more seriously upon our policies and objectives. [Page 340]

Under these circumstances, we recognize there is no effective substitute for decisive action on part of United States Government. This will include special Presidential message to Congress today,³Administration-backed legislation, and continued series of positive Federal actions throughout country. This will take time; there may be setbacks; and no schedule can now be set.

Meanwhile, you have difficult responsibility of trying to establish sufficient understanding of our problems and goals to mitigate effect of any future incidents and to provide a basis for more understanding local response in future. We recognize each country has its own problems, and we know you will need all your resources and imagination to meet the situation. We rely on your judgment of local scene and of most effective way of meeting situation.

Simultaneous with this cable, the President is sending you a special message on civil rights,⁴to which this telegram is background. To help you in carrying out the President's expressed desire in that message, we will be sending a summary of Federal actions and policies.⁵You also may draw as appropriate on contents in departmental guidance message on this subject

which follows. These will supplement materials already available through USIS, especially info kits and guidances. You should use this material in manner you deem most appropriate to cope with reaction in your country.

A large number of posts have received from USIA taped versions of the President's television address on civil rights made June 11.⁶ Others will be receiving same soon. It would be desirable wherever practical to arrange showing of this tape to all US personnel at posts.

Following points may also be of some help:

- (a) In your personal dealings with principal governmental officials, you should not gloss over the problem. At same time, you should reaffirm depth of concern felt by President and your confidence in his ability meet problem effectively. [Page 341]
- (b) Even though constructive events are not always news, you should use all appropriate opportunities to emphasize at all levels the gains which have been made and steps Federal Government and private agencies are taking.
- (c) Suggest post review its governmental and public relations programs on civil rights and adapt to new situation.

Finally, request you report concisely on reactions local groups, particularly leadership groups, to this new situation. We also want your suggestions with respect to diplomatic or other actions United States might take.

You can expect further guidance from Department on this matter.

Rusk

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1. Source: Kennedy Library, National Security Files, Subjects Series, Box 295A, Civil Rights 6/19/63–7/9/63. Confidential; Priority. Drafted by Jorden on June 19; cleared in substance by Manell, Abernethy, Read, Burdett, Cottam, Gorrell, Kaysen, and Anderson; and approved by Rusk. Sent for information to Eastern European posts.↵
 2. The Summit Conference of Independent African States took place in Addis Ababa May 22–25 with 30 African nations in attendance. Circular telegram 2032 to certain African posts May 28, noted that the resolution on racism: “[c]ondemned racial discrimination everywhere, particularly in the US, but coupled this with appreciation for efforts US Gov’t end discriminatory practices which otherwise likely cause serious deterioration in relations between US and Africa. This probably as good a resolution as could be expected. More moderate than earlier Foreign Ministers draft and significantly includes recognition and understanding role of US Gov’t.” The circular airgram is printed in Foreign Relations, 1961–1963, vol. XXI, Africa, Document 219. See also Russell Howe, “30 Nations Sign Africa Unity Pact,” *The Washington Post*, May 26, 1963, p. A1.↵
 3. For the text of Kennedy’s June 19 special message to Congress on civil rights, see *Public Papers: Kennedy, 1963*, pp. 483–494. The next day, legislation to enact the recommendations in the President’s message was transmitted in letters to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. (*Ibid.*, p. 494)↵
 4. Circular telegram 2176 to all diplomatic and consular posts, June 19, transmitted the President’s message, which asked U.S. Ambassadors and Principal Officers to discuss civil rights with host governments with candor, but also to affirm U.S. accomplishments and highlight the positive commitment set by the President toward the goal of equal opportunity for all. (Kennedy Library, National Security Files, Countries Series, Africa)↵
 5. On June 19, the Department of State sent a series of instructions and information messages to all U.S. diplomatic missions abroad, which included a background summary of U.S. civil rights accomplishments. (*Ibid.*)↵
 6. See footnote 2, Document 130.↵



OFFICE OF THE HISTORIAN

Search FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1961–1963, VOLUME XXI, AFRICA

219. Circular Telegram From the Department of State to Certain African Posts⁰

Washington, May 28, 1963, 6:41 p.m.

2032. Dept not planning make comprehensive public statement on Addis Conference¹this time, although senior Dept officials will probably be called upon comment. Following summarizes Dept's preliminary assessment Conference. You may use this material in conversations with officials and other responsible personalities, but should not give statements to the press.

