

Q: I'll read you another quotation, related.
"If Negroes are to claim the past, that is rightfully theirs they will have to assume the risk that go with ~~ixy~~ the past. Acquisition of a past is necessary, but also perilous, for it means an end to innocence. Just as the Negro past shows beauty and grandeur, so it also shows human meanness, cruelty and injustice. The Europeans after all, didnot invent the slave trade. They stimulated a commerce that ~~Africans~~Africans had carried on from time immemorial." and so on. Now you find occasionally this, say Lomax, one of Lomax's books, when the white man went to Africa, to seize the slaves, he tells part of history, but not all of it.

HASTIE: Yes, your tribe, part of the economy of tribal war, was to seize the adversary, the vanquished adversary and sell them into slavery unquestionably.

Q: But the whole picture, do you recognize ~~or~~ this problem of a risk of the past in a new self-consciousness of Negroes, of their history, sometimes, ~~axx~~ they may recognize the risk.

HASTIE: Perhaps I don't recognize it as much as I should. Because in my limited capacity of perspective, I think we are so far short of developing a really great ~~ixx~~ pride of African ancestry, also I think that since during the generations of slavery, say really a century roughly of major slavery, the slaves were torn away from that tradition and tradition is not something one builds with a few textbooks and books. I don't see now, a great danger of the Negro developing an arrogance of race. I think the likelihood is that he develops a will be assimilated in American ~~xxx~~ culture, as

distinguished from an arrogance as African. And if I am right about that, while the possibility is there, I don't ~~xxx~~ believe the danger is a very great one.

Q; Outside of the Black Muslims, of course, that's small group.

HASTIE: Oh yes.

Q: You raise a question the, that is very important, to some Negroes, at least some tell me this is important to them, the question of ~~fracture~~ ^{tension split}, a ~~split~~ in the psyche, which Dubois wrote about quite often -- between the pull toward, you know, what is now the African mystique, or Negritude, or, even the Negro tradition in America, as distinguished from Western European culture, the Christian, the Judeo-Christian tradition, or Americanism -- a real split, which was for some, like Dubois, was a real problem, a fundamental problem, which he never resolved until the very end, I was told. And for some people, as some people now say, this is a real ~~xxx~~ problem, I'm torn. There is the risk of losing my identity in the white race, the white culture, or my grandchildren losing their identity in the white race, in the white culture. Is this significant to you, may I ask? Do you feel it's an issue?

HASTIE: I think it's an issue, perhaps I see it in somewhat different perspective.

Q: Well, please please tell me about that.

hastie; I see this building up of a pride in blackness,

a special pride in African tradition , as filling a vacuum created by a sense of denial of a sharing in the pride of contemporary America, in the history of our own country. And I have a feeling that as Negroes increasingly have an opportunity to really feel that they are a part of America, and the American tradition, that their preference will be to that source of pride, and identification, and I think you can test that with the increasing group of young Negroes now, who are having first educational opportunities, then economic opportunities, outside of the Negro community itself, who take a pride in their American identification, but without any sense of shame, because of their racial identification.

Now, I realize that there are all too many who still don't have ~~and~~ that opportunity, and this special pride in race, and in racial background and tradition perhaps for a long time, will be an essential thing to the building of the ego. But I believe it will be a decreasing rather than an increasing thing, if we look 50 years ahead.

Q: There's some tendency, among various , you might say, types of Negroes, as far as I can make out, I am told, to resent the ~~hell-~~ shall we say, Negro success, that is, the Negro who makes a professional or business or intellectual success, and and is ~~not~~ not officially committed to some program of militant development of Negro position. The most recent instance of this, is the attack on Ralph Ellison because he has kept on ~~being~~ just being a novelist, though ~~is heve--~~ his novels are certainly clear enough, in terms of his attitude, his novels, not the story, ~~apart~~ apart from , you know. Well, you see what I ~~mean~~ mean, this, ~~separate-from-resentment~~

HASTIE: I see what you mean, yes.

Q: RESENTment from the uneducated and the poor, and the deprived, on up through people who have elected to be officially Negro militants. This is not enough to make it personal, I mean, a person like you is outside of that, or a person like a Negro scientist or Negro doctor or Ralph Ellison, who stand outside of official organizations & devoted to Negro advancement. This special kind of leadership from the outside, from the periphery, from personal achievement, which is repudiated by a certain Negroes quite violently. You no doubt have encountered ~~such~~ in certain ways. How much of a problem is this, do you think this has real significance, or just ordinary little human _____ .

