

IF LINCOLN AND WASHINGTON WERE ALIVE TODAY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, WHOSE BIRTHDAY IS OBSERVED TOMORROW, WAS THE NATION'S FIRST LEADER IN WAR. AT A TIME WHEN OUR NATION WAS ^{military force,} NOT WELL ORGANIZED, AND WHEN IT COULD GATHER LITTLE TOTAL POWER, ^{Washington} HE LED A BAND OF VOLUNTEERS AGAINST ONE OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWERS. THE SLOGAN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONISTS IN THOSE DAYS WAS, "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION". WE WENT TO WAR BECAUSE ^{our people} OUR CITIZENS REFUSED TO BE GOVERNED BY THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT IN WHICH AMERICANS HAD NO REPRESENTATION. WE REFUSED TO BE THE PASSIVE RECIPIENTS OF DECISIONS RENDERED BY OTHERS WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OUR DESIRES AND NEEDS. IN BRIEF, AMERICANS REFUSED TO BE COLONIALS. WE REFUSED TO BE SECOND CLASS CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

ANY FACTUAL STUDY OF THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE LAST 100 YEARS WOULD HAVE TO SHOW THAT, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE NEGROES HAVE BEEN "COLONIALS" WITHIN AMERICA. THEY HAVE BEEN PASSIVE RECIPIENTS OF DECISIONS RENDERED BY OTHERS WHO, FOR THE MOST PART, DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DESIRES AND NEEDS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. ALTHOUGH THE NEGROES CONSTITUTE 1/18 OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION, THERE IS NO REAL NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN THE LEGISLATURES OF THE STATES OR IN CONGRESS. IN MANY STATES, NEGROES HAVE BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THE ELEMENTARY EVIDENCE ^{voting} OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP. INSTANCES WHERE THE NEGRO HAD TO PASS TESTS WHICH NO WHITE MAN COULD PASS ARE LEGION. SO EXTREME HAS BEEN THE DISCRIMINATION IN THIS REGARD THAT HUMOROUS TALES REFLECTING THE TRAGIC REALITY HAVE CIRCULATED THE COUNTRY. ONE OF THESE STORIES WHICH MAKES THE POINT EMPHATICALLY TELLS THE TALE OF A NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI WHO APPLIED FOR HIS VOTING PRIVILEGE AND WAS TOLD THAT HE HAD TO READ A NEWSPAPER. THE NEGRO WAS QUITE PREPARED FOR THIS TEST, BUT LO AND BEHOLD THE EXAMINER PRESENTED WITH A COPY OF ^{Newspaper} THE JEWISH HIM ~~FORWARDS TO READ~~. THE DISAPPOINTED NEGRO WHO HAD BEEN BONING OVER HIS ENGLISH, STARED AT THE HEBRAIC LETTERING, AND SLOWLY CONFESSED, "I CAN'T READ THE SMALL PRINT, BUT I KNOW WHAT THE HEADLINE SAYS. IT SAYS, 'NEGROES CAN'T VOTE' ". THE BORDER-LINE BETWEEN ^{the} TRAGIC AND THE HUMOROUS IS EVER THIN.

IN THE ^{COURTS} JUDICIARY ALSO, THE NEGRO HAS HAD TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. IN MOST SOUTHERN STATES, IF A NEGRO AND A WHITE MAN ARE PITTED AGAINST EACH OTHER, THE ^{burden of proof is on the} GUILT OF THE NEGRO IS PRESUMED. THE TESTIMONY OF THE NEGRO AS A WITNESS IN COURT, IS SELDOM ACCEPTABLE. ^{He} HE IS NOT CALLED TO JURY DUTY HIMSELF, AND WHEN HE IS TRIED AS A CRIMINAL, NO NEGROES ARE PERMITTED ON THE JURY.

^g ~~APPARENTLY~~ IN THE NORTH, THE NEGRO HAS OSTEMSIBLE POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL FREEDOM, BUT IT IS CLEAR TO ANY OBJECTIVE OBSERVER ^{that the concern is shallow} THAT NORTHERNERS PAY MORE LIP SERVICE TOWARDS THE NEGRO THAN CONCRETE DEEDS. WE AMERICANS HAVE TO FACE THE FACT THAT WE ARE MAINTAINING A COLONIAL PEOPLE IN OUR MIDST. APPARENTLY THE REVOLUTIONARY PHRASE, "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION" APPLIES TO THE WHITE MAN BUT NOT TO THE NEGRO.