Dept regards Conference and its outcome as remarkable achievement in that leaders managed in four days agree on certain basic issues despite personal rivalries and serious differences in approach. They adopted charter of Organization of African Unity (OAU), refusing to accept postponement as recommended by Foreign Ministers. Resolutions they adopted also reflected search for workable compromises, but may create problems for U.S. Dept therefore not prepared give unqualified endorsement to resolutions.

- A. OAU Charter: Signed by 30 countries present with Morocco and Togo probably to adhere later; provides for assembly Heads of State meeting annually, Foreign Ministers Council meeting twice a year, permanent Secretariat with limited [Page 333] powers (no SYG yet, probable location Addis), and Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. There is no parliamentary assembly and charter contains no collective security provisions. Based on Ethiopian draft and resembles OAS Charter. It is, in Dept's view, a realistic agreement in terms present African capabilities.
- B. Resolutions:
1. Racism—Condemned racial discrimination everywhere, particularly in US, but coupled this with appreciation for efforts US Gov't end discriminatory practices which otherwise likely cause serious deterioration in relations between US and Africa. This probably as good a resolution as could be expected. More moderate than earlier Foreign Ministers draft and significantly includes recognition and understanding role US Gov't.
 2. Decolonization—Great powers urged cease aid colonialist governments, particularly Portugal which engaging genocide. Other references to Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, South Africa. Committee of 9 established at Dar es Salaam to raise funds and coordinate activities for liberation remaining dependent areas. Member states called upon develop local volunteers to provide assistance to national liberation movements. However, proposed fund of 1% national budgets OAU countries for liberation not adopted. UK Ambassador, Addis, believes UK can live with Southern Rhodesia resolution. Pressure on US increased by declaration that Portuguese allies must choose friendship of Portugal or Africa. Although resolution appears to call for economic boycott South Africa by all governments, effect this resolution still not clear.
 3. Disarmament—Africa declared denuclearized zone. Great powers called upon sign disarmament agreement with effective controls and reduce arms. Expressed willingness African countries negotiate end military occupation, bases and nuclear testing in Africa. Moderation these resolutions encouraging in that need for disarmament controls recognized and willingness negotiate on removal bases expressed. Effect on tenure US installations North Africa and Ethiopia remains to be seen.

4. Apartheid—Fund set up for anti-apartheid movement.
5. Non-alignment—Doctrine given general support but need for payment UN obligations affirmed and better representation in UN requested.
6. Role of African Leaders:
 - a. Haile Selassie (Ethiopia): Prestige high, Nkrumah called him “Ethiopia the Wise”; good lobbyist; demonstrated high organizational ability.
 - b. Nkrumah (Ghana): Usual mixture extreme and sensible statements. He failed get his views adopted, although outcome Conference owed much to his dedication African unity.
 - c. Balewa (Nigeria): Critically important; turned Wachuku from obstructionism to positive work on charter; good influence; respected.
 - d. Nyerere (Tanganyika): Established himself as African with continental influence.
 - e. Nasser (UAR): Avoided controversy; tried to be good African.
 - f. Ben Bell a (Algeria): Strong activist on decolonization; won approval sub-Saharan.
 - g. Keita (Mali) and Toure (Guinea): Reasonable and moderate.
 - h. Houphouet-Boigny (Ivory Coast) and Senghor (Senegal): Confirmed their reputations as veteran parliamentarians.
 - i. Obote (Uganda): Sought to be disciple of Nkrumah.

Some of above subjects may be too controversial or ambiguous for comment in local context. These probably include gamut anti-colonialist activities rooted in new charter, probable South African boycott, and explicit anti-Portuguese resolutions. You should, of course, avoid comment these aspects Conference results and any others which in your judgment inadvisable in our particular situation.

You should also, as opportunity arises, offer congratulations US Gov’t on success of Conference to leaders who participated, tailoring approbation leader’s particular role both to objective assessment his accomplishments and attitude his gov’t to value of Conference.

Comment on economic aspects Conference to follow.

Request you report reaction local government to Conference.

