The New Administration has the opportunity to be the first in 100 years of American history to adopt a radically new approach to the question of Civil Rights. It must begin, however, with the firmly-entrenched notion that the question is settled. The day is past for tolerating vicious and inhuman opposition on a subject which determines the lives of 200,000,000 Americans. We are not still discussing the wisdom of democracy over monarchism and we should not permit hoodlum royalists to terrorize or dominate streets of our major cities or their legislative halls. We must decide that in a new era, there must be new thinking. If we fail to make this vital decision, an awakening world will conclude that we have become a fossil nation, morally and politically, and no floods of refrigerators and automobiles or color television sets will rejuvenate our image.

The second element in a new approach is the recognition by the Federal Government that Federal power is enormous and
ample sufficient to guide us through the changes ahead. If we would search for the key problem in the intolerably slow progress in civil rights, we will find that the self-imposed limits in the case of bold creatives, Federal action constitutes barriers as difficult as those erected by the opposition.

If we examine the sum total of all judicial, executive, and legislative facts of the past three decades and balance them against the sum needed to achieve fundamental change, two startling conclusions are inescapable. The first is the hopeless inadequacy of measures adopted—pitifully insufficient in scope and limited in conception. The second conclusion is even more disturbing. Federal action in a positive direction is diluted, diminished, and in many instances cancelled out by Federal action in a negative direction. The federal power is viewed as a whole—self-multifying. In 1954 the judiciary declared
school segregation to be unconstitutional. Yet, executive agencies and vest legislative programs have given millions of dollars year after year to educational institutions which completely disregard the Supreme Court decision. Further, the Federal Government collects taxes from all citizens, black and white, which it is constitutionally obligated to use for the benefit of all. Yet, billions of dollars of Federal funds have supported housing projects, hospitals, and airport construction, in which discrimination is an open and notorious practice. Print firms in which Negroes are either totally excluded from the work force or placed in discriminatory status receive billions of dollars. Finally, in government contracts the Federal Government conducts elections and elects representatives in its legislative chamber in disregard of the fact that millions of Negro citizens have votes. The Federal Government directly employs millions in its various agencies and departments. Yet, its employment practices, especially in Southern states, are wide
with discrimination. These illustrations can be multiplied many fold.

The shocking fact is that while the Government moves sluggishly to realize equal rights for all citizens in patchwork fashion, in the daily conduct of its massive economic and social activities, it participates directly and indirectly in the denial of equal opportunities. We must face the simple fact that the Federal government is the nation's highest hierarchical in segregation.

Therefore, a primary goal of a well-meaning Administration should be a thorough examination of its own operations and the development of a rigorous program immediately to wipe out every vestige of Federally supported and sponsored discrimination. Such a program would not only serve the purpose of centrally attacking the public with the ability to produce results, but its implementation would serve collaterally to educate and influence the whole American populace and effectively penetrate
The deep south of massive resistance. It would also be the first step in the unfolding of federal leadership to guide the entire nation into its new democratic goals.

There is impressive precedent in recent history for massive governmental mobilization to create new conditions. As a consequence of economic crisis in the early thirties, the Federal Government, under the leadership of President Kennedy's party, undertook to change fundamental economic relationships. Every person in the nation was affected. In a bewildering, brief period wages were regulated at court levels, unemployment insurance created, relief agencies set up, public works planned and executed. Regulatory legislation covering banking, the stock market, the money market was immediately enacted. Laws prohibiting trade union organizations were brought into being and administrative agencies interpreted and enforced the law were created. Along with other assault on all fronts against the depression went an educational campaign to
facilitate the change in public psychology requisite to such formidable alterations in old thought patterns. The nation which five years earlier viewed Federal intervention on any level as collectivism or socialism now amazedly and swiftly transitioned, supported the new role of government as appropriate and justified.

These breathtaking fundamental changes took place because leadership emerged which was both determined and bold, and rejected inhibitions imposed by all traditions and taboos. It utilized all agencies and organs of government in a massive drive to change a condition which threatened the very existence of our society.

Viewed in this light, an administration which has a maximum of good will and sincerely desires of eliminating every vestige of discrimination and inequality from American life could accomplish this
sent by mobilizing the immense resources of the organs of government under a far-reaching plan that would penetrate every and every problem needing solution. That are at least three critical areas in which the president can work to bring about an effective solution of the problem.