*no longer generates the ire of Americans
is no longer used in America*

II. ABRAHAM LINCOLN LED THE NATION IN ITS SECOND MAJOR WAR, A CIVIL WAR. THAT WAR WAS FOUGHT FOR A PRINCIPLE, FREEDOM FOR ALL ~~ALL~~ AMERICANS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE. IN ONE OF HIS FAMOUS ADDRESSES, LINCOLN SAID, "A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CAN ~~NOT LONGER~~ ENDURE" *not long*

IN SPITE OF LINCOLN'S DECLARATION, AND IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT IT HAS BEEN 100 YEARS SINCE THAT DESTRUCTIVE WAR, AMERICA CONTINUES TO BE A DIVIDED HOUSE. WHITES ARE DIVIDED FROM NEGROES WITH RESPECT TO VOCATIONS. THE WHITES ARE THE PROFESSIONALS AND SKILLED WORKERS. THE NEGROES PERFORM THE MENIAL TASKS. WHITES ~~ARE DIVIDED~~ *are divided* FROM NEGROES WITH RESPECT TO EDUCATION. BY AND LARGE, WHITES CAN AFFORD TO GO TO COLLEGE. NEGROES, FOR THE MOST PART, ARE FORCED TO QUIT SCHOOL TO EARN A LIVING, LONG BEFORE THEY COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL. WHITES ARE DIVIDED FROM NEGROES RESIDENTIALLY. EVEN WHEN A NEGRO CONQUERS ALL THE OBSTACLES AGAINST HIM AND MANAGES TO GO TO COLLEGE, AND MANAGES TO ~~PUT OUT HIS SHINGEE~~ *put out his shingle*, AND MANAGES AGAINST PREJUDICE, TO MAKE A LIVING, WHEN HE TRIES TO MOVE INTO A NEIGHBORHOOD WHERE WHITES LIVE, HE IS TREATED AS A LEPER FROM WHOM HEALTHY PEOPLE HAVE TO FLEE. WHITES ARE DIVIDED FROM NEGROES RELIGIOUSLY. FOR THE MOST PART WHITE PEOPLE DO NOT PERMIT NEGROES TO JOIN THEIR CHURCHES. EVEN WHEN WHITE MEN PROCLAIM THAT GOD DEMANDS THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN, THEY DON'T SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPLICATIONS. *Finally* IT IS CLEAR THAT WHITE MEN ARE DIVIDED FROM BLACK MEN SOCIALLY. NOT ONLY IN PRIVATE HOMES, BUT IN RESTAURANTS, HOTELS, AND EVEN IN REST ROOMS, WHITE MEN ARE DIVIDED FROM BLACK. FINALLY, THE TWO RACES ARE DIVIDED BY A GULF OF PREJUDICE AND MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH HAS THE FORCE OF RELIGIOUS LEGEND, AND THE ENDURING WEIGHT OF A BIG LIE. IF LINCOLN'S PROPHECY IS TRUE, AMERICA IS DOOMED BY THIS DIVISION [?] WITHIN ITS OWN HOUSE.

THIS ~~WEEK~~ ^{is} WEEK IS CALLED BROTHERHOOD WEEK BECAUSE IT EMBRACES THE BIRTHDAYS OF TWO GREAT AMERICANS, WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN. YET THE MAJOR CAUSES WITH WHICH THESE MEN WERE ASSOCIATED SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE ATTRACTION FOR MEN DURING THIS BROTHERHOOD WEEK. ~~THE~~ *Brotherhood* MEETINGS AND OBSERVANCES HELD AROUND OUR LAND, SEEM TO HAVE LITTLE REAL ~~FORCE AND LITTLE~~ *force* EFFECTIVENESS. IF WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN WERE ALIVE TODAY, I THINK THEY WOULD BE SOMEWHAT APPALLED AT OUR ~~WILLINGNESS~~ *willigness* TO ACCEPT THE RECITATION OF IDEALISTIC PHRASES AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ~~PRACTICAL~~ *practical* ADVANCEMENT *of human rights*.

THE REAL TEST OF A MAN'S IDEALISM COMES WHEN HIS POCKETBOOK IS EFFECTED. IN THIS WEEK OF BROTHERHOOD, IT WOULD BE WELL IF EACH OF US PAUSED AND ASKED HIMSELF, "WHAT WOULD I DO IF A NEGRO MOVED INTO MY BLOCK?" MOST PEOPLE SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT WHEN A NEGRO MOVES INTO A NEIGHBORHOOD, REAL ESTATE VALUES GO DOWN. THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY TRUE. IF ALL THE WHITE PEOPLE WANT TO SELL THEIR HOMES AT ONCE, REAL ESTATE VALUES WILL GO DOWN, BUT NOT BECAUSE THE NEGRO MOVED INTO THE NEIGHBORHOOD. VALUES WILL GO DOWN BECAUSE THE SUPPLY OF HOMES FOR SALE EXCEEDS THE DEMAND. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF ~~MOORE~~ *more* / ~~MOVES~~ *moves* THE PEOPLE DECIDE TO KEEP THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD INTACT, VALUES WILL NOT GO DOWN. THIS FACT HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN THE MOST EXPENSIVE RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES IN NEW YORK WHERE MIDDLE-CLASS NEGROES HAVE MOVED INTO PREVIOUSLY ALL-WHITE COMMUNITIES.