HASTIE: I have several comments. First of all, it's not peculiar to the Negro. They, there is resentment in the over-all society and I think properly so, directed toward the individual who has been personally successful in an economic way, and does not have an active ~~active~~ concern for the problems of the disadvantaged. So, in that aspect, I think it's a very, it's an inevitable and resentment that I sympathize with. That Negroes who are disadvantaged, resent Negroes as well as perhaps more than, whites, who have achieved personal advantage, and are not willing to devote of their time and effort and substance, to helping their disadvantaged brothers. Now, in that aspect I think it's there, it's inevitable, and I certainly don't ~~criticize--criticize--~~ criticize it. Now, on the other hand, whether we are dealing with Negroes, or whites,--whites, or any groups, there inevitably is a certain amount of ~~human-jeal~~ human jealousy, of success. And human jealousy is reflected in overt resentments of various sorts. The, so both of those aspects, I think, are real and important.

and important.

Q: The question of betrayal is a little bit different again. The person betrays his obligation to fight for, you know.

HASTIE: Yes. Well, there, more in the past than today, there certainly have been and still are some Negroes, who use their positions of some eminence or success, to persuade their brethren to be patient, to recognize that in God's good time wrongs will be righted, and so on. Some Negro during the days before the abolition of slavery, I think, came out with the expression "Be still and kiss the rod," -- that sort of advice. So that has always been resented, always will be, and I think, always should be resented, and of course, in some cases, it's sheer selfish personal advantage of people who feel that they can improve their own position, in the society or the economic ~~community~~ community by indicating to whites that they can exercise an effective restraining influence upon other Negroes. But the interesting change in the Negro community, in the ~~last-20---~~ last 20 years, certainly, is that very few Negroes, feel that they can effectively maintain that posture, because they become so quickly and outspokenly disavowed by Negroes generally, that they are no longer recognized in the white community as being effective, in some measure of control over the ~~the~~ Negro community.

Q: Can't deliver the vote any more.

HASTIE: ~~Yes~~ No, so you find the most conservative Negroes today, taking public positions far more ~~more~~ outspoken, than what Negroes considered radical 30 years ago, would take.

Q: Some are forced into and some sincerely accept it.

HASTIE: Correct, correct.

Q: What lies behind a thing like Dawson's trouble in Chicago. He's a politician of long ~~lelongue~~-long success.

HASTIE: I don't know, I'm far removed from the Chicago scene, though at one time I knew something of it. I would just suspect there are numbers of things, there comes a time in any dominant one-man or small group of men-political control, when people including perspective leaders, become restive and want to throw off that control. There's also the effect that the fact that throughout this period of Congressman Dawson's ~~sxxx~~ political dominance in Chicago, many Negroes see aspects of their community life and position getting worse rather than better, so it's, in that sense, a rejection of leadership, which in the broad social view, is seen as having failed.

There is the

~~XXXXXXXX~~ Q: Let me read a little card of questions -- ~~xxxx~~
the danger that the new found militancy, Negroes may become the victims of their own rhetoric. Negro leaders have already shown a tendency to react to labels, rather than substance. ~~xxx~~ Once a proposal is called soft, or moderate, one feels obliged to attack it without regard for the merits of the case. In the fall of 1963 many Negro leaders attacked Kennedy for opposing the "strong" and ~~superint-~~ supporting the "weak" version of the Civil Rights ~~xxx~~ Bill, put before the House Judiciary Committee, yet the strong version was in some ways much weaker, when called strong. For example, it omitted the creation of a Federal registrars to insure Negro voting rights.

And so on.

HASTIE: This tyranny of labels and characterizations that analytically don't mean what they say, is I think, characteristic of all social struggle. It's characteristic of political struggle, if one succeeds in giving a particular label that has a bad connotation to a candidate, that candidate loses votes, even though analytically or and in fact, his position does not deserve that characterization. Therefore--it ~~is~~ becomes a test of the skill of leadership, to avoid as much as possible the adverse labels, and to win the socially attractive label, to its program.

Q: We're back to symbolism again, in that way.

HASTIE: We're back to symbolism again. One of the, to me in the American scene, one of the striking examples of success of that, is the leadership of Puerto Rico, which ~~is~~ has been, the party headed by Governor Munos Marin, which has been in power through 20 years or more, in Puerto Rico, and has managed to maintain the popular ~~image of~~ image of itself, as forward looking uncompromising, while at the same time, carrying forward a statesmanlike program, as contrasted with the program of the minority, for example, which has said -- independence now, and nothing else. There is a ~~big~~ problem of social and political tactics there, that is a very difficult one. And sometimes leadership has been impaled on a slogan and that will ~~continue~~ continue to be a problem.

Q: You know the various interpretations of the phrase -- the debt to the Negro -- this notion that in its most extreme form, it's payment in back wages, now many people take it that way, you see.

For how many hundred years. In other forms, Mr. Whitney Young's notion of a crash program for the underprivileged ~~Tax~~Negro. And the other form of course, is the question of preferential treatments, in various ways.

Now how can we distinguish any level of this notion of the ~~tax~~ debt to the Negro, from the debt ~~tax~~ society owes to any underprivileged person, who is also underprivileged, say in the Harlans of Kentucky, now, in the coal, the dead coal country of West Virginia. How do we, can we distinguish, this one kind of debt from the other and if so ...