First, there is the legislative area. Despite recalcitrant Southern opposition, strong leadership by the President would take the offensive with a significant, far-reaching legislative program. With resolve of Presidential leadership, a majority can be assembled to pass meaningful laws. Then would be many seeking to frustrate such a program. But if the weight of the majority party leadership was determined to succeed, it possesses the means to carry the reluctant along on the chanter that end of political careers and privileges for those who will not yield to the majority. The influence, the President can
expert upon Congress when with crusading zeal, the summons of support from the Nation has been demonstrated more than once in the past. An example of an area where a vigorous President can significantly influence Congress is that of voter registration. The Civil Rights Commission revealed that 'many Negro American citizens find it difficult and often impossible to vote.' It went on to assert that these voting denials are accomplished through the creation of legal impediments, administrative obstacles, positive discouragement engendered by fears of economic reprisal and physical threat. Actually decisive President would work passionately and unrelentingly to change these shameful conditions. He would take such a vigorous general proposal as that made by the Civil Rights Commission of 1959 on Federal Registration to ensure the right to vote, and would conduct a campaign "on the hill" and across the Nation until Congress effectively acted. He would also have the concept...
to insist that compliance with the 19th Amendment, a state's representation in Congress be reduced in proportion to the number of citizens denied the right to vote because of race. 

This approach would help us eliminate the defeatist psychology that the alliance of Democrats and Southern reactionaries are an impeneetrable barrier to meaningful legislation. The same alliance existed in even greater strength when legislation was more which altered even deeper patterns in American life.

It is leadership and determination, not ability, which have been missing.

A second area in which the President can make a significant contribution toward the elimination of racial discrimination is that of moral persuasion. The President is the embodiment of the democratic personality of the nation, both domestically and internationally. His own personal conduct influences and
creates. If he were to make it known that the would not participate in any activities in which segregation exists, a clear example is set for adults and children as a simple and clear comprehension of cooperation.

Extending this example to a circumstance of efficient character, but in which the personality of the President is a dominant element in such projects as White House Conferences of Negro and white leaders could be useful. The President could serve the great purpose of opening the channels of communication between the races. Many white southerners who for various reasons would feel uneasy with Negro leaders in their own community, would without hesitation participate in a direct conference called by the President. It is also necessary to mention that there is observably even in the hard core south a small but growing number of white southerners who are风景区 with the old order for a variety of reasons. These people believe firm in their morality as
cwell as the constitutionality of integration. Their still small voices often go unanswered amid the louder shouts of defiance, but they are active in the field. They often face problems of ostracism and isolation as a result of their stand. Their isolation would be lessened if the civil service invites to the White House to participate in a conference on desegregation. No effort to defeat the President's opportunities to use the prestige of this office could be adequate. From fireside chats to appearances at major events, the President is endless. Imaginative situations would develop neatly from beginning with a firm resolve to make the President a weapon for this democratic objective.

But beyond the legislative area and the employment of presidential prestige, a weapon of overwhelming significance is the President's reporting office. The President could give the
system of segregation its most decisive death blow through a stroke of the pen. The power inherent in executive orders which have never been exploited so extensively is the power that its uses in this period have been nothing short of microscopic in scope, antediluvian conception.

Historically, the executive has promulgated orders of unprecedented range and significance. The Emancipation Proclamation was an executive order. The NRA was an executive order. The integration of the Armed Forces grew out of President Truman's executive order 8891. Executive order could require the immediate end to all discrimination in any housing accommodated financed with Federal Aid. Executive orders could prohibit any contractor dealing with any federal agency from practicing discrimination in employment. Any requiring cancellation of existing contracts and for barring violators from bidding and for calling in of government loans of federal funds extended to violators and for requiring renegotiation of payment...
to exact financial penalties when violations appear after performance of a contract. Through these measures an immensely powerful weapon could exist to change employment practices. Indeed, with such effective penalties affirmative action would become self-imposed by those enjoying billions of dollars in contracts with Federal agencies.

An effective order could also bring an immediate end to the discriminatory policies of employment existing in Federal agencies that departments. This secret (that Negroes are almost totally excluded from skilled, clerical, and supervisory jobs in the Federal government) A recent report of the President's Committee on Government Employment stated: "That there is discrimination in Federal employment is unquestionable. I" Despite statistics to the contrary, discrimination in Federal employment continues. A basic fact of the reason for this is that this has come about any sanctions for violations of the government's policy. In a real sense, a President can eliminate discrimination.
in Federal employment, just as it was eliminated in the civil service by setting up a definite staffed committee with authority to punish those who violate government policy from within.

