

# Wolverine Observer



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## WORLD WATCHER

Edward L. Halman

### "France's Cousin"

It is a fairly well-recognized fact that President Charles DeGaulle is the author and sustainer of French internal stability. Coming out of retirement in 1958 to again lead the French people, DeGaulle restored unity among the French, instituted a strong central power (based primarily upon himself), and helped solve the Algerian problem.

Now in a period of relative peace in France the same qualities that enabled DeGaulle to be a powerful leader in a crisis seem to be working toward the disadvantage of France in the long run. For DeGaulle possesses the type of charismatic qualities that make him very useful in times of crises but have an adverse effect in times of peace.

Perhaps this could be better understood if we became clear on what we mean by "charisma," which is a word associated frequently with DeGaulle. Charisma refers to those unusual personal qualities possessed by a person that enable him to become elevated to a position of leadership. The important stipulation here, as has been intimated, is that this "charismatic leader" is only useful in time of instability or crisis. There are many other facets of charisma that could be discussed but I think that this will suffice for our purpose of analyzing DeGaulle from this perspective.

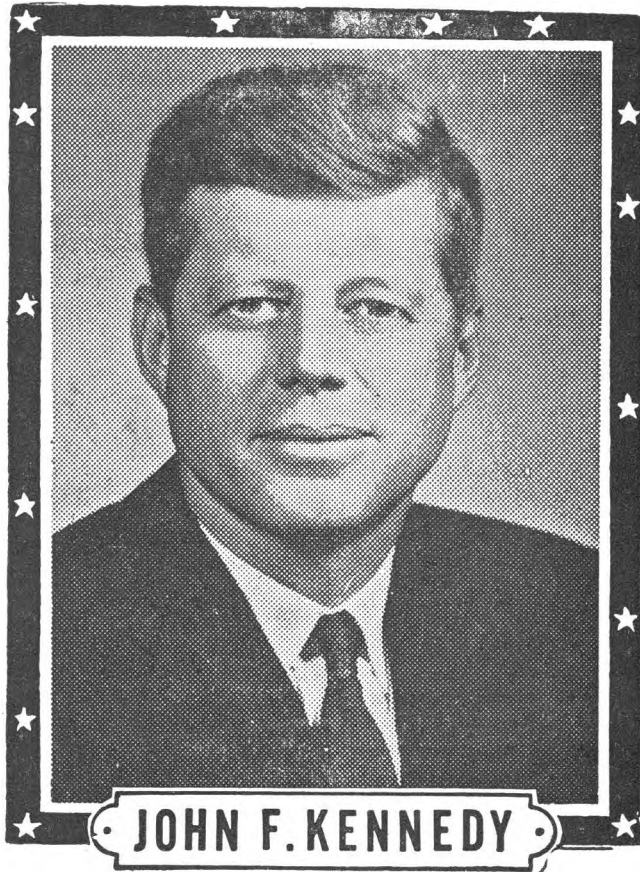
Just as Red China is developing into a thorn in Russia's side, so is France becoming particularly troublesome for the West. This is due primarily to DeGaulle and his "Grand Design" for France. This "Grand Design" has as its ultimate aim the restoration of France as the leading world power. In order to achieve this, DeGaulle is slowly divorcing France from the rest of the Western World in order to assert France's independent prowess. This can be seen from DeGaulle's aloft attitude toward NATO, his refusal to admit Great Britain into the European Common Market over and above the protests of the United States, and his recent overtures toward Russia. This latter point culminated in DeGaulle referring to Russia as France's "Cousin". This was an obvious attempt to incur Western hostility and foster better Franco-Soviet relations which DeGaulle hopes will put him in a better bargaining position.

Although DeGaulle has honorable nationalistic motives in his efforts, the fact cannot be denied that he is ultimately leading France to ruin. This is true for two reasons: First, DeGaulle is getting old and must retire soon. As such a powerful leader, it will be difficult to replace him. His policies are only legitimate because of his personal charisma. Instead of legitimizing his policies into institutions he continues to assert his leadership, growing in power and influence. Upon re-

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## THE REBIRTH OF AMERICA

### IN MEMORIAM



JOHN F. KENNEDY

### The Essence of Christmas

A young fellow, who was a product of a poverty stricken area, came up to me with two pieces of penny candy and asked me if I believed in Santa Claus. Being touched by his sincerity of action, I took his hand and told him "yes." He immediately gave me a piece of his candy and asked me "why." (This is the question that each person who professes Santa Claus to anyone should ask himself.) To get around this question I asked the young fellow if he would like to go home with me. He decided that he would. When we got into the house I introduced him to my mother and he asked her the same question that he had asked me. I therefore told my mother the nature of our meeting and why I had brought my new found friend home with me. She told us to sit down while she went to get the family Bible. When she returned she read to us concerning the conditions of the birth of Christ, and she said from this birth came a man whose spirit created Santa Claus. She stated that Santa Claus is great because he exemplifies Christ in giving through love to those in need. Yet, she said that Santa Claus nor any other man given name should hide the birth of love (charity), humility, and forgiveness that was born in the birth of Christ, for these traits are the essence of Christmas.