HASTIE: Well, logically, I think we can't. We cannot make, or analytically make such a distinction. The Negro is perhaps the largest identifiable national group as to which this concept is conveniently applied. Also, this debt concept relates to 100 years of slavery, which in a sense, is a, is in the public mind, a special kind of debt, because it ~~realtes~~--relates the most ~~great~~ grievous sort of deprivation. I think basically, again, here is something that is a useful symbol, in social struggle. But as a real justification for a particular program, I would certainly concede that there is the same justification for a program of assisting any and all of the underprivileged in our society.

Q: Some people go so far to ~~say---nothing---~~see nothing but danger in a preferential program, for Negroes ~~is ignored~~ if it ignores the needs of other poor and underprivileged.

HASTIE: Well, danger, I'm not sure

Q: In building up resistance.

HASTIE: OH, in building up resistance in the white community.

Q: Particularly among the poor underprivileged whites.

HASTIE: Yes, yes, well, there certainly, let's take preferential hiring. That particular thing. There certainly is a grave danger,---danger, in preferential hiring, in a static or contracting economy. I doubt whether there is a grave danger in any economy that's ~~exp~~-----expanding as rapidly as ours is, and hopefully is going to be, say, in the next decade. The , if our total unemployed labor force employable unemployed labor force, is say, substantially under 5%, while the underemployment of Negroes is very much higher, I don't believe the social impact of preferential employment for Negroes, on the white impact community ~~is-gain~~---as a whole, is going to be serious. Now, I'm not speaking of the morality of it now, or of the justification, but I'm talking about how people will react to to it. And in that respect, of course, I must agree with those who feel that the expanding national economy, the rapidly expanding national economy, is a fundamental thing, in any program of improving the economy of the Negro within our national Order.

Q: Quota and preferential treatment are quite different, though, in the application even in a contracting economy, or a stagnant economy aren't they? You can justify quota approach, but you can't justify preferential, is that right?

HASTIE: Well, I'm not sure that the two are different except in degree.

Q: They're different in degree because we...

HASTIE: A quota ~~x~~ is preferential, but it's limited preference.

Q: It's preferential only if the Negro is not as well equipped for the job, though, isn't it?

HASTIE: Right.

Q: If he's well equipped ,

HASTIE: The unspoken premise, of what I was ~~saying~~ saying, is that for reasons that we need not go into in detail now, for a time at least, you're going to find large numbers of Negro applicants for ~~any~~ employment, that in one way or another, are not as well equipped as some white applicants. Now, you certainly will find numbers of persons in a given situation who are adequately prepared for certain training and employment. And yet within that group some who are not as well prepared as others. Now, whenever you pass over the number one person in the group of those who can adequately do the job, in favor of the No. 2, or the No. 20, whether it's done to achieve quota, or to achieve preferential scheme, it is individually unfair to the No. 1 man. And the ~~number~~ No. 1 man and others are unquestionably going to have resentment of that. But my point was merely that ~~xxx~~, in the expanding economy, that problem is not so acute, if only because there is going to ~~be~~ be opportunity for the best of the people in the group regardless of ~~the~~ race.

Q: Anyway, they'll make it.

HASTIE: Right.

Q: That's a tough question, though, isn't it, tough problem .

HASTIE: Oh, it's a very tough problem, and unquestionably, there is a ~~x~~ bad reaction in the general community, if the impression is abroad that what the Negro wants, is not justice, but opportunity ~~x~~ beyond his merits.

Q: Merits more or less , merely accidental personal merits, based on his misfortunes of the past, even. Aside from the economy, the problem of maintaining or developing an expanding economy, at a ~~reater---~~ greater rate than we now have it, one of the big things is ~~mply---~~ simply program of training, education and training, isn't it, for both ~~xxx~~ the whites and Negroes.

HASTIE: Oh, of course, it is. That, of course, being the result of the kind of economy that we're developing in the second half of the 20th century.

Q: ~~Lew-td---~~ New technology for one thing.

HASTIE: Surely.

Q: But that ~~a~~ gets mislaid in a discussion, very often, doesn't it.

HASTIE: Yes, but I think it is being increasingly realized, in the Negro community, for example, here in Philadelphia, there is a

considerable or a great ~~medium~~, headlines are being attracted by a small but rather ambitious project, sponsored by a large group of Negro ministers and assisted by the Chamber of Commerce and business leaders and so on. For a ~~privately-priv~~---privately ~~developed~~ developed program of training of Negroes for industry who at the present time, lack the skills for the jobs that are available. And while I'm, the size of the program is not such itself to make real impact, it does represent a major emphasis, originating in the Negro community, upon this aspect of the problem.

Q: How well are you acquainted with , what is it called, the Woodlawn Project in Chicago.

HASTIE: I really know it only by name, very limited reading.

Q; Afraid we are winding this up.

end of tape four

Judge Hastie, April 20