Rusk

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- o. Source: Department of State, Central Files, POL 7 ETH. Confidential. Drafted by Sherry, cleared by Hadsel, and approved by Tasca. Sent to Abidjan, Accra, Addis Ababa, Algiers, Bamako, Bangui, Benghazi, Tripoli, Brazzaville, Conakry, Cotonou, Dakar, Dar-es-Salaam, Fort Lamy, Freetown, Kampala, Khartoum, Kigali, Lagos, Leopoldville, Libreville, Lome, Lourenco Marques, Luanda, Mogadiscio, Monrovia, Nairobi, Niamey, Nouakchott, Ouagadougou, Cape Town, Rabat, Salisbury, Tananarive, Tunis, Usumbura, Yaounde, and Zanzibar.↵
 1. The Summit Conference of Independent African States met in Addis Ababa May 22–25. For text of President Kennedy’s message to the African Heads of State at the conference, see Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963, p. 417. The Presidential message was sent to Emperor Haile Selassie, Chairman of the conference, who read it at the opening session. (Telegram 605 to Addis Ababa, May 17; Department of State, Central Files, POL 7 ETH)↵

Civil Rights Bundy Forate Summary 5

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Research Memorandum
RSB-92, June 11, 1963

TO : The Secretary
THROUGH: S/S
FROM : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *Thomas L. Hughes*

SUBJECT: Soviet Media Coverage of Current US Racial Crisis

The Soviets have engaged in a veritable barrage of broadcasting to foreign audiences on the US racial crisis. This paper outlines the principal themes of their propaganda attack for audiences abroad and at home and discusses reasons for such unprecedented coverage.

Abstract

Soviet broadcasting on the current US racial crisis has recently attained a level seven times that of the Mississippi crisis last autumn. Recurrent themes in the Soviet treatment have been: that racism is inevitable in the capitalist system and can only be eradicated along with capitalism itself; that the Federal Government is actually supporting the racists by its general inertia and because of unwillingness to antagonize Southern Democrats; that the hypocrisy of US claims to leadership of the free world is laid bare; and that US racism is clearly indicative of its policies toward colored peoples throughout the world. Apart from a predictable desire to discredit the "capitalist" US, reasons for the greatly expanded Soviet coverage may include sensitivity to current publicity on treatment of Afro-Asian students in the bloc and of Soviet racial and ethnic minorities, as well as a desire to undercut the Chinese Communists in their use of racial appeals against the Soviets.

The volume of Soviet broadcasting on the current US racial crisis has been enormous. The 1,420 Soviet commentaries beamed worldwide in the period May 14-26, for example, was more than seven times the amount broadcast at the two-week peak of the Meredith case last autumn. It was nine times greater than during the two-week high of May 1961 (on the freedom riders), and more than eleven times the two-week high during the Little Rock crisis of 1957.

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- 2 -

It is interesting, however, that while the total broadcast volume has been so great, the percentage of domestic broadcasting devoted to US racism has been very small. For example, during the week of May 27-June 2, when 116 such broadcasts were beamed to Western Europe and 109 to Africa, there were only four on the Soviet domestic service. (Of course, the relative paucity of domestic broadcasts on the subject has been offset to a large extent through newspaper coverage.) A table indicating the breakdown of Soviet broadcasting with respect to volume and geographic distribution is appended. Comparative figures for Communist China are also shown.

The four themes outlined below have recurred frequently in Soviet radio commentary on the crisis.

- 1) Racism Inevitable in the American Capitalist System. Racial discrimination cannot be rooted out of American life because the laws of the capitalist economy dictate otherwise. Paying Negroes a lower wage is supposed to save industry and agriculture four billion dollars annually. The strength of corporate interests is greater than the antisegregation movement. Racism can only disappear when capitalism disappears.
- 2) Inaction of the US Government Tantamount to Support of the Racists. Despite all their disclaimers and words to the contrary, the federal government effectively supports the racists and local officials in enforcing segregation. The Democratic Party is trying to keep on good terms with southern politicians with a view to the next elections. The government has elaborated no overall program to deal with the problem. In the Oxford, Mississippi, case, federal troops were sent to the scene only after an agreement had been reached between the local authorities and the federal government in order to maintain Washington's prestige. This action was taken only after the racists had terrorized the population for several weeks and felt that they were in control of the situation. The same thing is now true of Alabama. The federal government is standing by idly while the bloody massacres occur, waiting until racism has "submerged the whole state and the Negroes have finally been intimidated." Washington will act only after this has been accomplished. Government inaction is tantamount to support of the racists.
- 3) Hypocrisy of US Posture as Leader of the Free World. The recent events have exposed the hypocrisy of the US claims to be ideological leader of the "so-called 'free world'". Racism is endemic to the US ideology and system. Birmingham has exposed this and has undermined the prestige of the entire free world and its ideology. American claims to democracy are ridiculous when 20 million Negroes are denied fundamental human rights.
- 4) Implications for US Policy Toward Asia, Africa, Latin America. The domestic policy of the US Government toward the Negroes is clearly indicative of its policy toward peoples of color throughout the world. While the US tries to pass itself off as friends of the African peoples,

- 3 -

and sends aid missions and Peace Corpsmen allegedly to help these people, treatment of Negroes at home belies any such objective. If the Peace Corps is in Africa today, it is "because the US hopes that the American monopolies will be able to get hold of the African riches." American supervisors of mines and plantations would ultimately replace the Peace Corpsmen and Africans would then be subjected to the same treatment as the American Negroes. Broadcasts to Africa have been particularly sensational with respect to alleged atrocities against the Negroes in Birmingham. The police dogs there have supposedly been trained to attack only people with brown skin.