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### Christianity and Our American Problem The Mockery To The UNCF

Within the framework of the present American problem we search ourselves for heavenly guidance during this week of the birth of Christ. We constantly realize that man is weak. Yet, we seem to overlook the fact that weakness and strength are in the same line; they differ only in degree. We assert even in our Christian nurture that man has the capacity for good yet the tendency of evil. Around all of these statements of man falls a man who recognized the capacity of man, around these truths falls a man who attempted to change the tendency of man, around all of these sayings rests a man who died for the capacities of good and against the tendencies of evil. Therefore, at this time of year we take time out to give homage to such a brave individual. It is true that we profess him to be god manifest. Yet, this man's life would be remembered if for no other reason than that he was a good man.

Thus, it is only fitting and proper at this time of year to pay homage to another man with the same spirit of goodness. If we were to compare data on the lives of the two men in question, there would be some similarity. For we could say for the both of them that they had an undaunted faith which incarnated itself in what we call courage. They both fought against hypocrisy and found most people to be hypocrites. On this point I must linger, on this point I must speak out, on this point rest the guilt of America.

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### Congratulations

Shirley Ann Robinson, a 1963 graduate of Morris Brown College, has been invited to join the Peace Corps Project in Nigeria. Training for this project began August 31, 1963 at Columbia University.

Miss Robinson who is from Greenville, South Carolina, where she was graduated from Sterling High School, majored in Math-

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### Who's Who In American College and Universities



Standing Left to Right — Larry Bailey, Edward Holman and Sandy Wright. Seated — Sharrow Strickland and Mary Starks.

### The Phelps Stokes Fund Conference

The Stokes Phelps Fund Conference was attended by Alice Williams, Constance Hall, Barbara Worthy, Larry Bailey and advisor, Miss Ione Darnell. The conference was held at Tuskegee Institute on the third of November. The meeting lasted two days. The purpose of this conference was to motivate students to go into foreign service. The conference attempted to accomplish this end by presenting a four phase program. The program began with a discussion of the Congo to sharpen the thought process. The next part of the program was a number of lectures given by the different organizations in the foreign service. The next part of the program was a mock foreign service examination. The next part of the conference consisted of discussions on the test.

The results of the whole conference was a stimulation of participants. We, the students realized after taking the examination that we were inadequate to quope with with it. We further realized that even after four years of college education we would probably not be fully prepared to successfully pass the test. We then embarked on an understanding of how we could obtain the education to pass the test. One of the answers which was given centered around a cultural set of values which America sets. Yet, we all realized that the culture of the Negro is a part of the Socio-economic deprivation of the American Negro. However, Dr. Kennedy of Morehouse suggested that we forget the "get-toes" and strive for excellence. Well, the conference did succeed in creating deciples for its cause, for one just wrote this article.

MERRY CHRISTMAS  
AND  
HAPPY NEW YEAR  
— Wolverine Observer Staff



# COMMUNISM VS. DEMOCRACY

## Classrooms Abroad

### COMMUNISM

Communism has been defined in many ways by many people, some say Communism is that system of government whereby ownership and distribution of property is in the hands of the government. Production is according to ability; distribution is according to need. There shall be no rich unless all are rich. There shall be no poor unless all are poor. Others say it is a social system whereby property, capital gains, and industry are under Communist government control. This system of government strives for equal distribution of benefits.

Communism has infiltrated the minds of many people in the world today. It is a creed of dogmatic belief. Most philosophers and learned men have so confidently stated that communism is destined to control the entire world and maintain world domination. A factor about communism that most people do not understand is that it is a political party. Communism is one of the most treacherous forms of government in the world today. It is a form of government which constitutes treachery, falsification, and violence; these factors or aspects are used to advance the communist government.

The communist people are a peace-loving people, at least a Marxist-Leninist peace-loving people. Every communist individual is taught and made to be a devotee of peace. The people as a whole have peace movements, peace campaigns, peace prizes, conferences and processions. This variety of peace exhibitions are mainly demonstrated for the purpose of propaganda in the world. Truly you can trust a communist to maintain a peaceful co-existence. As Dr. Schwarz said, "You can trust a communist to be a communist." To the communist world peace means, world conquest and imperialistic defeat.

In explaining or discussing communism, one must not let this deadly disease imbue his mind. The communist people tell the "truth," but it is the Marxist-Leninist "truth." The nature of communism just tends to acquaint a person with the minor elucidated (and some non-elucidated) factors concerning communism. In analyzing this subject, one finds that religion has no vital role in the communistic mode of life. "The communist affirm that there is no God; that there are no absolutes; everything is relative."<sup>1</sup> These people also believe in "righteousness," they develop and demand "righteousness," that is the Marxist-Leninist righteousness. It has often been asked, how can there be a world unless there is love or brotherhood? The communist people believe in love also; they love one another; these people manifest and exemplify pure communist "love."

"In the early nineteenth century we find the first settlements of communist settlements. These settlements were based on religious faith. In these settlements, however, religious faith was of primary importance and communism was secondary."<sup>2</sup> These people were Shakers largely of English origin. An organization entitled the Utopian Socialist was responsible for many of these settlements. Gradually, the Utopian Socialist emphasized and stressed ethical basis instead of religious basis. In the genesis of the establishment of such communities, the best known were those established

by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana. By 1860, the Utopian Socialist Organization lost importance and became extinct.