We can easily see how an end to discriminatory practices in federal agencies would change their power in shaping attitudes and behavior patterns. If, for instance, the slow enforcement of the F.B.I. were integrated, those who defy federal law would have reservation and restraints from which they are presently free. If other law enforcement agencies, under the Treasury Department (such as Internal Revenue Service, Bureau of Narcotics, Alcohol Tax Unit, Secret Service and Customs) and adequate number of field agents, investigators and administrators into these agencies, there would be a greater respect for them as well as the assurance that prejudicial behavior in such agencies toward citizens would cease.
Another area in which an excessive and conscious amount of discrimination is that of health and hospitalization. Under the Hill-Burton Act the Federal Government grants funds to the states for the construction of hospitals. Since this program began in 1948 more than $100 million a year have gone to the states in direct aid. The Government also makes grants to the states for medical, maternal and child care service and programs designed to control tuberculosis, venereal and chronic disease. In spite of such a sizable degree of federal support it is a fact that most of the federally financed and approved health and hospitalization programs in the south are operated on a segregated basis. In many of the instances in the southern states it is still essentially relegated to a segregated status in federally supported hospitalization and health service. Yet they are denied access to the services altogether. These abhorrent conditions of discrimination could be eliminated almost overnight by a consistent thrust on justice and equality as a reality.
The could simply order the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare not to approve grants to states whose policies authorize or deny of issuance on the basis of race. This type of sanction would bring some of the most intransigent states in line.

There is hardly any area in which pernicious leadership is needed more than housing. Here the Negro has confronted the most tragic expression of discrimination. He has been consigned to ghettos and overcrowded conditions. The North is as guilty of the perpetration of this brand of discrimination as the South.

Unfortunately, the Federal Government has participated directly and indirectly in the perpetration of discrimination. Whether the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the Public Housing Administration (PHA), Urban Renewal Administration (URA), or the Veterans Administration Program, the Federal government makes possible most of the building programs in the United States. Since its creation the FHA alone has insured
more than 33 billion dollars worth of
mortgages involving millions of homes. Recent
figures indicate that more than 2 million
people live in slums in 44 states. As a result
of FHA programs more than 2 million people
purchased homes in more than 2,000 low-cost
housing projects in 44 states and the District
of Columbia. The FHA, which was established
in 1934 to help cities eliminate slums and
slum-like areas, has approved projects in
more than 377 localities. The GI Bill of
Rights authorizes the Veterans Administra-
tion to make loans outright to veterans for the
construction of homes. This program has de-
cidedly intensified that since the war years
in which 30 per cent of all new

While most of those housing programs
anti-discrimination efforts have
done little to end segregation housing. It
was a shame that FHA continues
to finance private developers who
openly proclaim that none of their
Homes will be sold to Negroes. The Urban Renewal program, in some instances, would to initiate and accelerate the displacement of neighborhoods. Since a large percentage of the people to be relocated are Negroes, they are more than likely relocated in segregated areas.

A President seriously concerned about the problem sent direct to the Housing Administration to require all participants in federal housing programs to agree to a policy of "open occupancy." Such a policy would not conflict with making it mandatory for all fields to be open to competitive, open participation in future federally sponsored housing programs. 

A provision in each contract giving the government the right to demand the complete mortgage debt due and payable upon breach of the agreement.

There are more illustrations of acts possible of multiplication in many other fields.
Beyond this, effective policy reshaping practices and programs of agencies could stimulate other areas affecting millions. The Department of Health, Welfare, and Education could be directed to coordinate its resources to give aid in those areas where assistance might change local attitudes. The Department could give valuable assistance to local school boards without any additional legislative enactments.

The Department of Agriculture, which undoubtedly considers civil rights issues as totally remote from its purview, can painstakingly examine its operations and tactics without additional legislative powers. This department can be of tremendous assistance to Negro farmers who are denied credit simply because of their race or failure to exercise their citizenship rights. To wipe out discrimination would be to transform the lives of hundreds of thousands of Negroes on the land. Beyond this, the Department, zealously implementing democratic ideals, might become a source...
of security and help it's struggling farmers. Rather than a symbol of charity and discrimination on the Federal level.