To South America, Soviet broadcasts have asserted that the North American attitude toward Negroes is extended to Latin American peoples. North American whites consider the Latin Americans an inferior race, and their countries to be second class nations.

Moscow asks, "If America's rulers can act like slaveholders towards millions of their own people, what can the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America expect of them?" An African counselor of embassy in Washington is quoted as having said, "We do not trust those people."

Press Coverage

Compared to the voluminous and frequently virulent foreign broadcasting, coverage in Pravda has been relatively moderate in both volume and content. Although some Soviet publication has managed to keep the crisis before Soviet readers at all times, there have been several days when Pravda did not mention it. May Day, the Castro visit, and other news invariably received preferred placement in the newspaper. Articles and pictures on the racial crisis were found on the third or fourth pages.

In contrast to the elaborately contrived, quite mendacious distortion in broadcasts to Africa, Asia, and Latin America, Pravda's distortion has been mainly through selectivity of facts and careful ignoring of important factors such as the separation of federal and state authority. Pravda frequently printed shortened versions of articles which had appeared in the American press (e.g., Newsweek and New York newspapers) and seized several opportunities to reprint sensational pictures picked up from the American press. Pravda excerpted at length Secretary Rusk's speech of May 27 and Governor Wallace's interview on "Meet the Press." Letters from Soviet citizens denouncing the events and expressing solidarity with the Negroes' cause were also excerpted on a small scale. All Soviet organs with correspondents in the US have relied on them for comment and reportage.

Reasons for Wide Soviet Coverage

Of course, the racial crisis provides wonderful grist for a propaganda mill which is constantly ready to exploit and publicize any weaknesses in western society. The greater intensity of the present crisis may account in large part for the expanded Soviet coverage.

In addition, the bloc has recently been receiving unfavorable publicity regarding treatment of Asian and African students in its universities. Broadcasts to India and Pakistan attempted to contrast the US racial troubles with the "harmonious relations and racial equality enjoyed by Afro-Asians at the Moscow Friendship University."

Evidence of ill treatment of ethnic and racial minorities is a continuing problem for the USSR. "Nationalism" has recently been receiving considerable attention in ideological articles and will be one of the agenda topics at the June plenum of the Central Committee CPSU. One broadcast accused New York Times columnist Sulzberger of writing "malicious tales" about segregation in Tashkent.

Soviet sensitivity to foreign attention to anti-Semitism in the USSR has been reflected in commentary on the US racial crisis. An Izvestiya article claimed that the US press was spreading "shameless lies about alleged 'Soviet anti-Semitism'" in an effort to divert attention from the events in Alabama. Sensitivity in this area was also indicated by recent press references to last winter's Khrushchev letter on the subject to Bertrand Russell.

The Soviets may also be seizing upon this opportunity to decry racism in order to counter recent Chinese moves to line up support on the basis of race. Moscow has on other issues taxed the Chinese with following the "imperialist" line (e.g., on the question of war) and it cannot be excluded that a similar parallel may at some point be drawn between alleged US and Chinese racial policies. Even if Moscow did not go very far in this direction, the mere coincidence in time of heightened US racial difficulties and Chinese racial appeals may be viewed by the Soviets as undercutting the effectiveness of the latter.

East European Coverage

While the East European media paralleled many of the Soviet themes, coverage was not especially great.



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22. Memorandum From the Director of the United States Information Agency (Rowan) to President Johnson¹ [Page 61]

Washington, June 29, 1964

SUBJECT

Foreign Reaction to Senate Passage of Civil Rights Bill²

USIA has just completed a study dealing with foreign reaction to the Senate passage of the civil rights bill.³

Non-Communist editors universally and extensively acclaimed the event as marking an historic advance. Acclaim is accompanied by warnings that passage of the legislation will not immediately or easily bring equality for the Negro and expectations of continued bitter strife and resistance are widespread.