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Fred Schwarz, You Can Trust A Communist to be Communist, (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962). p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>"Communism," Home Universal Encyclopedia, (1960 ed.), vol. 3, pp. 1111-1113.

The precursors of modern communism were Karl Marx and Francois Babeuf. The theories and principles of Marx and Babeuf became the basic idea and objectives of communism. In these principles all property was to be nationalized within forty years, and all children were to be brought up together. Since the basis of modern communism was presented by Marx and his colleague, Babeuf, they along with F. Engels wrote an article entitled "Communist Manifesto". This article set forth the essentials of the Marxian theory of communism. It was published in 1848. Not only did Marx write an article on communism, but he furnished the intellectual spark which started the Russian Bolshevik Revolution on Nov. 7, 1917.

At the age of twenty-four years, Marx went to Paris where he and F. Engels became active in many socialist organizations. After this, he published another article called "Das Kapital." In spite of all his projects, the influence of communism did not begin to spread until he died.

In the late eighteen hundreds Russia became a communistic nation. One reason for this was that the living standards of Russia were much lower than those of other countries. A factor which helped to overthrow the government was that the people were hostile to the czarist state. Not only did Russia have a profoundly low living standard, but the conditions of the country were exceedingly bad, and working wages were considerably low. Since the peasants were forced by the upper class to indulge in these lowly benefits, they rebelled and communism infiltrated the country. At the birth of this new communist country the governing functions announced their ambitions and objectives, its prevalent goal was, and still is, world domination. The leadership of this country was quite intellectual and learned. This administration influenced the mind through luxury and bribery. The means these people adopted to get to their ends were that "they discovered what them, went to work to get it for them, and finally they came to power over them."<sup>3</sup> Another situation which seems to keep the communist working is that they are trying utterly to destroy constitutions, legislative systems, and to wipe out sectionalism.

The Communist system is the most totalitarian political system in practice today. "This system exercises total control of property, education, and the means of communication—newspapers, books, magazines, radio, television, theater, motion pictures and other forms of art."<sup>4</sup> In the communist system the occupation of vocation that each person holds is mutually held by the government. The communist system of government is quite contrary and adverse to the democratic system. While the democratic system of

### DEMOCRACY

#### Introduction

In a land little touched by the disasters of modern war, the ruthlessness of dictators, and the uncertainty of shifting governments, we have reason to stop, to think, and to be thankful.

Our society now calls for the intellect rather than particulars. We are now living in a land of freedom—America.

The central theme in our American heritage is the importance concept of equality which is so vital a part of the American heritage knows no kinship with nations of human uniformity or regimentation.

We abhor the totalitarian arrogance which makes one man say that he will respect another man as his equal only if he has "my race, my religion, my political views, my social position."

In our land men are equal, but they are free to be different! From these very differences among our people has come the great human and national strength of America.

Democracy may be defined as a government operated by a vague entity called the people which is to be contrasted with governments operated by an elite. It is a government, therefore, directed by the popular will rather than by the will of an assumed few. We are forever indebted to Abraham Lincoln for the immortality he gave to his definition of a democracy in his Gettysburg Address in 1863. Lincoln defined democracy as a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."<sup>1</sup>

The Gettysburg Address is a eulogy of brave men and of the government for which they fought and died. He avoided the obvious platitudes in order that they might evoke from the sorrow at the funeral and an even greater sacrifice at home and on the field.

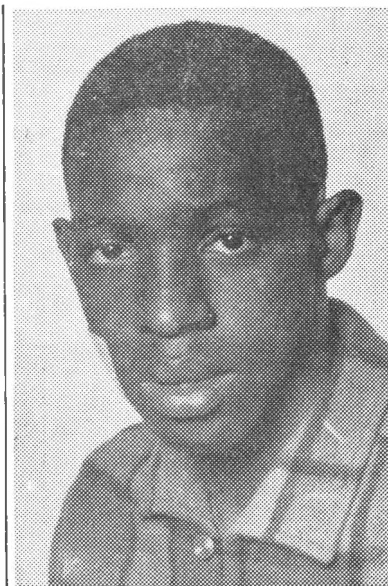
In America we define democracy as that form of government in which supreme power rests in the people, in which the people rule. Democracy is not a modern concept because it was invented a generation or two ago. The word originates from the Greek demos, the people, and kratos, rule or authority. The Greek demokratia literally means popular rule. Aristotle once said, "Two principles are characteristics of democracy: the government of the majority, and freedom."<sup>2</sup>

Two forms of democracy are exercised in our modern American society, they are direct democracy and indirect democracy. Direct democracy is that free government in which the will of the people is translated into public policy (law) directly and immediately through mass meetings of the citizenry. Direct democracy is practicable only in relatively small communities where it is physically possible for the people to assemble in a given place where the problems of government are relatively few and simple. This type of democracy does not exist on a national level anywhere in the world today!

<sup>1</sup>William A. McClenaghan, American Government (New York, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1958), p. 637.

<sup>2</sup>"What You Should Know About Democracy—and Why," World Week XLI (Jan. 30, 1963), p. 21.