REAL ESTATE VALUES ARE ENDANGERED, HOWEVER, WHEN HOME-OWNERS PANIC, ~~AND~~ SOME GREEDY REAL ESTATE OPERATORS ARE ANXIOUS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE FEARS OF HOME-OWNERS. SUCH OPERATORS, ~~WHICH~~ ^{white} ~~OPERATORS~~ HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO VISIT ~~THESE~~ EACH WHITE HOME-OWNER SEPARATELY AND CONVINCE HIM THAT VALUES ARE GOING PRECIPITOUSLY DOWN. THE RESULT IS THAT THE OPERATOR BUYS UP MANY HOMES AT A CHEAP PRICE, AND SELLS THEM AT AT LEAST THE PREVAILING PRICE HERETOFORE. THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, "DO REAL ESTATE VALUES GO DOWN IF A NEGRO MOVES INTO THE COMMUNITY" IS, "NO, IF THE WHITE PEOPLE WILL STAND FAST".

A SECOND PRACTICAL QUESTION FOR THOSE WHO LIVE IN OUR COMMUNITY IS, "IS EDUCATION IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL DOWN GRADED WHEN A NEGRO CHILDREN ENTER THE CLASS?". THE ANSWER ~~IS~~ DEPENDS ON THE PARTICULAR CHILDREN ENTERING THE CLASS. NEGROES ARE NOT CONGENITALLY INFERIOR TO WHITES. ~~WHICH~~ ^{white} TESTS MADE OF PENSSYLVANIA NEGROES AND ALABAMA WHITES SHOW THAT THE ^{white} NORTHERN NEGRO HAS A HIGHER IQ THAN THE SOUTHERN WHITE. THIS DIFFERENCE IS DUE TO REGIONAL BENEFITS AND NOT TO RACE DIFFERENCES. SOME NEGRO CHILDREN ARE SUPERIOR TO THE AVERAGE WHITE CHILD. SOME NEGRO CHILDREN ARE INEFERIOR IN ~~EDUCATION~~ LEARNING ABILITY TO THE AVERAGE WHITE CHILD. NEGROES HAVE THEIR VARIATIONS IN ABILITY, AS DO WHITES, AND FOR THE SAME REASON.

EXPERIMENTS IN MIAMI WITH THE INFUX OF LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN CHILDREN, SHOW THAT EVEN WITH A LANGUAGE BARRIER, IT IS POSSIBLE TO BRING TWO DIFFERENT CULTURAL GROUPS TOGETHER IN ONE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION AND CLASS. THE NEGRO IS CERTAINLY NOT INFERIOR TO THE CUBAN IN BASIC ABILITY. EXPERIMENTS IN MIAMI SCHOOLS WITH INTEGRATED CLASSES HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY REWARDING. THE EXPERIENCE IN THE NORTH IS THAT NEGRO CHILDREN DO AS WELL AS WHITE CHILDREN FROM THE SAME KIND OF ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND.

BUT WE ARE STILL TALKING ABOUT GENERALITIES, AND MANY OF YOU MIGHT WANT TO SAY, "BUT, RABBI, I KNOW THAT MY NEGRO MAID IS NOT MY ^{infelicitous} EQUAL, AND I DON'T THINK THAT HER CHILDREN CAN OPERATE EFFECTIVELY ALONGSIDE MY CHILDREN, WITHOUT BRINGING DOWN THE STANDARD OF THE RESPECTIVE CLASSES." THIS MAY WELL BE TRUE. IN SUCH A CASE, THE NEGRO CHILDREN MAY HAVE TO HAVE SPECIAL ATTENTION, SO THAT THEY CAN OVERCOME THEIR POORER ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION. THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS IS NOT DESIGNED TO HANDICAP THE WHITE CHILDREN, ~~IT IS~~ ^{extra} ~~DESIGNED TO MAKE THE~~ AND IT IS REASONABLE AND POSSIBLE TO MAKE EFFORTS THAT WILL MAKE THE INTEGRATION OF CHILDREN FROM DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS POSSIBLE ON A PARTICULAR CLASS LEVEL.