Along with cautions against expectation of immediate results are some hopes that strife will henceforth be moderated. The long debate heightened attention to the racial question and increased the dramatic impact of the Senate's action. Tribute is paid to your skill, courage, and authority in bringing about the bill's passage.

Commentators viewed the passage as the most important step forward in the American Negro's struggle for equality since the Emancipation Proclamation;⁴ as a "victory" that will "shape the future of the United States"; as a "turning point" in American history; as enhancing the international influence of the United States, especially among the non-white and newly-independent nations; and as reinforcing the moral authority of the United States and its dedication to freedom and social justice.

Soviet treatment has sought to downplay the importance of the Senate's action, stressing the "immense distance" between the legislation and its realization, predicting the continuance of racial clashes and high-lighting current racial difficulties. No comment from Peking or other Communist areas in the Far East is available. [Page 62]

A summary of regional comment follows:

Western Europe

Senate passage of the civil rights bill received prominent news coverage in Western Europe and, especially in Britain, Scandinavia and Austria, extensive editorial comment as well. Material currently available indicates that, with a few prominent exceptions, French and West German reaction has not been so extensive. Most see the Senate action as a turning point in U.S. history and give credit to you and President Kennedy. At the same time, the majority is either skeptical or pessimistic over prospects for peaceful and early acceptance of the measure.

Africa

The African press has responded to Senate passage of the civil rights bill with prominent coverage and enthusiastic comment. Papers in seven African countries described the bill as a major step forward in the Negroes' drive for equality but recognized that the bill's passage did not mean the end of racial discrimination in America. While editors censured Messrs. Goldwater, Faubus, and Wallace for impeding racial progress, they praised the American people, the U.S. Senate, and you and President Kennedy for your combined efforts in achieving victory. The U.S. was seen as implementing its democratic principles.

Near East and South Asia

Commentators in widely separate centers in both the Near East and South Asia generally regard the passage of the Senate civil rights bill as an historic turning point in the battle for equal opportunity in the United States. Some papers see the measure as a memorial to the late President Kennedy, while others credit your Administration. Most temper their praise, however, by warning that enforcement problems are apt to dilute the full effect of the legislation.

Far East

The Far East press enthusiastically applauded the Senate passage of the civil rights bill. Editorially, the action was welcomed as certain to improve the U.S. image abroad and as a badly needed answer to Communist charges of officially-sanctioned racial persecution in the United States. While only a few editorialists in the area expressed fear that the bill might lead to increased civil rights strife, a number noted that the legislation in itself was not enough and needed popular support and cooperation. The bill was generally described as a monument to the late President Kennedy and a political triumph for you.

Latin America

[Page 63]

The Latin American press has given wire service news treatment to the Senate's passage of the civil rights bill. In addition there was substantial editorial comment for a few days. The tone of the comment was almost universally favorable and laudatory. The principal theme has been the resultant enhancing of the international prestige of the U.S. and the influence the law-to-be will have on the rest of the world.

Soviet Union

Senate passage of the civil rights bill drew a considerable volume of Soviet commentary attempting to minimize the importance of the legislation, although *Pravda* and several other newspapers have ignored the event. Moscow Radio immediately broadcast a brief, factual account of the vote to both foreign and domestic audiences. The follow-up TASS dispatch from Washington outlined the many hurdles the bill had overcome before passage and concluded that while "racists" had suffered a defeat in Congress, they would continue to struggle in their home states against implementation of the law. Occasionally conceding that passage of the civil rights bill marks "a certain success" for the struggle of American Negroes for equal rights, the Soviet press and radio have continued to spotlight incidents such as those in St. Augustine.

A copy of the USIA report is attached.⁵

Carl T. Rowan⁶

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1. Source: Johnson Library, White House Central Files, Subject Files, Foreign Affairs, EX FO Box FO-1, FO 6/1/64-7/10/64. No classification marking. The President initialed the memorandum in the top right-hand corner.↵
 2. The Senate passed the Civil Rights Act (P.L. 88-367; 78 Stat 241) on June 19; the President signed it into law on July 2. For text of the President's remarks on signing the Act, see *Public Papers: Johnson, 1963-1964*, Book II, pp. 842-844.↵
 3. Attached but not printed is report R-89-64, entitled "Foreign Reaction to Senate Passage of the Civil Rights Bill," June 25, prepared in USIA's Research and Reference Service.↵
 4. Reference is to the proclamation made by President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863, in which he declared "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebellious states "are, and henceforth shall be free."↵

5. Attached but not printed.↵

6. Rowan signed “Carl” above this typed signature.↵