Citizenship in a democracy car-



Ronald Simmons

ries with it certain important obligations. One of these is active participation in public affairs. It does little or no good for a person to keep himself informed only to do nothing with the information. A citizen can participate in a variety of ways. He can make this influence by intelligent voting. He can join and work with groups working for better government. He can participate in public meetings and forum discussions. He can run for and serve in public offices. With many active citizens we can have an extremely potent force for good in American politics.

Informed citizenry is essential to our American democracy. Democracy in the United States involves more than government by the people through elected representatives. Our democracy is government by public opinions. The major task of our elected representatives is the translation of the popular will into public policy. It is obvious that government by public opinion works best when the opinions are held by the public are informed opinions. It is indeed the duty of every citizen to keep himself informed on public affairs.

Liberty can be absolute only in a state of complete anarchy. The control of liberty can be absolute only in a totalitarian state where all individual liberty has been done away with. Man desires both authority and freedom. The authority of a government must be adequate to the needs of society, but it must not be such as to restrain the individual beyond the minimum necessary to the general welfare of all. The true meaning of liberty in a democracy is found in the old saying, "Personal liberty ends where public injury begins."

Democracy is a challenge to our society today. It is a challenge to all of us, not just to "the other fellow," and not just to all of us some of the time. If we are to maintain and enjoy and develop our democratic system, we must meet this challenge. We must work to make democracy work, to make democracy live.

In meeting a challenge a program is needed. A firm foundation and good strategy must be presented. Next, the plan is put into and the variety of problems molded down to a single problem is established. Only the qualified and the intellect get through this phase of the program! Next, the problem is solved and the final appeal is made.

This is a crisis for democracy. Gettysburg was a time of a most

Twelve groups, each containing twenty to thirty selected American college students, will form seminars in various European cities next summer to study the language, culture and civilization of these countries during a nine-week stay. Designed for the serious student who does not plan to see all of Europe in a short summer, Classrooms Abroad tries to give him a more profound experience through a summer of living in one of the following cities: Berlin, or Tubingen in Germany; Vienna or Baden in Austria; Besancon, Grenoble, Pau or Rouen in France; Neuchatel in Switzerland; Madrid or Santander in Spain; and Florence, Italy.

Graded classes in small sections of six to ten students, each under the supervision of American and native professors, will deal with the reading of classical and modern texts, the daily press, the contemporary problems, conversation and composition, pronunciation and grammar. Students will also hear lectures on history and literature and meet with outstanding personalities. They will have full auditing privileges at the university in each of the selected towns and cities and will participate in all academic and social activities with German, Austrian, French, Swiss, Spanish, and Italian students.

Members of Classrooms Abroad will live with private families in each city, eat many of their meals with their hosts and share the activities of their sons and daughters. They will have ample opportunities to meet young people from student, religious, and political organizations. Regular attendance at theatres, concerts, and movies as well as visits to museums, libraries, factories, youth organizations, and other points of interest are included in the program. Each group will follow its seven-week stay in a city or town with an optional two-week tour of German, French, Spanish, or Italian areas. Since most programs end in mid-August, participants have a chance to remain in Europe for private travel after the program.

"We have found through many years of experience that it is quite possible, even if you don't know a word of the language, to learn more than a year's worth of college German, French, Spanish, or Italian in the course of a summer," says Dr. Hirschbach, Director of Classrooms Abroad, "provided that we get serious and mature students who are willing to mix business with pleasure." Dr. Hirschbach, who also heads the German-language groups, teaches at the University of Minnesota. The French and Spanish groups will be directed by John K. Simon, Professor of French and English at the University of Illinois, and Robert E. Kelsey, member of the Romance Languages Department at Yale. The Italian group will be led by Charles Affron of Brandeis University. Classrooms Abroad, now in its eighth year, has grown from eleven students in 1956 to an anticipated three hundred in 1964. Its former students represent some two hundred American colleges.

Full information can be obtained by writing to Classrooms Abroad, Box 4171 University Station, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414. Campus agent for the program is: Larry Bailey.

genuine crisis for the American democracy. During the generation past, the democratic and the aristocratic elements in American life had separtated geographically. Hence, two nations, based on ir-



## A Realistic Look At The Negro

I am delighted that you invited me to Atlanta to participate in the joint celebration of Equal Opportunity Day, 1963, and the 100th Anniversary of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. I am also delighted at the chance to join in tonight's tribute to so many outstanding citizens in this community who have made contributions to the cause of equal opportunity over the years. Moreover, I am pleased to report that the campaign for equal opportunity has the enthusiastic support of the Department of Commerce. As many of you may have heard, the Secretary of Commerce—the Honorable Luther H. Hodges—is tonight delivering the Equal Opportunity Day Address in New York at the Invitation of the National Urban League.

A few days ago, a good friend of mine, who is deeply committed to the achievement of a fully free society in America, asked me why I accepted an invitation to speak about equal opportunity before an Urban League-sponsored group. To him the whole venture looks like a ritual before a mutual admiration society! My reply to my friend was simple: I accepted the invitation because opportunities are far from equal for far too many of my fellow citizens. I accepted the invitation because we are still so far short of this cherished goal and because we have so little time left in which to reach it. I came to talk with you about some of the obstacles on the economic scene which obstruct our passage into the main stream of the nation's life. Finally, I came to tell you that the leadership in the Department of Commerce in Washington is prepared—and has committed itself—to help quicken the progress toward equal opportunity.