LAST ANALYSIS
IN THE ~~LONG RUN~~, WE ALL KNOW THAT THE SCHOOL PROGRAM IS DIRECTLY TRACEABLE TO THE LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITIES. USUALLY, ^{the Negro} WIFE AS WELL AS HUSBAND MUST WORK ALL DAY TO ENABLE THE FAMILY TO SUPPORT ITSELF. CHILDREN ARE LEFT WITH WOMEN WHO ARE BABY SITTERS FOR A LARGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AND THEY GET LITTLE PERSONAL ATTENTION. AS THE CHILDREN APPROACH HIGH SCHOOL AGE, THEY ~~WHICH~~ ^{white} USUALLY HAVE TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATION OF GOING TO WORK THEMSELVES, AND THEY TERMINATE THEIR EDUCATION MUCH TOO SOON. THE HOMES THE NEGROES LIVE IN ARE AN INSULT TO HUMANITY, AND IN THEM, THE ~~RE~~ IS HARDLY ROOM FOR PRIVACY OR MANY OF THE THE DECENCIES OF NORMAL LIVING. ~~IN~~ ^{times} ~~OF~~ IN TIMES OF BUSINESS ^{recession}

RECESSION, THE UNSKILLED NEGRO WORKER IS THE FIRST ONE TO BE FIRED, AND OFTEN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY HAS DIFFICULTY IN FEEDING ITS MEMBERS.. IT IS FROM THIS BACKGROUND THAT THE NEGRO CHILD COMES, AND IF WE WANT TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT OUR CHILDREN DO NOT HAVE TO GO TO SCHOOL WITH BACKWARD NEGRO CHILDREN, WE HAVE TO MAKE CERTAIN FIRST THAT CONDITIONS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IMPROVE ON EVERY LEVEL.. WE HAVE TO SEE THAT NEGROES GET PAID BETTER FOR THEIR WORK. WE HAVE TO SEE THAT MORE OF THEM ARE TRAINED FOR SKILLED JOBS. WE HAVE TO SEE THAT THOSE WHO GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE CAN FIND EMPLOYMENT IN THEIR CHOSEN PROFESSIONS, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. WE HAVE TO SEE THAT BETTER HOMES ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM AT REASONABLE PRICES.. IF WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE NEGRO IS NOT BASICALLY INFERIOR TO THE WHITE, AND IF WE CAN SEE WITH OUR EYES THAT OUR NEGRO MAID IS INFERIOR, THEN WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR THE NEXT GENERATION OF NEGROES TO BE SOMETHING MORE THAN MAIDS AND JANITORS. THE NET RESULT ~~WILL~~ MIGHT MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR THE WHITE HUSBAND AND WIFE TO DO MORE PHYSICAL LABOR AROUND THE HOUSE, BUT SUCH LABOR MAY MAKE IT LESS NECESSARY FOR THEM *white couple* TO DIET STRENUOUSLY. *We may have to adjust a few golfing or*

so I'mah sorry date, but that shouldn't hinder us too much either

NO DISCUSSION ON THE WHITE-NEGRO PROBLEM, EVEN SO BRIEF AS THIS ONE, SHOULD LEAVE OUT A REFERENCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. OUR WORLD IS GROWING STEADILY SMALLER. IN THE UNITED NATIONS, IN TRADE, IN SCIENCE, IN TRAVEL, WE ARE ~~CONTINUOUSLY~~ INCREASING OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES. IN A WORLD OF MANY ~~RACES~~ *races*, THE WHITE RACE CONSTITUTES A MINORITY. THE COLORED RACES BY FAR OVERWHELM US. INEVITABLY WE WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH THEM ON AN EQUAL BASIS.. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES, YET SOMEHOW, WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO LEARN HOW TO LIVE IN A WORLD WITH ONLY ONE RACE.. THIS IS A ~~NON-EXISTENT~~ *fantasy* WORLD FOR WHICH WE ARE PREPARING OUR CHILDREN.. WE ARE EDUCATING THEM ~~IMPROPERLY~~. EDUCATION THAT DOES NOT PREPARE CHILDREN TO LIVE WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS IS A LIE. AMERICANS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF TOMORROW IF THEY ARE NOT TRAINED TO LIVE IN THE REAL WORLD, A WORLD OF MANY RACES, IN WHICH OUR RACE IS THE MINORITY..

LINCOLN'S DICTUM, " A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CAN NOT LONG ENDURE", IS APPLICABLE TO OUR TIME ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL. *TO establish* UNITED WORLD *we need individuals* REQUIRES PEOPLE ~~WHO HAVE~~ WHOSE EXPERIENCE IN THE INTEGRATION OF PEOPLES QUALIFIES THEM FOR LEADERSHIP. TO THE EXTENT THAT AMERICANS CONTINUE TO PRETEND THAT THE NEGRO DOES NOT EXIST; TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CONTINUE TO DELAY THE TIME WHEN WE WILL ACTIVELY ASSIST THE NEGRO IN THE SOLUTION OF HIS DEEP AND MULTIFACETED PROBLEM, JUST TO THIS EXTENT DO WE CONTINUE ~~TO LIVE IN AN UNWORLDLY WORLD WHICH PREPARES US FOR SOMETHING OTHER THAN A WORLD OF PEACE AND JUSTICE.~~

to undermine the foundations of the house in which we live - it is written in our scriptures, "Except that the Lord build the house, it is built in vain"