The Justice Department imbued with a spirit of genuine justice, has vast potential in the employment of powerful court orders with irresistible forces of Federal Marshals would secure and Aesthetic law’s elements now operating with unappeasable licence. It should be remembered that in early American history it was the Federal Marshall who restored law in frontier communities where local authority broke down.

Executive power, operating through the Attorney General, in the opinion of many authorities permits many effective activity without new legislation in the field of school desegregation. There are existing laws under which the Attorney General could go into court and bend force in the current school struggles. Discrete atrophy is not only a
medical phenomenon but has its counterpart in social and political life. The long years of ignoring this area of law and its parallel development have led to a paralysis in which nothing is done; nothing is studied though new situations arise constantly where reasonably effective laws can be utilized.

Space will not permit a spelling out of all the measures by each Federal agency or organ whose contributions to a solution of our problems could be effective. This is the task of a master plan. Nor is it necessary to detail a legislative program. For much we inherit the powers inherent in the judiciary, as yet unused. Justices J., Shelley, Wright, and Booth in Louisiana and Booth and W.T. Booth in Louisiana and Georgia, respectively, have given examples of the ability of a single Federal District Judge to strike down a multitude of divers and contrivance legislation and hold the objective was evasion of Constitutional obligations.

The purpose of this review is to emphasize that a recognition
of the potential of Federal power as a primary necessity. With it, obviously, must be another indispensable factor - the recognition of Natural Moral Obligations.

A recent visit to India revealed the vast opportunities open to a Government determined to end discrimination. When it confronted the problem of centuries-old discrimination against the "untouchable," India began its thinking at a point that we have not yet reached. It explored its moral responsibility and concluded that its respect alone for the immense injustice imposed upon the untouchables, it therefore made provision not alone for explicit but for special treatment to enable victims of discrimination to close the gap from backwardness to competence with specific help. Millions of rupees are set aside each year for this expressed purpose of providing special scholarships, financial grants, and special stipends for
employment opportunities for the untouchables. If someone argues that this is a new form of discrimination inflicted upon the majority population, the people respond by saying that this is their way of life, the injustice and indignity cheaper upon their 70 million untouchable brothers. Although discrimination has not yet been eliminated in India, either is an atmosphere sharply different from that in our country.

It is a crime punishable by imprisonment to practice discrimination against an untouchable. But even without this provision so successfully how the government made the issue a matter of moral and ethical responsibility that our government figures a political leader or any level should dare defend discriminatory practices.

We are unfortunately far from this level as a day's living in the south or the reading of a daily newspaper would tell you.
should appoint a Secretary of Education. This officer should be of the highest qualifications, free from partisan political obligations, and imbued with the conviction that a government of the most powerful nation on earth cannot lack the capacity to accomplish a rapid and complete solution to the problem of racial equality.

The above-mentioned proposals are related to action that the administration can take to remove the ugly and burdensome concept of discrimination from the nation's shoulders. It must be emphasized, however, that it is not enough to wait for the federal government to act. An administration of good faith can be strengthened immeasurably by the determined action of the people themselves. This is the great value of the non-violent direct action movement that has enquired the South. On the one hand, it gives large numbers of people a method
of securing moral ends through moral means. On the other hand it gives support and stimulation to all other agencies which have the power to bring about meaningful change. Thousands of courageous students, critics, non-violently and peacefully at lunch fountains can do more to arouse the administration to positive action than all of the verbal and written expressions on governmental clarity.

When our government determines to ally itself with its citizens who are crusading for their freedom within our borders and blend the might of its resources creatively and unhesitatingly to the strength of its concept, the twilight of discrimination will begin rapidly to fade.

History thrust upon the present administration an indescribably important destiny - to complete a process of democratization which our nation has only been developing. A single fact, which is four most powerful weapons for world respect and
demulation. How we deal with this crucial problem of racial discrimination will determine moral health as individuals, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world. I can think of few things sufficiently strong to underlie the new administration other than those in the final sentence of the report of the President's Commission on civil rights of 1946. Although fifty years have passed, the remarkable gains that have been made under the leadership of the new administration and the steady progress of the country's advance in the world of human and racial progress testify to the returns of the road. Give the country a chance; I'm sure it will do more to improve the world than the day. And nearly fifteen years have passed, but the remarkable and chequering progress of the United States in millions of oppressed peoples in other lands, giving the world for more courage, fighting than the day, they ever written. "The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal isn't so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record."