There is no need for me to weary you with a repetition of evidence to prove that Negroes in America, with few exceptions, live on the margin of economic society. All of us already know the facts too well. It would also be monotonous for me to catalogue the explanations for this tragic condition, because you understand the reasons better than I. Likewise, it would not be the best use of our time simply to review the record and chart the progress we have made so far. We all agree that—because of the tremendous sacrifices of our predecessors—we have come a long way in the 100 years since we took the first step on the path to freedom and economic equality. We are fully aware of—and are grateful for—the valuable assistance we have received along the way from our fellow citizens—white citizens and black citizens, Northerners and Southerners, and citizens of every religion. We recognize these contributions and appreciate them. Yet, after 100 years of living in the shadow of freedom and equality, we are still unfree and we are still primarily a community of poor people.

We are poor because racial discrimination, a general lack of education and marketable skills, only meager opportunities to acquire skills, and a low level of motivation resulting from the depressing effects of a marginal social and economic existence—all have combined to make us poor and to prevent the escape from poverty.

When we can find work, more than two-thirds of us are trapped in low-paying, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Only slightly more than one-third of all white workers are in the same categories.

Even when the economy is booming, our unemployment rates are typically twice as high as the unemployment rates among white workers. During recessions or periods of general economic slack, the disparity worsens and the excess burden becomes even heavier. Currently, while the overall rate of unemployment is about 5.5 per cent of the civilian labor force, the rate among non-whites—of whom 90 per cent are Negroes—is about 11 per cent. Thus, although non-whites constitute only 11 per cent of the work force, they represent 22 per cent of those without jobs. Moreover, the impact of unemployment among non-whites has been rising. Ten years ago, a non-white worker was only 1.8 times as likely as his white counterpart to be unemployed rather than twice as likely as he is today.

Within this overall picture, the incident of unemployment is likely to be much higher for specific groups—especially for those with little education. Today, far more than in the past, a Negro with only an elementary school education—or less—is restricted almost exclusively to working as a laborer or unskilled factory worker. In fact, 80 per cent of the Negroes with such meager education are so employed, compared with only 50 per cent of white workers in the same educational category. But the unemployment rates for Negroes in this disadvantaged group is almost 10 per cent or about twice as high as the rates for white workers. What is even more tragic is the fact that the outlook for the future is even less promising. Already there are more opportunities for white collar than for blue collar workers—and even blue collar jobs will require increasing levels of education.

At higher levels of education, insufficient jobs, poor schools, and discrimination conspire to deprive Negroes of equal economic opportunities. Six out of every 10 non-white high school graduates, who have jobs, are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Only three of 10 white high school graduates are employed in similar occupations.

At the college level, where there is much less unemployment, there is still a substantial gap between the earnings of white and non-white persons. In fact, the earnings gap tends to increase as you move up the educational scale.

A non-white college graduate can expect to earn only 47 per cent as much as his white counterpart. In the South, where college-trained Negroes have largely been employed as teachers, a relatively

low-paying profession, the non-white college graduate earns less on the average than the white worker with an elementary school education.

But the situation is not much better in the North and the West. There, according to studies by the Bureau of the Census, the non-white college man's lifetime earnings will average \$209,000 or only \$17,000 more than the lifetime earnings of a white worker whose schooling ended with the eighth grade. Is it any wonder that so many of our children become discouraged about their prospects and drop out of school?

However, despite these obstacles and their adverse effects on incentives, Negroes have made considerable economic progress in the last two decades. Substantial gains in income were made during World War II and in the early postwar years, as labor shortages opened up many new job opportunities. The median income of Negro families increased 80 per cent faster than the median income of white families between 1939 and 1952—advancing from 37 per cent of white income to 57 per cent. But Negroes have lost ground steadily since 1952, and the median income of Negro families is currently only 55 per cent of the income of white households.

These adverse income trends, and the relative lack of economic opportunities from which they spring, do not affect the Negro community alone. The economic costs for our economy are high indeed. The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that the under-employment of the Negro labor force—reflecting both racial discrimination and the inability of Negroes to develop and use their inherent talents as fully as do white Americans—costs the country around \$30 billion per year in lost production.

Let us ponder for a moment the implications of this loss. It is equal to about 5 per cent of our total gross national product which is currently running at an annual rate of \$588.5 billion. It is equivalent to closing down the entire economy for 2½ weeks while everybody took a vacation without pay!

But ultimately, this burden does fall most heavily on the Negro community. The Census Bureau estimates that in 1962 the personal income of the Negro community was about \$22 billion. On the basis of the Council of Economic Advisers' estimate of the loss in national output due to racial discrimination, I have calculated that the personal income of Negroes would rise by from \$13 billion to \$17 billion—if such discrimination were eradicated and Negroes could contribute to the economy on the basis of their full potential. Such an improvement could raise the income of the Negro community by almost 80 per cent.

This means that Negro families would have almost twice as much to spend as they now have if the nation's seven million non-white workers earned the same median income as the white working force. Translate this into consumer demand—into the new houses, new

appliances, new clothes, these also would be able to buy with this also into the new jobs required to supply these additional needs.

Clearly it is high time we ended this senseless waste of the nation's human resources.

But to stop it will require something more than talk!

In the first place we—as a nation—must recognize and accept the achievement of equal opportunity as a matter of conscience—as an urgent matter requiring a moral as well as practical commitment. Having done this, we must then act with vigor to translate this concern into an active program. In this mission, there are challenges enough for all of us—for the Government, for business, and above all, for the Negro community itself.

As far as the Federal Government is concerned, numerous steps have already been taken to further equal opportunity. While much remains to be done, such progress has already been made. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity—in its two and three-quarter years of existence—has gone far to open new and more responsible jobs to Negroes and other minorities employed in the Federal Services. For example, in one year the number of Negroes in middle level government jobs (paying \$4500 to \$9500) climber by 20 per cent—although the total number in this category rose by 6 per cent. Simultaneously, the number of Negroes in top bracket jobs (\$9500 to \$20,000) increased by well over one-third, while the total employment in this group expanded by only one-tenth. Moreover, the Federal contracting agencies have launched a full scale review of their contracts with private companies to insure that these companies are complying with the Government's equal opportunity mandate.

Through the Plans for Progress Program—established in cooperation with the President's Committee—on equal opportunity pledges are being extended on a voluntary basis to many companies without Government contracts—and thus free of the necessity to comply with equal opportunity requirements. An indication of the voluntary progress being made is given in a report by 80 companies covering the last half of 1962. In these firms non-white obtain 11,931 new positions, representing one-fifth of the net expansion in the companies' salaried and hourly-rated employees. Without the efforts of Plans for Progress, Negroes would have been expected to fill less than 3 per cent of these positions.

In a broader context, enactment of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill (especially the proposal to create a Fair Employment Practices Committee) would greatly contribute to the expansion of equal opportunity. This measure is clearly desirable and is clearly necessary.

But, in a still more general context, a necessary condition for really meaningful fair employment is the achievement of full employment. By no means am I suggesting that we must postpone the

drive for equal opportunity until we have actually attained the full utilization of the nation's manpower and productive facilities. Rather, I am emphasizing that a policy of fair employment has little chance of being translated vigorously into practice in a slack economy. For this reason, the strongest support for fair employment and equal opportunity rests with the early enactment of the Administration's \$11 billion tax reduction program. It is anticipated that this tax cut, of which 80 per cent will go to consumers, will add an additional \$30 billion to the gross national product at an annual rate. Thus, the over-all pace of economic growth will be quickened and the level of unemployment will decrease. During the 2½ years following the tax cut, it is expected that an additional two to three million jobs will be created. It is evident that Negroes and other non-whites would share substantially in the gains from a higher level of prosperity.

In the drive for equal opportunity in America, the Negro community itself has a major role to play. I am glad to observe that the National Urban League and its local affiliates are fully aware of the challenge. Through the National Skills Bank and other programs, the League is already arming itself to make a renewed effort in the enormous task of community reconstruction and economic development.

In fact, the task of social and economic development facing the Negro community is not all unlike that confronting many of the less-developed countries of the world. With only a little imagination, we can see that the analogy is close. We are a community of over 19 million people with a basic literacy rate exceeding 90 per cent. We have a moderate number of skilled workers scattered among a preponderance of unskilled and agricultural laborers. We have an emerging middle class supported by a fair proportion of physicians, dentists, lawyers, businessmen, school teachers, and other civil servants. While we are definitely a part of the larger American cultural scene, we have added a distinctive flavor all our own. Yet, we are a poor community. Our employment rate is at depression levels. Our relief roles are embarrassingly heavy. A considerable percentage of our basic literates are actually illiterate in functional terms. Our median family income is just over half the median income of the white community and one-sixth of our housing is substandard. Our children drop out of school at an alarming rate and far too many of our young people are victimized by a high degree of hard-core family poverty. And, what is most tragic of all, our social ills are increasing at an accelerating pace.

Clearly then, the situation of our community is unfortunately far too close to that of many less-developed countries overseas. But, we must not overdraw this analogy. While some of us (during periods of frustration over our plight) might speculate about the

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## A REALISTIC LOOK AT THE NEGRO

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high priority we would undoubtedly receive in the dispensation of foreign aid—if we were cast away on an island in a separate nation—we are not a community apart from the rest of America. We are a part of it. As part of the total community, it is here that we must find the instruments to improve our own situation.

Above all we must recognize that while we are caught up in the historic movement known as the Civil Rights Revolution, another equally historic revolution is also changing drastically the conditions under which we and our children live. This is the Computer Revolution and the techniques of automation springing from it. All of us have heard of the gigantic strides in science and technology as reflected in the mastery of missiles and satellites by remote controls. But how many of us also know that a similar technology—of which extremely sophisticated electronic computers are at the center—is quietly revolutionizing the techniques of industrial production in this country. In automobile factories, steel mills and similar plants, machines are increasingly controlling other machines which only a few years ago obeyed the commands of men.

These innovations are being introduced at a particularly rapid pace in industrial processes which in the past depended heavily on manpower requiring little skill.

For us the implications are obvious. It is in these semi-skilled jobs that much of Negro employment has been concentrated. In a good number of our larger cities, especially those dependent on basic industries in which automation is being increasingly introduced, unemployment among Negro men frequently exceeds one-third of the labor force. The lesson is clear: we must make every effort to obtain access to retraining program and to participate in them. Only by acquiring skills which are saleable in the newly emerging labor market, can we hope to benefit from—rather than continue to suffer from—the rising tide of technological change.

One of the most serious obstacles to be faced is the question of incentives. Because Negroes have in fact suffered from a lack of equal opportunity, our children typically do not have the motivation to strive for self-improvement. Every effort must be made to revise their generally low expectations. In pursuing this objective, the Negro middle class must take the lead. Moreover, Negro businessmen (many of whom are already playing a significant part in the Civil Rights movement) have a special responsibility to assist in the drive to raise the level of aspirations among Negro youth. Just as the schools, churches and other community organizations for the most part have committed themselves to the task the business community must also be prepared to participate more vigorously in the cause for economic and social development of the Negro community.

In attempting to raise aspirations, it is necessary to convince our youth, especially those fortunate enough to have middle class parents, that many of the new professions are not only respectable but also offer promising careers. As we know, only a few professions—Medicine, Dentistry, Law, the Ministry and School Teaching—have traditionally attracted our young people. Even today, these five fields account for almost half of all non-white persons in professional occupations compared with just one-third of professional employment in the economy as a whole. But, it is in the new fields (such as engineering, the

physical sciences, economics, statistics and business administration) that the vast majority of new professional opportunities will be found in the future. Since preparation for virtually all of these fields requires an early start as well as a long commitment, our students must be encouraged to make the extra effort.

Above all, the achievement of equal opportunity must rest on the firm support of top management in our cooperation. Already a large number of businesses have undertaken vigorous programs to expand job opportunities for all of their employees. Among other things, they are re-examining their personnel policies to remove those features which may inadvertently discriminate against Negroes and other minority group members. This is especially true of many of the standard aptitude and intelligence tests which are frequently unsuited to measure the potential of Negro applicants. Because these tests are formulated, pre-tested and standardized for the use of white job applicants, they far too frequently eliminate Negro job seekers—not because the latter are unsuited for the job, but because they lack the cultural background which plays such an important part in successful performance as measured by the tests. In many cases, such tests are not required for the selection of persons to do particular jobs. Instead, they serve mainly as a screening instrument to reduce the number of applicants with which the personnel people must deal. I think we can all agree that where tests are used, they should be germane to the job at hand and designated to test the abilities of applicants for the jobs which exist.

The fact that a firm commitment by the principal officers of a business to equal opportunity can bring results is illustrated with striking effect in one of our electronics companies. At a meeting of more than 300 of the companies' top engineers, the Chairman of the Board surveyed the group and remarked: "I am surprised to see no Negroes present."

That one remark was enough. At the next meeting of the companies' engineers, the Chairman saw three Negroes among them.

In addition to a vigorous program within individual companies, businessmen can do much to advance equal opportunity through their trade associations. For example, in Philadelphia, after more than a year of planning, the Chamber of Commerce embarked on a large-scale undertaking, directed at achieving fair employment for Greater Philadelphia. Top business and industrial leaders have mobilized for a massive assault on the area's serious unemployment problem. A majority of Philadelphia's 118,000 unemployed are Negroes, and an extremely high percentage of this idle force is unskilled.

The overall program includes a multi-million dollar training program—already underway. Training is undertaken only after the specific demand for workers by cooperating employers has been carefully studied. Thus, training is directed to definite job opportunities—rather than to a generalized labor market which may not require the skills once a worker has obtained them.

The Economic Leadership Group, as this group is known, has organized itself into four Task Forces: Communications, Training, Employment and Research. They work closely with various city and state agencies, the U. S. Department of Labor, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This is in every way a joint effort of industry, government, Negro and other community leaders, and organized labor.

Another case comes from Kansas City, Missouri. The Kansas City

## Sunday School News

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to recruit others, it has grown to be a great working force, bent on serving the Master.

In our Sunday School we are trying to develop our spiritual life as well as trying to learn how to live together in peace and harmony. Through studying well organized views of how God really wants us to be.

The majority of the Sunday School is composed of freshmen. However, we still need the attendance of other members. We would upperclassmen and to other freshmen.

Sunday School is held each Sunday morning from 9:00-10:00 A.M. in the chapel. Please come and help us. We need your co-operation.

Estella Hammock-Secretary  
Christine Boddie-Reporter  
Maxie Hemmans-Superintendent

Chamber of Commerce, in cooperation with the city's Commission on Equal Rights, has undertaken a massive program to provide equal employment opportunities. The program encompasses manufacturing and other business concerns and workers in the entire Kansas City area.

As the initial step, participating businessmen are asked for unqualified endorsement of the principle of equal employment opportunity. The details of the program include surveying of job opportunities, location of personnel, training of Negro workers, and educating employer and employee groups in the techniques and benefits of economic equality.

Many of the companies participating in today's Equal Opportunity celebrations around the country have already made significant contributions to equal opportunity by recruiting, upgrading and retraining Negro workers. At the same time, however, we in the Commerce Department are aware of the fact that many other companies would like to undertake similar programs. Yet, we understand that many of the companies which are anxious to move ahead find it difficult to obtain the guidance required to launch a meaningful program of fair employment.

For this reason, I am delighted to report to this gathering that the Secretary of Commerce has announced in New York tonight that the Commerce Department plans to call a National Conference on Negro Manpower in Business. The conference will be held in Washington late next spring. It will assemble outstanding businessmen, Negro and white community leaders, and representatives of our educational institutions for a full discussion of the problems and opportunities for Negroes in American business.

In calling a conference, the Department hopes to highlight the widening horizons of job opportunities for Negroes not only in the lower occupational categories but at all stages of business and aim is to help business identify Negroes who have already prepared themselves for careers in business, and we hope it will serve as a signal for Negro students to prepare themselves to compete for the new jobs which are now emerging. Moreover, it is hoped that institutions of higher education—especially the business schools in predominantly Negro colleges—will be induced to revise their curricula to provide the necessary courses. Finally, we hope the conference will give a significant boost to the motivation of Negro youth and will demonstrate to them that new opportunities do exist and are open to those who are fully prepared.

In the Commerce Department we are looking forward to this conference. We have no doubts that it will be a significant con-



# Esquire's CLUB & CAMPUS FASHIONS

A well planned wardrobe is the only real guarantee of a well-dressed appearance. A common mistake made by young men is to buy clothes that attract them without considering how they'll fit in with the clothes they already own. "Wardrobe buying" doesn't mean bankrupting yourself buying matched sets of everything at once, but the suits, shirts, ties, shoes and hats you buy this Fall must coordinate and complement each other. Let's take a look at your new wardrobe for Fall.

## NATURAL SHOULDER, NATURALLY—

The natural shoulder silhouette remains the outstanding fashion favorite among young men this Fall, cut on straight-hanging lines, with center-vented jackets, flapped pockets and narrow, medium length lapels. Generally they'll be seen in three button models, but the influence of vigorous New Frontier styling has occasioned some trend toward two button jackets. Trousers are tapered and pleat-less.

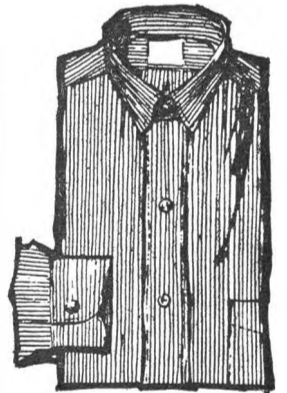


## THE RISING HAIRLINE... isn't a personal grooming problem you have to face yet, but an indication of the big rise in popularity for hairline stripings in young men's suits this Fall.

You'll see them against every color background, but particularly gray. Gray, seen in a wide range of tones from light chalky grays to dark combinations with blue, black and olive, is the fashion-first color in natural shoulder tailored apparel this Fall. Of course, the blue suit is always with us, and a good bet for your basic dress-up suit is a dark blue or blue-gray worsted. And, in both blues and grays, fashion excitement for Fall is generated by large muted glen plaids. Blues, grays and olives all get together in new olive and olive-blue casts in all-wool, worsted and polyester blended fibers.

## SEMI-DRESS STRIPES... describes the wide range of big wide stripes in dress shirts this Fall.

These stripes, for high-interest contrast with your solid color suits, are bigger and wider than ever, and fit into the semi-dress, less-than-big-date category. Red and white is the front-running favorite, but check out the wide blue and white and olive and white combinations. Definitely dressier are the plain white and solid color oxfords in soft shades to coordinate with the new hairline stripings. Widespread collars won't go with your natural shoulder suit. Choose a medium spread button-down or a snap-tab collar.



## TIEING THE KNOT... on your fashion package doesn't simply end with matching neckwear colors to your suit.

Not only color, but pattern must be balanced with your suit and shirt. Natural shoulder styling calls for regimental neckwear, and regimental stripes are getting bolder and bigger to match new wide stripings on shirts. For a change of pace, and still in step with your natural shoulder suits, take a look at the muted dark tones in new printed figures on silk foulard or wool challis ties.

## FROM THE GROUND UP... is the way to build anything, including a well-dressed appearance.

To coordinate with all your naturally tailored apparel, your basic shoe wardrobe should include a pair of dark red-brown cordovans or cordovan color calfskin laced-fronts, and a pair of black slip-ons or laced-front models in either plain toe or moccasin design. Stick to plain ribbed socks in matching and coordinating colors.

## TOPPING IT OFF... is best done with a hat, not with a wild thatch of wind-blown hair.

You'll complete the slim, natural look of your wardrobe with a narrow, snap-brim hat, underscored slightly by a tapered crown. And you'll find both raw edged brims and welt edges on the newest headwear. Both gray-brown and olive with black bands will coordinate with your new gray or olive natural shoulder suit.

## OUTERWEAR, FORMAL WEAR, SKI WEAR... and much more

... are all coming up in the months ahead. Outerwear next time. See you then.

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ference and will demonstrate the commitment of the Commerce Department to equal opportunity. I sincerely hope many of you can attend. Thank you again for letting me visit with you. My best wishes to all of you.